

A LINGUISTIC HAPPENING IN MEMORY OF BEN SCHWARTZ

Edited by

Yoël L. ARBEITMAN



PEETERS
LOUVAIN-LA-NEUVE
1988

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STUDIES IN ANATOLIAN, ITALIC,
AND OTHER INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

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D.1988/0602/58

ISBN 90-6831-143-3

© Peeters
Bondgenotenlaan 153
B—3000 LEUVEN

Publications Linguistiques de Louvain
Place Blaise Pascal 1.
1348 LOUVAIN-LA-NEUVE

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PREFACE

Yoël L. ARBEITMAN

Prof. Dr. Benjamin Schwartz ז"ל like many colleagues, I "met" him first on the right side of the dash in "hyphenated 'Kerns-Schwartz'." The time was late 1956. We were introduced through Edgar H. Sturtevant. I had just acquired my first book on linguistics. It was Sturtevant's *An Introduction to Linguistic Science*. I was 15 and was just making my acquaintance with Indo-European. I can say that my meeting with "Kerns-Schwartz" was more or less simultaneous with my meeting with both Indo-European and Comparative/Historical Linguistics. Sturtevant reproduced juxtaposed charts, the diagramming of IE which Sturtevant refers to as "pseudo-maps" (p.152), of J. Schmidt and of Kerns & Schwartz.

In Feb., 1963 I met, in more real and concrete sense of this verb, Prof. Kerns ז"ל and began a close discipleship and deep friendship that went on for the final twelve years of his life.

But it was only on several occasions that I interacted, in a like real sense of the verb, with Prof. Schwartz. One of these occasions was in early 1968 when the photograph of Schwartz, Kerns, and me was taken, the photograph which serves as the frontispiece in the *Gedenkschrift* for Prof. Kerns (1981). It was one those rare occasions when Schwartz came "into town" from Lincoln University where he taught (Lincoln University in the town of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania). Leonard Fox, a brother intimate disciple of Kerns, took the photo and was, in turn, the object of a similar photo with Prof. Kerns and Prof. Schwartz.

In the Summer of 1976 Schwartz lectured on the Phaistos Disk at the Linguistic Institute at Oswego, NY. There I had the good

opportunity of being the day-guide for him and his second wife, Betts.

On Thanksgiving Day, 1978 I spent a while at their home in upstate NY where Prof. Schwartz, on the urging of Betts, had invited me to "cart off" items from his library which would be of present use to me in my scholarship. Betts had told him that this collection of Hittitological treasures would see better use in my hands now than if they remained sitting on his shelf, joined with him in his retirement.

In the last summer of his life, summer, 1981, Ben and Betts undertook a pilgrimage to Prague, mainly to visit the grave of Bedřich Hrozný. Bureaucracy let them come to Prague but forbade a visit to the cemetery. After their return a decline in health set in.

On the 28th of Dec., 1981 I saw for the first time a copy of the Kerns GS at the exhibition of the LSA. The editor's representative gave me the display copy which I hoped to get to Schwartz in time. It was not to be; he passed away on 26 Dec.

Though I never personally knew Schwartz well, I did come to know that there was a scholar who had three other fields of absorption, fields not part of hyphenated Kerns-Schwartz.

From his earlier publications (see list) Prof. Schwartz was a pioneering scholar in Hittite and Luwian - as, it goes without saying - they were understood and conceptualized at that time. The first Schwartz article on the solo publication list, his 1938 piece on the "Glossenkeil", was submitted to *Archív Orientální* and became the subject of a request from Prof. Hrozný for inclusion in a FS.

The variegated areas of interest to be found in the publication list span an inspiring panorama. The Kerns-Schwartz list, in contrast, is all straight and pure Indo-European (one should actually rather say "Indo-Hittite") linguistics.

Of these many interests, three remained prominent and continued as life-long interests, in addition to Indo-European, of Prof. Schwartz. These three were: (1) Anatolian texts and philology;

(1) Anatolian texts and philology:

- (2) The Judéo-Greek Hymns (Jewish religion, Greek language, Hebrew alphabet, Hymns);
- (3) The Phaistos Disk.

Having not really known Prof. Schwartz well over a long period, I end up actually "judging" him from his treasures. These most treasured items of his he kept displayed in his study: the three 1939 postcards from Johannes Friedrich and the 1938 one from the "Early" Meriggi, and - most of all - the letter from Bedrich Hrozný.

From the few times I did meet Prof. Schwartz, it was obvious that he and Prof. Kerns were, in all possible variants, polar antipodes. That they worked so well together so long is a testimonial to sublime areas of the soul that my/our unaided vision fails to perceive.

In the spirit of their sublime collegueship, I offer here as my personal contribution, my article in the volume for Prof. Schwartz, one that is - to a good extent - a dihomorrhizaic pendant to my article in the volume for Prof. Kerns (Arbeitman 1981). This return to these roots forms for me a decent, fit, proper, and meet attempt to salute both Prof. Schwartz personally and to attempt to express the little vision I have perceived of the depth of the scholarly and intellectual collegueship shared by J. Alexander Kerns and Benjamin Schwartz.

My gratitude for the cooperation and fine offerings of all participating colleagues is immense. For their patience, help, and the honor with which they have memorialized Prof. Schwartz I express my deep satisfaction.

I, furthermore, have a particular word of appreciation for Barbara Foresman of Lincoln University for her very kindly and expeditiously locating and supplying me the photograph of Prof. Schwartz (from Lincoln University's 1958 *Lion Yearbook*) which we reproduce here.

Finally, it would be unfit to fail to note a quite special measure of appreciation which becomes Michael O'Connor whose selfless Deeds-of-Righteousness (*mišwōt*) both (a) afforded my work the

opportunity of proceeding on course and (b) considerably unburdened my Mother's translation to the realm of Ganesha.

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ARCHAISMS IN ANATOLIAN NOMINAL INFLEXION

F.R. ADRADOS

I

As against the theory that the anomalies of Anatolian nominal inflexion are due to alterations in the older model of eight cases, three genders and a three-term number system, pertaining to traditional reconstructions of IE, the opposite theory has little by little evolved: that Anatolian nominal inflexion, together with certain innovations, preserves a considerable number of archaisms. I shall refer to these ideas in further detail below and, specifically, to papers by Rosenkranz, Meid and Carruba above all. Within the sphere of Spanish scholarship, I shall refer to F. Villar and previous publications of my own.

I should point out that from my own point of view, the archaism of Anatolian in general and of Hittite in particular should be interpreted as a legacy of what I have termed IE II, an intermediate linguistic stage between IE I (or PIE) and IE III or classical IE (I once called it "Brugmannian"). It is therefore intermediate between pre-flexional IE and polythematic IE: a monothematic stage of which vestiges were left in the languages of Anatolia whilst elsewhere it was substituted by polythematic IE, from which two groups in turn derive: that of Indo-Greek and that of the languages of north and west Europe and Tocharian. As from 1962 I have expounded this thesis in a series of papers which I shall refer to briefly (1). As far as the verb is concerned, this thesis is in line with papers by Professor Schwartz - I should here like to pay due homage to his 1946 paper in collaboration with Professor Kerns (1946: 57-58) and to their book of 26 years later (1972).

My thesis, as is known, is that the diverse Indo-European waves which brought IE III or classical IE to Europe from the Ukraine and from even further beyond the Urals, were preceded by other waves which brought a more archaic form of IE that in general terms marked its grammatical oppositions by means of the opposition of endings and not yet through stem opposition. Thus, oppositions such as those of the aspects or the masc. and fem. or the degrees of comparison in the adjective are, in this sense, recent ones: they were as yet unknown to IE II which is represented by its survival in Anatolian and by archaisms in the other languages. Moreover, the old oppositions were extended: the indicative and imperative were opposed to a subjunctive and an optative, a future to the present and preterite, etc. In general terms, IE III made the older binary oppositions ternary ones and created other ternary ones, too; and they were chiefly based on stem oppositions, nevertheless respecting the older oppositions between endings.

However, in the above-mentioned papers I have expounded a general outline of the evolution of the Indo-European nominal system, to some extent also based on Prof. Villar's above-mentioned book (1974): I cannot help mentioning some facts briefly in order to justify the classification of archaisms as applied to other Anatolian data which I shall study below.

In the above-mentioned papers, number is considered as a recent category in nominal inflexion; according to my view the dual is not yet to be found within IE II and only partly in IE III, in which this category originates; and above all, the plural number was only gradually created, this being the cause (and not a recent syncretism as has been suggested) of the indifference of certain nominal forms to the sing./plur. opposition. Similarly, and in accordance with the majority of scholars, I have postulated that the masc./fem. opposition is also recent and later than Anatolian.

But above all the case oppositions have their own history: cf. a review of certain ideas on this point in an article by W.P. Lehmann (1958: 179-202) and another of mine (1984) among the bibliography on the subject. Moreover, in this history, the eight-case system of O.I., traditionally attributed to Indo-European, is the result of a

secondary evolution. It does not seem as if there is any dat./loc. opposition in IE, except in diverse languages which developed it and even then, not in all stems. The non-distinction of gen./abl. outside thematic inflexion, that of nom./gen. sing. in Hittite (the *antuhšaš* type), certain "syncretisms" and the use of pure stems in diverse cases are all old.

Some of these ideas are quite wide-spread, others not so - this is not the place for a detailed discussion. I can, however, put forward those data in Anatolian which might help to support them.

Before doing this, I should nevertheless like to point out the peculiarities of IE nominal inflexion in relation to verb inflexion. For, on the one hand, as has often been rightly stressed (cf., for example, W. Meid, 1975: 212), the nominal and verbal inflexion had parallel development. On the other, however, one should note their differences, which are also important.

It is no longer a matter of the same formal elements being used at the service of different functions and categories and of the only common category, that of number, now being marked differently in both word classes. It is that IE III did not manage to create a number differentiation in the noun system based on stem oppositions as in the verb system. Yet, however, as early as IE II there is stem opposition in nominal inflexion, in the so-called heteroclitics (although each stem does not refer to a unitary category, as in the verb). Even more important than this is the fact that IE II does not, in general terms, offer anything more than binary oppositions which were only to become ternary or multiple ones in IE III. Nevertheless, Anatolian offers a seven-case system within which there is a complicated system of oppositions. Of course, this system displays undeniable traces of its relatively recent nature - I shall discuss this later on.

According to the thesis I have defended elsewhere, in the above-mentioned papers, this complex system is the result of the combination and inter-penetration of various simple systems which were binary. In the same way, whereas later in IE III other binary opposition systems were to combine and split secondarily to give other more complex ones. I believe that the first opposition is that

which is given between any stem (later specialized for several case uses) and the same in an impressive-expressive function, that is, a vocative function. However, in the non-vocative sector, or that which responds to the representative function of language, there are from at least a very early date, three binary oppositions:

a) Nom./acc., as actants or verb determiners which are opposed to one another.

b) A nominal stem in any case/gen., this latter as a determiner of the former.

c) A nominal stem in any case/dat.-loc., as case determiner for the whole sentence.

These binary oppositions, not to mention others, which doubtless are more recent, for the abl. and Instr. intervene in them, referred to different functions of language or to different contexts. With time, however, they combined in a unique opposition system. Yet, as is well-known, a case was not opposed to the others in any context, but rather there are oppositions between limited cases within limited contexts, too, this being the legacy of the older situation.

Without going into any depth on these ideas and by merely referring to other works in which they have been more fully expounded, it would seem quite clear that they are in close relationship to a series of defective uses in Anatolian nominal inflexion, which I mentioned briefly above. It may, of course, be argued to the contrary or one may dubitatively find a circular reasoning in these ideas - the defectiveness of Anatolian displays the recent nature of certain categories and this recent nature is why the defective uses of Anatolian are interpreted as archaisms. One may, nevertheless, break this vicious circle. For example, as the archaisms are not connected with any époque or dialect but reappear here and there, it is plausible to look for others comparable to those of Anatolian in the rest of IE: for example, the masc./fem. or dat./loc., or nom./voc. oppositions are missing sometimes (as likewise, the ind./subj. or pres./pret. opposition is also missing at times). One could also seek traces of an older lack of these oppositions in the fact that they are expressed through recent formal elements or used to this end only recently. I have discussed all this in my article on

the origin of the grammatical categories (1985), and elsewhere.

Therefore, the data on the archaism of the Anatolian noun given below should be interpreted as data to be added to those which from other branches of Indo-European support the theory of the gradual origin of inflexion as from a prior non-flexional stage. It should nevertheless be understood that if this hypothesis should be shown to be untrue, there would have to be reinterpretations carried out differently.

I trust, however, that it is valid and that the number of those who agree is really increasing. I should add that it is particularly well-founded as far as the verb system and the masc./fem. and positive/comparative/superlative one are concerned: wherever a new opposition system has been built up on the basis of those which are obviously independent older stems. In more hypothetical terms, when it is a case of the origin of oppositions expressed through endings, such as those of IE II, in general. Even here, however, the existence of \emptyset ending forms and the use of the same formal elements in diverse functions, sometimes recent ones and in any case with no original semantic relationship to the functions they express in the new system, are all strong arguments.

I have already said that in the particular case of noun inflexion, this stage in which there are oppositions expressed with the aid of endings alone (besides specific facts of vowel alternation and accent shifting) was not surpassed by IE III. Moreover, what can be compared - and not exactly so - to the stem oppositions I discussed above is heteroclisis, which doubtless comes from the opposition of two different stems to mark the gen. (and on top of this, other cases) or the fem. (cf., for example, E. Benveniste, 1935; Specht, 1944; Bader, 1975; Shields, 1979: 213-226). However, in spite of all, irregularities in the forms marked by endings show the recent nature of the opposition.

Yet, what has so far been said in this respect is not overmuch. I should here like to refer to papers by the three great scholars I mentioned above, who have contributed certain things on the subject of archaisms in Hittite nominal inflexion, although far fewer than on

verbal inflexion. I shall leave aside, withal, a point on which there is today a wide consensus, with a few exceptions: the non-existence in old Anatolian of the masc./fem. opposition. I shall return to this matter below.

I refer to four papers: two by B. Rosenkranz, one dated 1972 and another of 1979: (219-228); a third by O. Carruba dated 1976: (121-146); and to a fourth by W. Meid dated 1979: (159-176). I shall review the nominal archaisms noted by these authors.

In his 1972 paper, Rosenkranz mentions nom.-gen. homonymy in stems in *-aš*, neuters in *-a* (not *-am*), the use of *-aš* and *-an* in the gen. both sing. and plur. (although he does not appear to draw any conclusions on this), to the lack, still, of desinences in *-bh* and *-m* in the oblique cases of the plural and the use of pure stems in inflexion. In the 1979 paper, he states (quoting Kronasser) that the plur. inflexion is not totally complete; he stresses the lack of special forms for the oblique cases of the plur. and the identity of nom.-gen. in the sing., although he does not offer explanations of them that are very clear (cf. below). All this is useful, although too summary and not inserted into any consistent theory (cf., too, by the same author, his 1978 book: 126 ff.).

Carruba, in a very useful article on the archaisms of the Anatolian verb, has very little to say on the noun; the most important fact is the lack of a feminine and the fact that the differences between the Hittite oblique cases and those of other languages makes one think of the recent nature of all of them. Meid, in an equally useful article on the verbal field, has practically nothing to say about the nominal.

Naturally, this is not all; in diverse monographic articles one can find archaisms noted by their authors or material susceptible to interpretation as such, which are those I shall be concerned with. There are likewise interpretations. Yet, with regard to the interpretations, progress is probably less than might be expected; no satisfactory explanation is given even when data such as the nom.-gen. homonymy in thematic nouns is postulated. Moreover, acceptance of the recent nature of both the Indo-European oblique

cases and also in the plural is, I believe, likely to lead us farther along the path of reconstruction than hitherto. In any case, there is a lack of any detailed expounding of the archaisms in nominal inflexion and similarly of any attempt at interpretation of them from the point of view of evolution, from non-flexional PIE to the stages of IE later than Anatolian. This is what, only to a certain extent, I attempt to do here.

II

I shall begin with gender, the most well-known subject of all. It is well-known that as far as both the noun and the adjective are concerned, we find in Anatolian a common gender and a neuter or inanimate one, formally marked in general terms in the same way, as in the rest of IE.

Here too, of course, it might be thought that the non-existence of a masc./fem. opposition is due to secondary loss, which could be related to the non-existence in Hittite of an independent inflexion in $-\bar{a}$. I shall return later to this latter phenomenon, for supposed vestiges have been noted even, of the fem. in Hittite (*parkuiš* - "pure", *dankuiš* - "dark"). Linguists such as Pedersen, Sommer and Kronasser supported the thesis of a secondary loss of the feminine in Hittite, whilst Sturtevant and many other linguists have refuted this: I quote among them Laroche (1970: 50-57), Carruba (1976: 131), Brossmann (1979: 124-137), and K.H. Schmidt (1979: 793-810). Really, the forms in question are stems in $-i$ (Laroche) or in $-\bar{a}i$ (Brossmann); as we shall see, one and the other are really the same.

Brugmann and Meillet had already widely speculated on the secondary origin of the feminine in IE: Hittite furnishes evidence of a stage prior to the splitting of the common gender (animate) into masculine and feminine. K.H. Schmidt rightly points out, in the above-mentioned article, that this evidence need not necessarily lead to the conclusion of the later nature of the two animate genders. On their origin - through polarization of the old common gender as against the recently created feminine one - there is abundant bibliography which I shall not mention here, for the subject lies

outside the purpose of this paper. I shall merely refer to how the matter is treated in my 1975 book (: 479 ff.).

However, this is not the only archaism in Hittite (and in Anatolian in general) as far as gender is concerned. There are also archaisms for the common/neuter opposition which, although older (for it appears in IE II), represents an evolution from an earlier stage, that of non-flexional or ageneric PIE.

I cannot enter here into a lengthy discussion of the proposed origins for the common/neuter opposition (or animate/inanimate, as it is also called). I should nevertheless like to recall that the thesis I have supported (1975: 395 ff.) is that this generic opposition depends on an old opposition between sub-classes of the noun: the integrants of one of these (the future inanimates or neuters) had distributional constraints which consisted of their being unable to function either as the subjects of "active" verbs (like the future nom.) nor in impressive-expressive use (like the future voc.). Hence the lack in this class of the nom. with *-s* and the fact that in the acc., as against the nom., the acc. is marked with **m*, whereas there is in the inanimates, according to the declensions, either **-m* or *-Ø*, for there was no danger at first that they might be confused with a then non-existing nom. or voc. (later, when the concept of subject was extended, they were created as forms identical to the acc.) (2). Another thesis I have also supported is that the **-ā* or **-ə* which, according to general opinion, was only secondarily used to mark the plural of neuters, was not originally a sing. marker but an anumerical form (converted into a sing. only when it was given a new plur. in the animate inflexion).

These ideas are needed if one is to understand the archaisms of Anatolian I mention below properly. It should also be acknowledged that the same entity may be conceived of, according to the cases, as either animate or inanimate. At times, there is a lexical difference: of the type of Gr. γῆ/πέδον, Lat. *terra/tellus*, doubtless old (cf. Hitt. *paḫḫur*, Gr. πῦρ/O.I. *agnis*, Lat. *ignis* and similar, well-known cases). However, it is quite clear in other instances that the same root could be used either as an animate or as an inanimate: this is the origin of *-os/-om* fluctuations in neuters in diverse languages, cf. also Gr.

χῆών (fem.)/Hitt. *tekan* (n.) from the same root. Furthermore: if the -s or -os of the nom. sing. is a characteristic which marks the subject (active), it is clear that at an older pre-flexional stage, it could have still been lacking and that we should therefore expect traces of alternance in the nom. sing., between *R* (= root) and *R-s* or *R-os*, and in the acc. sing. between *R* (certainly in the neuters, but also in the animates) and *R-m* or *R-om*. Where I say *R*, *S* (= stem) may also be inserted. All this is confirmed by Anatolian. These are the essential data from Hittite:

a) -an / -a alternance in the neuters

Rosenkranz (1972: 5) and also, among others, Brosman (1979: 58 ff.) have indicated the existence of neuter adjectives and nouns in -a, not in -an. Palmitis has pointed out parallels to this fact in several languages (1981: 74). Thus it happens, for example, that we find *danatta* "empty" both in nom.-acc. sing. n. and in the same cases in plur., this homonymy for the rest being frequent.

The fact is quite clear. And I believe that the explanation is, too. Far from being analogical (Brosman), these forms in \bar{a} (or \bar{a}) were at first anumerical, their use as plurals together with -an obviously being secondary. But they were also ageneric; they could at first be used as animate nouns (hence the so-called first declension), yet also as inanimates. That is, \bar{a} (> -a) was generically ambiguous, -am (> -an) was specifically neuter and hence ended by predominating. \bar{a} split; it remained either as common (with a sing. and a plur.), or as neuter (with the exceptions quoted, as plur.). One should note as a parallel the existence of nouns in -a (neuters, variables or of unknown gender) alternating with neuters in -s (Brosman, 1979: 60).

Neuter plurals with \bar{a} (or \bar{a}) > -a in stems in -u, -s, etc. should, I believe, be considered as analogical to those mentioned (3). The same goes for the n. pl. in -a-a or -a-ga of Palaic (4); not so the n. p. like Hitt. *šalla*, *šallai* alongside *šalli*, which are explained by the laryngeal theory, cf. below.

b) Alternance of common and neuter nouns

There are well-known data which nevertheless have not, I believe, been given suitable interpretation. I refer to the lack in Hittite of the type of IE III with animate nom. sing. with $-\emptyset$ ending and lengthening as against an acc. sing. with $-m$ (Gr. ποιμήν / ποιμένα); and to the presence of a double inflexion in certain roots and stems, one animate and the other inanimate (or at least interpreted thus).

In fact, the existence in Hittite of stems which are doubly declined is relatively frequent; on the one hand with the pure stem in nom. acc. sing., on the other with $-aš/-an$. The first forms are interpreted as inanimates, the latter as animates: thus nom.-acc. *keššar* "hand" as against a nom. *keššaraš* / acc. *keššaram* (see Kronasser, 1966: 275 ff.). The same occurs in the case of *kurur*, *takšul*, *kallar*, *šittan*, etc. and, of course, similarly in the case of a number of words with (a) only the form of nom.-acc. without endings and others with (b) only $-aš/-an$ forms.

Let us now return to interpretation. It is said that *kurur* is "enmity" and that its use as "enemy" is secondary, being the result of an opposition: a "man of enmity" would, for example give "enemy". This is the same explanation as that used to justify that a gen. in $-aš$ should also be nom.: I believe this explanation to be erroneous, cf. below. To my mind, what is quite clear is that "enemy", an animate, may be used when it is the subject, either unmarked (*kurur*, archaic use) or marked (*kururaš*, recent use). In the acc. it is well-known that there was no original distinction between animate and inanimate, either *kurur* or *kururan* is postulated. Similarly, I do not believe that *keššar* "hand" need necessarily be inanimate: how is it to be distinguished from *keššaraš*? Thus, too, in the other cases.

That is, the form without $-aš$ is an archaic form and is unmarked, at first animate or inanimate or indifferent. It may also be used as a plur. without adding $-a$ (*kurur/kurur* but *šuppai/šuppala*). Other languages preserved it as an animate and marked it with the lengthening of the type of Gr. ποιμήν and eliminated the unmarked form of the acc. in the animates (they kept only the form with $-m$).

In fact, the alternance S- \emptyset or S-*aš* / S- \emptyset or S-*an* in Hittite (S- \emptyset or S-*os* / S- \emptyset or S-*om* of IE II) is in line with an archaic stage at which the \emptyset forms could be nom. or acc., animate or inanimate; those with *-aš* could be only nom. (animate) and those with *-an* only acc. (animate). IE III introduced regularizations. The animate nom. was distributed according to the declensions: some have \emptyset , others *-s* or *-os*. And the animate and inanimate acc. were re-distributed: the latter took *-om* or \emptyset (according to the declensions), the former only *-m* (5). Therefore, an important isogloss is later than IE II and in particular, later than Anatolian.

III

I shall at this point go on to discuss the number system. I do not want to insist on what is to my mind a clear conclusion that the non-existence of the dual in Anatolian is due to the fact that this number was created later in some of the languages of IE III (6).

As far as the plural is concerned, I have already stated that the lack of special forms in Hittite for certain cases has been discussed as well as the occasional use of a gen. form (*-aš*), reputed to be sing., as a plur. and conversely, of a plur. one in *-an*, as a sing. I should stress that the facts are far more important than might be thought on the basis of certain explanations, as likewise their interpretation.

Whilst certain stems (those in *-a*, *-i* and *-u* above all) regularly have nom. plurals in *-eš*, others (and even these), often have a common form of nom. sing. and plur.: *ḫalkiš*, *lingaiš*, *utne*, *kurur*, etc. The forms in *-a* of the nom.-acc.-voc. plur. of the neuters, which coincide with forms in *-a* of the sing. as I have just said, are one more proof of this. Then there is the case mentioned of the forms in *-aš* of the gen. sing.-plur. and the equivalent ones in *-an*, although they tend to be restricted to the plur. Note, however, that these forms in *-aš* are at the same time the forms of the dat.-loc. plur.: *antuḫšaš* (stem in **-o*), *ḫumandaš* (stem in *-nt*), for example, and cover all these functions. One should add that *-an* also appears as a dat. sing. in Hieroglyphic Hittite, Luwian and Lydian (in this latter, αv

is gen.-dat.-loc. plur. according to O. Carruba [1969: 78]). The abl. sing. and the plur. also often coincide and the same goes for the instr.: the forms in *-az(a)* and those in *-it*. In the stems in *-i*, the dat.-loc. sing. in *-i(ja)* is at the same time often a plural.

So much for Hittite. The situation is also seen in the other Anatolian languages. Apart from what will be said later on the forms in *-ahi*, *ehi* of Lycian, see other forms such as *tideimi* nom. sing.-plur., *lada* nom. sing.-dat. plur. (cf. Meriggi, 1928: 425 ff.). Similar data may be found in other Anatolian languages.

This sing.-plur. identity occurs at times, as may be seen, in the pure stems; at others in stems with endings. It is also to be seen that there is a tendency to eliminate it by, for example, opposing *-an* and *-a* or *-iš* and *-e-eš* or *-eš* or gen. in *-aš* / id. in *-an*. Note that this defectiveness is at times allied to a defectiveness in the case system, although it has occasionally reached a clear sing./plur. opposition (*antuḫšaš* / *antuḫšeš*) and other parallels in the case system.

As has sometimes been said - as against the immediate temptation to see secondary loss of the plur. here - what occurs is that certain forms only secondarily became specialized for the plur.: almost invariably by means of secondary distributions, on the strength of the same endings of the sing. (and with no intervention of others which were specialized to the plur. and belong to various later languages). Above all, the system of alternances was used: *ḫalkiš/ḫalkeš* (written *ḫal-ki-e-eš*), probably from a plur. in **-ejes*, like in IE III (thus Georgiev, 1975: 104). In any case, it is clear that an *-eš* form became specialized to mark the plur.: it may derive either from here or from the plur. of the *antuḫšaš* type (as against sing. *antuḫšaš*), which in turn may represent an apophonic variation such as that of the voc. sing. or rather be one more analogical form on the basis of the stems in *-i*.

It is quite clear that IE III remodelled the plur. independently. I believe that within this remodelling, the nom. plur. in *-ōs* of the 2nd declension does not come from a contraction **-o-es* but from the use of a new morphological resource of this new phase of IE: vowel

lengthening. It definitely separated the gen. sing. from the plur. (but a gen. sing. in *-on* was left in Cyprian and perhaps in Mycenaean (cf. Pisani, 1959: 81-86). It created the lengthened nom. sing., stabilized diverse types of vowel alternances at the service of inflexion and specialized the endings (introducing certain special ones of the plur.). For the rest, there is a series of data of merely a dialectal nature, for example the development of an independent dat., and of a loc.

IV

Far more complex is the study of those archaisms which refer to the diverse cases. This is a subject which must be divided into several items.

a) The Genitives in -aš and -an in Hittite

The gen. sing. and plur. in *-aš* is not surprising, for it was normal in IE III in diverse stems such as those in *-i* (*halkijaš*), *-nt* (*humandaš*), *-r* (*kururas*) and others. Only the fact that it does not always adjust to the habitual system of later alternances is strange: there are forms of the type of *šallajaš*, *ašša_hyaš*, etc., and forms of the **-ei-s* type are missing. Of course, the syncretism was with the plur. and within this, with the dat.-loc., too.

The most surprising thing, however is the homonymy of the nom. and gen. sing. in thematic nouns (the *antu_hšaš* type), a fact to which attention has been drawn many times and which is generally considered to be an archaism: in one way or another, it is thought that the gen.'s of IE III **-osjo* or **-oso* are derived from **-os* with differentiating purposes. I also believe this, but the details must be investigated.

For I do not agree with the commonest theory that said nom. is a sort of "Nominativus pro Genitivo" (cf., for example, Villar, 1974: 109 ff.; Rosenkranz, 1979: 231): *yaštullaš* would mean "he of sin, the sinner". This is not correct; there are animate nominatives with either a pure stem or a lengthened stem with *-aš* (< **-os*), as I have said. This ending (and *-š*, at other times) simply marked the active subject

as has so often been acknowledged; certainly it could be missing (nom. with pure stem, which was given a lengthening later in IE III).

What happens is that there is an ending which is homophonous to this: the *-aš* genitive ending. In general, there is asymmetry: *-aš* is only in gen. *uttar/uddanaš*, *pedan/pedaš*, *-uar/-uaš*) or it is in the gen. whilst there is *-š* in the nom. (stems in *-i*, *-u*, *-nt*, etc.). There is only coincidence in the thematic stems and one could even say that this is a result of a spreading of *-aš* of the nom. in diverse consonantal stems, a spreading which was not completed for there are still pure stems of the nom. left. Not even in other stems was it fully completed: irregular concords in which the stems in *-i* appear with the pure stem (7) show this.

That is, *-aš* and *-an* spread from an early date as noun determiners, which produced both genitives and adjectives (cf. my 1975: 409 ff.). These may also take simply *-š* (perhaps also at an early date the genitives, as was preserved in IE III). But *-aš* and *-š* also occasionally marked verb determiners: the nom., although its spreading in this function was more incomplete.

That a lengthening of the root was grammaticalized in two different functions has nothing strange about it, for these functions were in principle due to different contexts or distributions. Homonymy only arose in certain very special contexts: subject with determiner and verb. As we know, there was a tendency to avoid it by using the formation with ending only in the gen. or by using the latter in the nom. and gen. in different vowel degrees. Really, there is only homonymy in the stems in *-a*, which is a slender basis upon which to postulate that all the nominatives in *-š* come from the gen. No, this is a case of homonymy (later eliminated) which was solved by the context, as many others. At the most, it may be accepted that gen. and adjective were originally identical, forms with a relational device as has at times been suggested (cf. my 1975: 483 ff.).

b) Genitives and adjectives in -ahl, -ehl in Lycian and comparable forms

It is well-known that the range of the gen. in Anatolian

languages other than Hittite is quite different. Doubtless with the aim of avoiding homonymy, they favoured the development of more or less equivalent formations.

In Luwian there is a gen. in *-ašši*, *-ašša*; in Hieroglyphic Luwian, there are also some in *-aši*, *-asa* (cf. Laroche, 1959: 136 ff.). They are evidently related to Hittite adjectives in *-ašša*. On the other hand, in Lydian there are adjectives in *-alli*. These are formations of Indo-European origin (8).

The Genitives of Luwian originate in the form in *-aš*; they are really derivations of the gen. And they should not be confused, as is usual, with Lycian formations in *-ahi*, *-ehi* which are considered diversely as gen.'s or adjectives.

In this language, *a* and *e* alternate freely and *-ehi* should be derived from an original *-ahi*; then it tends to assign the former type to the stems in *-i*, *-ahi* to those in *-a*, but with numerous vacillations (9).

The exclusively adjectival nature of these formations, as Mittelburger suggests, doubtless on their analogy to the afore-mentioned ones, is highly doubtful (10). Meriggi considers them to be forms of nom., dat. and acc. sing. which at times, however, concord with a noun, in which construction they are adjectival. This is reasonable; but in other instances there is no concord, they are case forms of the noun. On the other hand, these forms can add case endings or diverse enlargements (abl. sing. *-ahedi*, dat. plur. *-ahe*, *-ehe*, nom. plur. n. *-aha*). Sometimes they are added to derived forms (nom. *-i* / gen. *-ijehi*, etc.). They occasionally lack *-h-*: dat. sing.-plur. and nom. plur. n. in *-a* in Lycian itself, *-a*, *-ai* in Hittite, cf. below.

As I already stated elsewhere (1981: 241 ff.) I believe that these are simply pure stems which should be compared to Luwian abstracts in *-ahi(t)* (Lycian belongs to this same language group) which correspond to other Hittite ones in *-(a)-a-i*.

This is really an Anatolian isogloss (11). In Hittite the stems in

-i still take *-hi* at times (12). On the other hand, there are equivalences in Palaic in *-a*, *-a-a*, *-a-ga* to the n. plurals already mentioned (13).

It is worth noting that the pure stems in question have, as is logical, indifference to number: *-ahi* may act as gen. plur. I believe that this is the case of *ēni mahanahi* "μήτηρ θεῶν" in Lycian (14).

The foregoing is not enough to finish what should be said regarding these pure stems which I interpret as derivatives of $-eh_2^h$, the alternant form to \emptyset degree H_2^h : the former, according to the phonetic theory I have expounded elsewhere (15), would give either *-ahi* or *-ah* (later reduced to *-ai* and *-a*); the latter type would give *-hi* (later reduced to *-i*). For example, one should stress the fact that their adjectival use is quite secondary, and that an example such as the one Mittelburger offers of it, *xñnahi ehdiehi*, "of his grandmother" exactly displays the use of the gen. Cf. also *pñnutahi uhahi* - "of the fifth year" (Shevoroshkin, 1979).

This study clears the way for the one we shall now carry out on the pure stems. Several of them in *-ahi* (whence *-ehi*) were used, as may be observed, to give diverse cases, alternating with forms which lost the *h* (above all *-a* in nom. sing., in dat. sing.-plur., in nom.-acc. n. plur., also *-i* forms of the \emptyset degree). We have already seen that at times one and another type of forms mix, above all in the n. plur. Lycian clung particularly to the laryngeal and used it (as Hittite in other instances, cf. *dahhi/dai*) to differentiate originally identical forms. Although it tended in general terms to reduce *-ahi*, *-ehi* to the gen. sing., in which uneasy homonymous forms are ousted. Note that in Hittite the form in *-aš* sometimes covers more cases than just the gen., as I have already pointed out.

Lycian, then, did no more than to keep numerous pure laryngeal stems, as did Anatolian in general (and not only Anatolian), cf. the nominatives in $*-\bar{a}$, the datives in $*-\bar{a}i$, the vocatives in $*-\bar{a}$, in sing., and the nom.-acc.-voc. in $*-\bar{a}$, $*-\bar{a}$, in the plur. in IE III; besides the variants in *-i*, thus *-ei* in the dat. of the type of Gr. *πόλει*, OCS *kosti*, etc. (16). The newest thing about this language is the extending of these formations to the gen. sing. to avoid homonymous forms,

and using the alternance of forms with *h* and others which lost it for case distinctions and number distinctions which it introduces. I have already said that there was a model for extension to the gen., the occasional syncretism of this case with others. As far as the lengthening of these pure stems is concerned, it is a partly new, partly Indo-European procedure: I have already discussed the final *-a* of the n. plur. Pal. *-aga*, Lyc. *-aha* and the abl. and instr. It should be considered that final elements of pure stems in a laryngeal were secondarily interpreted as endings and additions even, to these stems: Hitt. dat. sing. *šuppaja*; Pal. nom. plur. n. *-a-ga*, O.I. *agnáye* (< **-e_{jei}*), dat. plur. in *-ija* in Luwian (17), etc.

On the other hand, the foregoing shows in what a fluid state inflexion was in Anatolian, whilst a recent language like Lycian could spread pure stems in its own way: they doubtless continued to be used as synonyms, approximately, of all the cases, with dialectal variations.

c) Other forms and uses of the pure stems in -l, -a, -al in Anatolian

I shall continue studying this remarkable archaism by stressing the facts about stems in *-a*, *-al* and *-l*. Pure stems are not rare in IE III, in which pure stems continued to be used, being only secondarily classified as belonging to this or that case: the animate nom. sing., the nom.-acc.-voc. n. of sing. and plur., the voc. and the dat.-loc. sing. Certainly, they appear no longer in the animate acc. sing. (as they still appeared in Lycian, for example; in this and other matters it is more archaic than Hittite, that is if it did not lose an *-m*). But let us examine the use of the above-mentioned pure stems as a whole in the Anatolian languages, disregarding for the moment the particular instance of Lycian. As I cannot study the whole of the pure stems, or in general the archaisms of Anatolian, I shall keep to these which are particularly significant.

The whole of this study is based on the relevant part played by the pure stems in the nominal inflexion of Hittite, which has recently been the object of important monographs by E. Neu (1980) and F. Villar (1981). In this context, what is believed is the following: diverse

cases in *-a*, *-i* and *-ai* (with extensions, at times) are pure stems of the Hittite stems in *-i*, *-a* and *-ai*, stems which "classified" alternating Indo-European stems in $*-i / *āi / *-ā$ into three inflexions (the second of these fused with the thematic one in $*-o$). These dative-locatives in *-i*, *-a(i)* appear in all of them. The endings *-i*, *-ai*, *-a*, when they appear in other stems (*nepiša*, *nepiši* in dat. or dat.-loc., *idella_ua* in nom. plur. n., etc.) are overlappings or analogical extensions of the ending of said pure stems. On the other hand, these endings are to my mind, as I have already said, the same as those which appear in other instances as *-hi*, *-ahi*, *-ah* (lengthened *-aha*). I believe that in my above-mentioned works on the phonetic problem, I left it sufficiently clear that the laryngeals were being lost in Anatolian at the stage we know of and that occasionally, the forms with *h* and those without *h* had become specialized in different functions. I am not alone in saying this. Regarding some of the forms I mention, those of Palaic nom.-acc. plur. n. *-a*, *-a-a*, *-a-ga*, Watkins (1975: 367) explains that the apparent irregularity is due to a "sound change in progress".

Of course there is the problem as to what extent the stems in *-i*, those in *-ai* and those in *-a* are originally the same. This has been often put forward with respect to the two former types, for example by Kurylowicz (1968: 51). In Hittite specifically, various cases of *halkiš*, *tuzziš*, etc., are identical to those corresponding of *zah_haiš*, etc. On the other hand, the multiple forms in $*-āi$ (beginning with the dat. sing., but not only this), of the stems in $*-ā$ of several Indo-European languages, are well-known. The Hittite stems in *-aiš* mix one and another type (cf. Weitenberg, 1979: 289 ff.). In Hittite, old stems in $*-ā$ fused with those in $*-o$ have brought to these latter not only a voc. in *-a*, but also a dat.-loc. in *-i*. I can only refer in this matter to my 1975: 372 ff.

Of course, I am not unaware of the old hypothesis that the dat.-loc. in *-i* took an old deictic particle and that the one in *-a* came from an adverbial or instrumental $*-ō$. F. Villar is now more supporting it. But *-i* and *-a*, *-ai* alternate in the same stems and even words and appear in those in *-i*, *-ai*, *-a* mentioned above (where they are considered as radical) and in the others. How can we seek an independent origin in these others, and precisely a different one

for *-i* and for *-a*? How shall we interpret *-ai*? The whole theory is, to my mind, erroneous. Even more if, as the two above-mentioned authors have clearly seen, the syntactical differences sometimes to be found between *-i* and *-a* (they would be a locative and a directive or

terminative respectively) are a result of an internal evolution of Hittite that was never completed and even regressed in time. We are faced with the remarkable spectacle of how forms which only differ through vowel gradation tended to be grammatically specialized by opposing each other in a certain language.

And of course, there is the old hypothesis of the two original endings *-i* and *-ei* and their supposed fusion with the thematic vowel and *-ā*; Georgiev has come out in its defence once more lately (1971: 59-65 and 1975: 104-119). This hypothesis is just as unnecessary in Hittite as in other languages: that there may at times be secondary additions such as those mentioned above does not mean that they are always there and that one should thus postulate, for example, that Gr. *πόλει* comes from **polei-ei*. If **-i* and **-ā(i)* function as alternating elements in the stems we refer to, and not only in Hittite but also outside it (cf. O.I. *Agnis* / *Agnā* / *Agnāyī*), and likewise also **-ei*, what need is there to cause problems by splitting hairs and reconstructing unnecessary forms?

Naturally, there are many things that we do not know on the vowel alternances of Anatolian and cannot fix the primitive distribution of the diverse endings. However two things are quite clear: that they are all radical, with no specific meaning of their own; and that they spread to different stems from the ones they originally belonged to.

Curiously enough in Hittite, on account of the fusion of the stems in **-ā* and those in **-o*, the form of a pure stem in *-a* does not appear in the nom. (except to the extent that it passed on to the nom.-acc. plur. n. and, exceptionally, is a nom.-acc. sing. n.; see above). Neither are there any pure stems in *-i* and *-ai* left in the nom. except in the n.'s and in certain irregular concords mentioned above. On the other hand, as certain oblique cases (the abl. and instr. sing.) added lengthenings or endings to the pure stem (18), this latter tended to be reduced to the dat.-loc. sing.

What is worth noting is the fact that the use of the pure stem, and particularly that of the types studied here, is greater in other Anatolian languages than in Hittite. We have seen this with regard to the pure stem in *-ahi*, *-ehi* of Lycian. It is this language that has preserved this archaism to the greatest extent.

Some of these pure stems in quite different uses have been mentioned above. In Lycian we have stems in **-ā* with nom. *-a*, gen. *-ahi*, *-ehi*, dat. *-a*, all in the sing., but we also find *-ahi* in gen. plur., *-a* in dat. plur.: *lada* "woman" in nom. sing., dat. plur. *ladi*, in dat. sing., a specialization that recalls that of the dat. sing. *anni* alongside the nom. sing. *annaš* (older *anna*) in Hittite. At times, the form of the acc. sing. is identical to that of the nom. (at others the *-a* displays nasalization). However, if we go on to the stems in *-i*, we find more pure stems with varied uses: as may be seen, there is a similar classification here to that of IE III, stems in **-ā* on the one hand, in **-i* on the other. I believe that Hittite is the more archaic in this respect (although not in the fusion with thematic nouns), although the forms in *-ahi*, *-ehi* form exceptions to this. Moreover, in Lycian we find forms in *-i* such as *tideimi* - "boy", which are simultaneously nom. sing. and plur., dat. and acc. sing. (19). In other cases, there are specialized forms which are doubtless recent ones.

Some doubts must be expressed, however, on the nom.-acc. sing. *-a*, *-i*: some of them may be forms of the neutrum (*cumehi*, pl. *cumeha*), some others have perhaps lost *-s* or *-m*. But *tideimi*, nom. sing., is no neuter and it has not lost, it seems, an *-s* (cf. nom. pl. *tideimis*). In any case, many forms of gen. and dat. sing. (or sing.-plur.) are secure enough examples of pure stems.

V

It was not and could not be my intention in this paper to collect all the possible archaisms of nominal inflexion in the Anatolian languages; I have only done this to a certain extent by following the footsteps of other former linguists. I believe I have broadened the research begun by them and I have given it a sound basis through using certain phonetic theories and others related to the origin of

case inflexion. Neither could I, of course, trace a history of the evolution of nominal inflexion within the sphere of the Anatolian languages. Even so, I believe that the results thus obtained may help those who might undertake this task.

There is not, in fact — and this may be one of the conclusions — a model of nominal inflexion characteristic of all these languages. There are only certain common foundations on the strength of which the different languages operated in directions which at times coincided and at others not. Some of these common principles could be:

1) There is no feminine gender, but there is opposition of common/neuter, albeit with remains of indifferent forms; there are also some in the sing./plur. opposition. The diverse languages take these differentiations to a greater or lesser extent, using resources which are mainly new.

2) Certain cases may be marked either by means of endings or by the pure stem; the diverse languages select one or the other procedure or else alternate both according to the stems. Other cases are only marked by the pure stem (the end of which may have spread secondarily, now converted into an ending, as in the case of *-i* and *-a, -a//*; thus, the dat.-loc. sing.-plur. (reduced in Hittite to the sing.). Finally, others are originally pure stems, but add enlargements of IE or Anatolian origin. According to the greater or lesser use of endings and enlargements, the predominance of the pure stems is reduced to a greater or lesser extent. These take diverse degrees of alternance and give certain phonetic results. All of this is used to differentiate the cases.

3) With regard to the old endings, in the whole of Anatolian there are traces left of a nom./acc. opposition in which in the animates, the nom. takes a pure stem or one with **-s*, **-os* and the acc. takes **-m*, **-om* (but also a pure stem in Lycian). There are also traces of another opposition between determined noun/determiner in which this latter takes **-s* or **-os* (also *-om*); there is a general attempt to break with the homonymy of the nom. and the determiner (gen.), but Hittite does not always manage this. The other languages innovate by substituting the gen. for adjectives or for a pure stem in

-*ehi* which is also at times adjectivized. There is also the opposition between the other cases and the voc., either a pure stem or formally specialized (cf. R. Stefanini, 1974: 37-43).

4) If the fact that the pure stems may refer to diverse cases should not seem surprising, it is indeed worth noting that the endings we have classified as of the gen. are used at times in another function, above all in that of dat.-loc., sing. and plur. It has been said that this is an old phenomenon (cf. Ambrosini: 1960). This may be so and *-s and *-m may have been used for all types of determinations, although later they tended to be restricted to those of nom. and gen. But it may also be a case of a secondary spreading within Hittite.

From here onwards, one should go into depth in two contrary directions: the history of the Anatolian group and its prehistory in IE II and even further back than this.

As far as the Anatolian group is concerned, Hittite displays certain innovations: a) scant use of the *h*, b) reduction of the pure stems to the dat.-loc. sing., to the voc. sing. and to the nom.-acc. plur. n., c) wide spreading of the abl. and instr., d) fusion of stems in *-ā and *-o are the main ones. There are archaisms such as the preservation of the gen. (lost in other languages), the wide use of the nom. plur. in *-es, etc. As regards the other Anatolian languages, they should be studied one by one. We have already seen their archaisms and some of their innovations and there is more which I cannot deal with here. Moreover, it is sometimes doubtful as to which language innovates.

On the other hand, if we now refer to the declension of Anatolian within the history of IE, we should say that, to judge from the common elements which are to be found in the inflexions of the different Anatolian languages and which may be attributed to IE II, the inflexion of this latter was not very fully developed. To a great extent, the use of pure stems continued where, in other instances, special resources were used to mark the animate or inanimate or the plural or the nom. or acc. or gen. Pure stems which did not suffer the concurrence of marked forms or suffered it only restrictedly, were left. The problem cannot be solved here, but together with the three

cases mentioned (and the voc.), all the rest make up a block, from which it is not certain that the instr. and abl. had already broken away in IE II. They are not known in several Anatolian languages, in fact, and seem recent in Hittite, although they use Indo-European adverbial characterizing elements.

The inflexion of IE II was only formally marked to a slight extent and even so, it used to mark the nom. and the acc., the same determiners, which it used as allomorphs in the gen. (for which the pure stem could also be used and similarly at times for the nom. and the acc., as also for the voc.). I have explained elsewhere (cf., for example, my 1975: 441 ff., 433 ff.), that the animates needed these two determinations for the verb has two actants, subject and object, and they had to be independently marked. The noun has only one actant or determiner: the gen. Therefore, it used **-s* and **-m* indiscriminately, although it tended to distribute them between the two numbers (in general terms, it anticipated IE III in this). In any case, the problem of homonymy which resulted from this had an important effect on the evolution of the Anatolian languages, which in general eliminated the gen., as also on that of IE III, which characterized it in several ways.

There is no doubt that other archaisms could be pointed out: for example, the conversion of pure genitive stems to adjectival ones, albeit not totally completed. I believe, however, that although the differences between Anatolian (and IE II) and IE III are less noticeable in the nominal system than in the verbal one, the foregoing will suffice to show that such differences do in fact exist and that they are important.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Adrados, 1962: 145-161 (communiqué read in 1961); 1965 (2nd ed. 1974); 1975; 1979: 261-282; 1982: 1-35; 1985; 1987; (among other publications).
- (2) These ideas do not bear much relation to those which suggest an Indo-European ergative, into the criticism of which I cannot enter

here (cf. my 1985). They nevertheless display certain coincidences, for example, with W.P. Lehmann, 1958: 179-212, who suggests that in PIE the *-m* indicated a "non-active object" and that the *-s* indicated "an individual involved in the action" (although not only this). The greatest difference lies in the fact that to my mind *-m* and *-s* are old **enlargements** with no specific meaning which were only later defined in an opposition system. And that, as I state, I do not support the ergative theory.

- (3) And not as a result of a *-H* of n. plur. as V. Georgiev believes, for example, 1973: 43-50; however I cannot go into the details here.
- (4) Cf. my remarks in 1981a: 242.
- (5) Another regularization is that of Hitt. O.N. *ḫumaz* (< **-nts*)/O.I. *ḫuman*, O.N. nom. *alkištaš* (< **-ns*)/ acc. *alkišanam*; cf. Georgiev, 1975:141. It is comparable to that of Greek *ἄλς/ἄλός*.
- (6) Cf. my 1975: 441 ff. Puhvel (1982: 192 ff.) wonders whether *elzi* 'scales' is a dual form from **elt-ī*. But an isolated conjecture is not enough for attributing this number to Anatolian.
- (7) Cf. Rosenkranz 1972: 2: *man antuwahḫaš šuppi*.
- (8) Cf. on these, H. Mittelberger, 1966: 99-106, plus articles by Meriggi and Laroche quoted elsewhere in this paper; and for the Indo-European connections, J. González-Fernández, 1978: 301-317.
- (9) On all this, see, apart from Mittelberger's article, P. Meriggi, in his 1928 and 1978 articles on the declension of Lycian.
- (10) Cf. in the same sense Ph.H. Houwinck ten Cate, 1961.
- (11) Cf. Watkins, 1975: 358 ff. and Adrados, 1981b: 197-219.
- (12) Cf. Kronasser, 1966: 209 and Adrados, 1981a: 242, as likewise diverse etymologies in my 1973: 341 ff.
- (13) I give the bibliography in my 1981a.
- (14) Laroche, 1969: 54. He translates as "mère divine", but he himself later understands *ēnilahi ebiyehi* as a genitive — "mère de l'enceinte que voici". For the nominative sing.-plur. in *-i* already without *h* (see below) of Lycian, cf. Meriggi in the first part (1928) of his article, *tideimi* also dative and accusative sing. (but also nominative sing. *cumehi*, nominative-accusative n. plur. *cumaha*).
- (15) Besides my 1973, *loc. cit.*, see now my 1981a and 1981b: 193-235.
- (16) And other forms of other timbres and this one itself: cf. my

1975: 462 ff.

- (17) Cf. O. Carruba, 1982: 47: the ablative is lengthened in *-ijati*.
- (18) On derivatives from pure stems, cf. J. Jasanoff, 1973: 125-128.
- (19) The loss of final consonants cannot be totally excluded (in Luwian there is nominative sing. *-iš* / accusative sing. *-in*).

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BCILL 42 : LINGUISTIC HAPPENING, 41-47

AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN EDGAR H. STURTEVANT AND J. ALEXANDER KERNS ON THE "IS ARMENIAN AN ANATOLIAN LANGUAGE?" QUESTION

Yoël L. ARBEITMAN

On Aug. 25, 1983 the widow of Prof. J. Alexander Kerns (1894-1975), Dr. Barbara Jean Griffith Kerns, a Celtic and Germanic scholar, passed away. As Prof. Kerns' literary executor, the duty of sorting and classifying the papers of both J. Alexander and Jean Kerns devolved on me. Apparently, Prof. Kerns preserved none of his linguistic correspondence and only the accident of his enclosing an original letter with a personal letter to his future wife has preserved such items as that presented here (1).

1. The Letter from Sturtevant

May 20, '46

Dear Mr. Kerns,

I have just heard from Lane that you and Schwartz are going to contribute an article on Armenian to the Dictionary of Languages.

I have just finished my article on the Anatolian Languages, in which I had to take a position on Austin's suggestion about Armenian. Of course you will want to know what I have said, although there will, of course, be no attempt to compel agreement. Unfortunately I have distributed all the carbons I had made except one, which I must keep by me. I can, however, send you the original pencilled MS. Please remember that many changes and additions have been made since this was written, but the main course of the argument has not been changed. If you are interested in any particular point I can send you the revised text of that part or I can send you the revised carbon for a few days, if

you prefer. I'm glad you have undertaken the job. I'm sure it will be well-done.

Sincerely yours,
E.H. Sturtevant

P.S. The few words I have to say on Armenian are on pp. 41 f.
E.H.S.

2. From Kerns' Letter

Although there is no copy of Kerns' reply to Sturtevant, I have been able to extract from Kerns' letter to Jean Griffith (referred to above) the following personal glimpse into the musings of a scholar as he was generating a paper:

May 23, '46

Sturtevant sent the letter enclosed, with draft of his article —that old Austin business still is a bit of a sore point with him, I fear, but old E.H.S. is one square-shooter, and, well reminded by some advice you've given me, I want to be square with him. I wouldn't send him a full draft of ours, yet, but did send him one of the only passages where the matter came up. I think we were decent to Austin, recognizing his discovery, and not calling to mind his errors.

Here is what Edgar says about us, after mentioning Austin's art in Lang. 18.22-5 (1942):

'J. Alexander Kerns and Benjamin Schwartz, Lang. 18.226-8 (1942) seriously weaken all of Austin's arguments except the apparent retention of an Indo-Hittite laryngeal as initial h in several words. They also point out that Armenian preserves IE pāter and māter in hayr and mayr, whereas these words have not been found in any other Anatolian languages.

'In spite of the probable retention of an Indo-Hittite laryngeal as initial h in several words, Armenian is not an Anatolian language. Possibly it should not be grouped with Indo-European either; we may have to assume a triple division of Proto-Indo-Hittite, into Armenian, Anatolian, and Indo-European.'

So Sturtevant; he concedes, you see, that Arm. isn't Anatolian, but I think there is no real evidence to support the suggestion made in his last sentence: I don't intend to polemicize on the point but am saying this at an approp. place (this part of draft sent him):

Depite an archaism suggesting Anatolian (4.11), Armenian is an 'IE proper' language, being a satem-dialect, possibly of the so-called 'Thracio-Phrygian' branch (?), which infiltrated into the Lake Van-Ararat area formerly occupied by an Asianic-speaking population (Kingdom of Urartu, ca. 900-600 B.C.: 'Vannic' inss.) and eventually supplanted their speech, doubtless itself undergoing much alteration in the process; note that the IE palatals $*\tilde{k}$, $*\tilde{g}$, $*\tilde{g}h$ > Arm. s, c, j (-z- intervocalic): tasn '10', acem 'I lead', jiwn 'snow': Gk. δέκα, ἄγω, χίων, whereas the IE labiovelars generally fall together with the pure velars: krownk 'crane', kov 'cow': Gk. ἑρᾱνος (IE $*g$), βοῦς (IE $*g^h$).

Will try to get a complete draft off to you soon: it's nearly done, & has been a hell of a lot of fun though much hard work, a-doing.

Then, on the heels of that, came Hoenigswald's letter on Phrygian: it's half a trap (not intended that way), but I don't intend to be made to say that if Arm. is IE proper, it must therefore belong with Phrygian: all I know about Phrygian is that it's Indo-Eur. —not sure whether it's centum or satem—

Spot it?

"Ship me somewheres east of Suez, where the flyin' fish are wise, And there ain't no labiovelars; ~~and the~~ palatals spiranticize" (2).

Bad poetry, because you don't really have to go that far East to hit it! —Anyhow, I suppose I'll do it— that is, a sep. article on Phrygian —damned if I'll include it with Arm. unless I get convinced it belongs there.

3. Hoenigswald's Query and the Armenian-Phrygian "Trap"

Hoenigswald's "letter on Phrygian" was but a query concerning who would cover what:

5-21-46

Dear Professor Kerns,

I understand from Professor Lane that you will contribute a section on Armenian to the Dictionary of Languages. On his suggestion I am writing to you in order to find out whether (as I wish you would) you are going to include Phrygian. Mr. Sturtevant, in his section on Anatolian languages, has, as you perhaps know already, made brief mention of Phrygian to show that it "is certainly not one of the Anatolian languages." I wonder if you want to treat it more fully, or if I should, as part of my assignment which covers the remnant languages of the Mediterranean area.

Very sincerely yours,
Henry M. Hoenigswald.

The "trap" which Kerns saw such an inclusive Armenian-Phrygian article fraught with was quite simply that only four years previously he and Schwartz had fought against an attempt to make Armenian part of the Anatolian part of the Proto-Language. In Kerns' terminology "if Arm. is IE proper" means "rather than IH or of the Anatolian branch of IH" (3). Relatively speaking, it was not so long since Armenian had been given a status independent of Iranian; now it had been claimed as part of Anatolian (on this argument of Kerns and Schwartz against Austin, see now J.A.C. Greppin in *Bono Homini Donum: Essays in Historical Linguistics in Memory of J. Alexander Kerns* [Amsterdam, 1981], pp. 119-26). Any inclusion of Armenian in an article together with an examination of Phrygian would run a double risk, viz. 1) yet another connecting of Armenian with some IE language branch (4) and 2) perhaps more problematic to Kerns, the specific connection with a language that is, at least geographically, "Anatolian" (though today, at least quite generally, recognized as not genetically "Anatolian").

4. The Fate of The Dictionary of Languages

The IE part of this book was to include articles by Hoenigswald on the remnant languages, by Kerns and Schwartz on Armenian, by Sturtevant on the Anatolian languages, and by Buck on Greek. This much I know and that the IE materials were to be edited first while articles on non-IE languages would first be coming in to Prof. Lane (who was apparently general editor) later (5).

Prof. Hoenigswald has informed me that the Dictionary never appeared and, as far as he recalls, this had something to do with the work which was then proceeding for the new edition of Meillet-Cohen. As Prof. Kerns' linguistic papers, sketches, drafts and such come to the thousands, if not the tens of thousands, I have not been able to tell yet whether he ever wrote such a draft. One useful purpose of this note would be to invite word from any colleagues who might know of the existence of such manuscripts by any of the other participants.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Since the Sturtevant letter and the extracts from the Kerns letter are both transcribed from hand-written letters, I have made every attempt to reproduce faithfully, in the printed medium, the style, punctuation, spacing and —on one occasion— where it seems purposeful, even a pair of stricken out words (see next note).
- (2) I have reproduced these words, together with the expunge marks in the letter, as Prof. Kerns probably deleted them for the sake of meter although I (at least) find the words necessary for a comprehension of the sense of the lines. One must recall that Kerns had published a book of poetry (Newark, 1946).
- (3) Kerns' uncharacteristically strong feelings on this subject and, particularly, in relation to Sturtevant, must be seen against the background of e.g. Sturtevant's remarks in *The Indo-Hittite Laryngeals* (Baltimore, 1942), § 22e:

It further study proves that Austin's suggestion is valid, its importance for the comparative grammar of Hitt. and for the reconstruction of IH will be very great indeed. For the moment, however, we can merely recognize that there is a task for the future. In this book I shall take account of the possible reclassification of Arm. chiefly in eliminating Arm. evidence from the reconstruction of IE. In the few places where Arm. forms are cited I do not intend to decide whether they are evidence for Proto-IE or for Proto-Anatolian.

Notice Sturtevant is not here speaking of a Proto-IH with 3 ramifications: IE, Proto-Anatolian, and Pre-Armenian, but of Arm. as a daughter Anatolian language on a par with Hittite, Luwian, Palaic, etc., etc. The trifurcation of Proto-IH seemed to be the view he was inclining to 4 years later. Then in the 1951 revised ed. of *A Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language* (New Haven), p.14, together with fnn. 23 and 24, he notes:

Some have held that Phrygian or Armenian or both should be added to the list [of Anatolian languages]. ... In the following I shall omit all references to Phrygian (Holger Pedersen... has claimed a close relationship between Hittite and Phrygian. ... This is not enough [evidence]) and to Armenian (... J.A. Kerns and Benjamin Schwartz... argue against him [Austin's evidence for a close Armenian-Anatolian link]. To me it seems probable that Armenian is not an Anatolian language).

Sturtevant had had a hard and a long time giving up Armenian as somehow less than (or more than) IE Proper, even if (in his later view) not quite fully Anatolian either. This remained a source of pique to Kerns.

- (4) The (taxonomic) "independence" of the Armenian language has had and had had an even more precarious existence than the independence of an Armenian homeland as a state. From Hübschmann's time to that of Kerns and Schwartz, it had gone from "being Iranian" to "being Anatolian" (genetically).

In a certain sense then Kerns and Schwartz — in their celebrated 1942 article— may be considered as Modern and the latest, perhaps the final, liberators of Armenian.

- (5) Prof. Hoenigswald directed me in April, 1984 to Prof. Boyd Davis of The University of North Carolina at Charlotte. In a letter of May 5, 1984 she wrote me: "I vaguely remember a conversation with George [Lane] a number of years ago in which he referred to a projected volume, but he didn't mention what happened to it." She also made note of several other projects that both Prof. Lane and the rest of the group I have herein been referring to had planned, but which likewise apparently failed to materialize.

ADDENDUM

On April 8, 1988 Prof. Craig Melchert, the successor to Prof. Lane at Chapel Hill, wrote me that he had discovered the long-lost Kerns-Schwartz article on Armenian for the *Dictionary of Languages*. Furthermore, altogether 8 of the IE articles were there lying in the trove for the past 42 years.

BCILL 42 : LINGUISTIC HAPPENING, 49-97

LA PARTICULE HITTITE *SAN*

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§ 1. Polyvalence fonctionnelle de particules d'autres langues (véd. *kam*; ital. **kom-*; gr. $\kappa\epsilon(v)$, etc.) - § 2. Généralités sur les emplois de *san* - A. En syntagme verbal - § 3. Préverbe aspectuel? - § 4. Particule modale - § 5. Particule locale - § 6. Particule réfléchie - § 7. Thèmes pronominaux et diathèse moyenne - § 8. Etymologie - B. En syntagme pronominal - § 9. Particule personnelle renforçante - C. En syntagme nominal - § 10. Postposition en fonction de datif; de comitatif - § 11. Postposée au nom des "Barbares" - D. Dans le syntagme "prendre un gendre" - § 12. *San* et l'échange matrimonial exogamique - § 13. Le nom du "gendre" anatolien - § 14. Le nom de la "bru" **snuso-*.

1. Dans cette étude sur la particule hitt. *-san*, je voudrais montrer que cette dernière présente plusieurs des fonctions que peuvent assumer, de manière générale, les formes pronominales, ainsi que je l'ai exposé ailleurs (1) (Bader, 1982, 1983a, 1983b).

Je rappellerai, d'abord, quelles sont ces fonctions, que le thème pronominal (simple, ou agglutiné) peut remplir, qu'il soit un référent ou une particule (selon qu'il joue ou non un rôle casuel dans la phrase). L'une n'est pas spécifiquement pronominale: c'est la fonction prédicative, en phrase dite "nominale", en d'autres termes à prédicat non verbal (2). Sont propres aux pronoms, en revanche, d'une part la fonction syntaxique articulaire (ligateurs: relatif; etc.), d'autre part des fonctions sémiologiquement marquées: l'une, d'espace-temps; une autre, de personne-altérité; toutes deux concernent la situation

imposée objectivement au locuteur par le monde, par opposition à la troisième, de subjectivité, qui exprime des modalités diverses (3). D'autre part, un même thème pronominal peut remplir tout ou partie de ces fonctions; et, corollairement, une fonction donnée peut avoir pour signifiants des pronoms divers. L'anarchie qui pourrait résulter de cette situation peu saussurienne a pour palliatif la spécialisation d'un thème donné en une fonction donnée (p.ex. *se, réfléchi), sans que cette spécialisation soit nécessairement menée à son terme (p.ex. *so, nominatif du démonstratif, à côté de *se). Et je me demanderai si une particule telle que hitt. *-san*, de fonction contestée (4), n'est pas susceptible d'être multifonctionnelle, sans laxisme excessif, me semble-t-il: cette hypothèse de travail peut se fonder, p.ex., sur la polyvalence de *kom (et des particules apparentées) en une synchronie donnée (je laisse de côté hitt. *kan*, de fonctionnement en grande partie parallèle à celui de *-san*, puisque les deux particules s'excluent mutuellement (5), et qui est en rapport étymologique avec *kom, etc.) (6). Les synchronies choisies sont l'une védique, l'autre italique.

A.A. Macdonell distingue trois emplois pour véd. *kam* (7):

1. *kám* adverbe "with the full meaning 'well'", e.g. *kám me 'sat* "may it be well with me", et, sous forme négative, *á-kaṁ bhavati* "he fares not well"; la particule est donc, ici, prédicative;

2. *kám* a la même valeur atténuée après datif, soit dat. commodi, s'appliquant à la personne au bénéfice de laquelle est faite l'action, e.g. *kásmāi kám agnihotrāṁ hūyata itī* "for whose benefit is the Agnihotra offered?", soit datif final, avec des abstraits, e.g. *tvā́ṁ devāso amṛtāya kām papuḥ* "thee the gods have drunk for the love of immortality"; c'est donc une postposition casuelle (comme *-san* après datif: § 11);

3. *kam*, atone, se trouve agglutiné à *nú*, *sú*, *hí*: *nú kam* apparaît avec l'injonctif, l'impératif, le subjonctif, l'indicatif, et se trouve dans des phrases relatives; *sú kam* n'apparaît qu'avec l'impératif; *hí kam*, en général avec l'indicatif (parfois omis, dit Macdonell, ce qui revient à dire en phrase nominale), parfois avec l'impératif ou le subjonctif. Exemples: *áso nú kam ajáro várdhās* ca "be unaging and grow";

tīṣṭhā sū kaṃ, maghavan, mā párá gāḥ "pray stand still, bounteous god, go not further"; *rājā hī kaṃ bhūvanānām abhisīṭh* "for he indeed is the king who rules over beings": *kaṃ* "means 'willingly', 'gladly', 'indeed', but the sense is generally so attenuated as to be untranslatable"; en tout cas, *kaṃ*, dernier de la chaîne enclitique (comme *-san*) est "suffixé" (comme on dirait en grammaire celtique ou tokharienne à propos des référents (8)), au prédicat, verbal ou nominal, en des fonctions qui devraient faire l'objet de recherches, comme pour *-san*. De plus, *nú kaṃ* est un exemple de polyvalence fonctionnelle, si l'on fait intervenir des données comparatives: à véd. *nú kaṃ* a été comparé le gr. *νυ κε(ν)* (9), qui apparaît dans des exemples comme

Θ 90 | ~~~~~ καί νυ κεν εἴνεθ' ὃ γέρων ἀπὸ θυμὸν δλεσσει
εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὅξυ νόησε βοῆν ἄγαθὸς Διομήδης

"le vieillard eût perdu la vie si D. ne l'eût aperçu de son oeil perçant" (Mazon): l'on a, dans un système conditionnel dont la principale précède la subordonnée, un jeu de particules de protase, annonçant qu'une subordonnée va suivre, donc à fonction syntaxique articulaire déictique (toutes proportions gardées comme *μέν*) (10). L'agglutination des deux particules existe aussi en hittite, mais de façon segmentable: dans *nu-kan* (qui apparaît quand aucun enclitique ne sépare les deux), *nu-* est ligateur, *-kan*, indépendamment, est comparable à *-san* (11).

En italique, **kom* apparaît dans les sphères sémiologiques de l'altérité (comme véd. *kám* après datif), avec valeur comitative "avec" (osq.-ombr. *com* + ablatif *-comitatif*, comme lat. *com*), comme préposé à des noms (ombr. *com prinuatir stahitu* "stand with the assistants"), postposé à des pronoms (ombr. *eru-com* "avec lui", comme lat. *quibus-cum*, etc.); et de l'espace, postposé en valeur locative à des noms: ombr. *ASA-KU* "à l'autel"; *nertru-co persi* "au pied gauche" (12), avec le même ordre des mots que, p.ex.

Γ 240 νέεσθ' ἐνι ποντοπόροις; E479 Ἐάνθω ἐπὶ δινηέντι.

En emploi spatial, l'osque a, apparenté, **ke*: *ce-bnust* "uenerit", où le préverbe indique un mouvement comme dans la particule d'intimation

déictique lat. *ce(-do)* (13). De plus, dans la catégorie de la subjectivité, le préverbe est aspectuel dans le type lat. *cōn-ficō* (indiquant l'achèvement du procès) (14).

Ailleurs, des particules apparentées peuvent être modales (gr. *κε, κεν, κιν, κᾱ*) (15). Et, hors de sphères sémiologiquement marquées, où nous venons de les rencontrer, elles peuvent offrir la fonction syntaxique de relation: gr. *καί*; vén. *ke* "et".

Enfin, elles ont pu être l'objet de lexicalisations: le substantif osq. (acc. plur. nt.) *comono* "comitia" est issu de **kom-no-* (16); quant à l'adjectif gr. *κοινός*, on peut l'analyser soit par **kono-*, parallèle pour la structure à skr. *anyá-* "autre" (**ani-o-*, parallèle à **ali-o-*, lat. *ali(u)s*, etc.), soit, parce qu'il semble que dans la particule à nasale, celle-ci soit labiale, plutôt par **koi-no-*, en comparant le terme hittite qui peut être issu de cette forme, et avoir été lexicalisé dans le vocabulaire de la parenté, ^{LÚ} *kaena(nt)-* "parent par alliance" (17).

2. Comme les autres thèmes pronominaux, **kom* peut être tonique ou atone: le védique a *kám* et *kam*. Comme certains d'entre eux (e.g. **k^{We}*), *-san* est seulement atone (et le dernier de la chaîne enclitique). Cela revient à dire que, dans la mesure où on pourra la considérer, quand elle est en association avec des verbes, comme préverbe, la particule aura la particularité d'être un préverbe atone, et non tonique ou proclitique, comme le sont les préverbes usuels en fonction de leur place dans la phrase, et du caractère atone ou tonique du verbe, principal ou subordonné, à l'origine; dans les syntagmes où elle pourra éventuellement s'associer avec des pronoms ou des noms, la particule se trouvera, au contraire, dans des conditions familières, en postposition, non sans qu'on puisse théoriquement se demander si, dans certains cas, elle n'est pas à la fois préverbe et préposition (§ 5).

Les fonctions qu'on peut proposer, à titre d'hypothèse de travail, pour *-san* (18) vont être décrites dans l'ordre suivant:

A. En syntagme verbal:

1. Préverbe aspectuel (?), fonction relevant du supplétisme

verbo-pronominal, comme celui de:

2. Particule modale
3. Préverbe spatial de verticalité, et
4. comportant conjointement un sème réfléchi, dans la catégorie de la personne.

Du point de vue de la structure mélodique de la phrase, que je n'étudie pas ici (19), l'ordre Préverbe... Verbe comporte ce qu'on appelle une "tmèse" (20); à la différence de ce qui se passe dans les tmèses usuelles, le préverbe n'est ni le premier mot de la phrase, dont le segment initial comporte un premier mot toujours tonique, suivi d'enclitiques enchaînés en un ordre fixe dans une langue donnée (21), ni le premier mot du secteur médian qui suit, et ne comporte que des termes accentués, en l'occurrence essentiellement les noms (devant le troisième segment, indifférent à l'accent - comme la fin de vers est indifférente à la quantité -, où se trouve le verbe, parfois suivi d'enclitique); à cet égard, on opposera à *-san*, dernier de la chaîne enclitique, même en fonction de préverbe:

Hom., II. I 436 ἐκ δ' εὐνᾶς ἔβαλον, κατὰ δὲ πρυμνῆσι
ἔδησαν;

ou I 40 ἡ εἰ δὴ ποτέ τοι κατὰ πόνον μηρί' ἔκηα:

B. En syntagme pronominal, particule personnelle renforçante, dans la sphère de la personne-altérité; et, dans la même sphère:

C. En syntagme nominal, postposition:

1. en valeur de datif;
2. en valeur de comitatif;
3. ajoutée au nom des "Barbares", et acheminant du statut de particule à celui de lexicalisation, tout comme:

D. Devant le syntagme nom + verbe "prendre un gendre".

*
* *

A. En syntagme verbal. 1. Préverbe aspectuel (?)

3. J'examinerai d'abord la dernière en date des interprétations de *-san*, qui donne à la particule une valeur aspectuelle. Cette valeur appartient au système supplétif verbo-nominal, dont je vais rappeler les principales données.

Toutes les catégories dites verbales autres que la diathèse, catégorie spécifique du verbe, sont susceptibles d'avoir des signifiants pronominaux: la *personne*, à laquelle est conjointe le *nombre*, si l'on admet l'origine pronominale des désinences verbales aux personnes du discours, première et seconde (22); le *temps*, par opposition aux désinences de diathèse (3ème p. moyenne *-e / active *-t, etc.) de particules (e.g. *-i: *-e-i, gr. -ει, hitt. -i, etc.; *-t-i), qui sont le plus ancien procédé d'expression du temps au plan des finales (23), et par préposition de *-e- dans le cas (dialectal) de l'augment; l'*aspect*, dans la mesure où il est lié à la durée dans une conjugaison bâtie autour du présent, qui indique la durée - l'aspect tel que l'indique le préverbe dans le type lat. *cōn-ficiō* n'ayant rien à voir avec l'aspect accompli qu'indique la forme verbale marquée sous le rapport de cette catégorie, le parfait; le *mode* enfin, les langues anatoliennes n'ayant d'autres signifiants de cette catégorie que les particules modales, au nombre desquelles je vais mettre -san en certains de ses emplois (§ 4).

L'interprétation de -san comme aspectuel est celle de F. Josephson (24) (designé ci-après J.), qui, après Götze et les autres, classe les emplois de la particule, ainsi que je l'ai déjà signalé, d'après les lexèmes verbaux.

Soit, avec ar- "arriver" (J., p. 176: = KUB XIII 2 III 23):
ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-e-eš-ma (24) [ku]-e-eš MA-AD-GA-LA-TI
 URU.DIDL.I.HI.A LU KUR-ša-an ku-e-da-aš (25) [ḫu-u-da-a]-ak
a-ar-ša-ki-iz-zi "The most advanced posts and the towns into which the enemy arrives at once...": J. est bien forcé de constater (p. 177) "that ... there is no reference to an arrival at the goal nor to a specific moment of effectuation", car c'est le verbe qui est de caractère "telic or transformative" (et, de fait, *arḫi* doit être bâti sur le thème du parfait de la racine *H₁er- "se tenir, se mettre debout" (25) de hitt. *arta*, et signifier originellement, avec l'aspect propre au parfait: "arriver" pour "s'être mis en mouvement" (lat. *orior*, ὀρνυμαι, autres transformations en présents d'un parfait révélé comme tel par le vocalisme *-o-), ce mouvement résultant lui-même du fait de "s'être mis debout". Dans ce cas, la valeur aspectuelle est donc dans la forme verbale, non dans la particule. Et la théorie aspectuelle de J. est loin de rendre compte de tous les

exemples, même d'un seul verbe, e.g. *ap-/ap-* "prendre" (J., p.179-186), dans les trois textes suivants:

nu ku-iš DUMU.SAL ħa-an-te-ez-zi-iš nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an
 LÚ *an-ti-ya-an-ta-an ap-pa-a-an-du nu LUGAL-uš a-pa-a-aš*
ki-ša-r[u] (BoTU 23 A II 38-39) "and the daughter who is of the
 first rank, let them take a husband for her, and may he become
 king" : cet exemple peut être rangé en C.4, où on le trouvera discuté
 (§ 12), ou en A.1 (particule modale avec impératif):

[*n*] *u-uš-ša-an DINGIR.MEŠ URU ħa-at-ti A-NA DINGIR.MEŠ KUR URU*
Ka₄-<as>-ka₄ x [] [a] p-pa-an-du (KUB XXXVI 115 + II 9-10)
 "and may the gods of Hatti take them [] to the gods of Kaskaš":
 ici, la particule est modale;

iš-pa-an-ti-mu-uš-ša-an ša-aš-ti-mi ša-a-ne-ez-zi-iš te-aš-ha-aš
 [*n*] *a-at-ta e-ep-[z]* (KUB XXX 10 Vo. 18) "at night no sweet dream
 takes hold of me in my bed": voici un exemple de B. (particule
 personnelle renforçante): § 9.

Et l'on peut distribuer le plus grand nombre des exemples dans les
 séries annoncées, où l'aspect ne joue aucun rôle.

A.2. Particule modale

4. Aspectuel, *-san* appartiendrait, on l'a vu, à l'appareil supplétif
 pronomino-verbal. De cet appareil relève une autre fonction, celle de
 particule modale, qui va être proposée à partir de bases autres que
 celles sur lesquelles on se fonde habituellement. Du point de vue de la
 méthode, je m'écarte ici et de Josephson et de Götze, ainsi que de
 ceux qui ont adopté l'interprétation spatiale que ce dernier a donnée
 de la particule: au lieu de classer les emplois de la particule
 uniquement d'après les lexèmes verbaux (*ar-*, *ep-*, etc.), on peut
 aussi songer à un classement qui, *simultanément*, repose sur la
 nature des classes de signes avec lesquels la particule entre en
 syntagme (verbes, mais aussi pronoms et noms), et, dans le cas du
 verbe, non seulement sur le contenu lexical de ce dernier, mais aussi
 sur le mode, comme le fait p.ex. Macdonell pour véd. *kam* atone (§
 1). Et l'on se demandera si *-san* (qui offre la même structure

formelle que hitt. *man*, gr. ἄν, ἕαν, lat. *for-san*, et cf. (*uti-*)*nam*, etc. (26), c'est-à-dire un thème pronominal de vocalisme *a suivi d'une particule nasale) n'est pas une particule d'éventualité, hors de la subordination, en particulier hors du système conditionnel proprement dit, où l'on trouve *takku*, ou *mān* en subordonnée, *man* en principale, etc. (27).

Soit les trois exemples que donne J. (p. 314) de *-san* avec *tittanu-* "placer":

za-aḥ-ḥi-ya-at-te-ni-ma-aš U-UL na-aš-ša-an KASKAL-an im-ma ti-it-ta-n[u-u]t-[-te-ni] (KUB XXIII 77 + 16-17) "and (if) you do not fight (them), and even put them on (their) road...";

[n]a-an-ša-an URUḪa-at-tu-ša-aš KASKAL-ši ti-it-ta-nu-ut-te-en (XXIII 77 +, 63) "and put him on the road to Hattusa";

na-an-ša-an [KASKAL-ši le-e ti-it-t]a-nu-ut-te-ni (XXIII 77 +, 100) "You shall not put him on his road".

Le premier se trouve en phase conditionnelle paratactique, sans conjonction conditionnelle (28), avec et sans négation; le second, avec impératif; le troisième dans une prohibitive, où *-san...le* rappelle l'emploi de *le-man* (avec un présent potentiel), qui fait lui-même penser à lat. *uti-nam nē* (29). Il est significatif que les exemples de *tittanu-* sans particule cités par J. (p.314-5) se rapportent à des faits qui se sont réellement produits, trois dans le passé, le quatrième comportant, à côté de *tittanu-* sans *-san*, un emploi de la particule avec *aniya-* "faire", qui se rapporte au futur:

nu-uš ták-ša-an ku-wa-p[l] a]n-da ti-it-ta-nu-mi na-aš ták-ša-an a-ni-ya-[mi] na-aš ki-iš-ša-an a-ni-ya-mi "when I place them together and treat them together, I treat them in the following way".

On rappellera le fait bien connu que le hittite est une des (nombreuses) langues i.e. sans futur: l'auxiliarité d'éventualité se fait ici, non pas au moyen d'une périphrase verbale (type angl. *I shall...*), mais d'une particule (30): *-san* est le signifiant de l'éventuel, avec ce qu'il comporte de temporel (cf. l'emploi des particules temporalisantes au présent et au passé à augment, § 3), et de modal.

L'on a d'autres exemples comparables, avec des verbes divers. On en retiendra un, *kis-* "devenir", dont le sens inclut cette valeur d'éventuel/futur: J., p.205 LUGAL-*uš-ša-an ħa-an-te-ez-zi-ya-aš-pát* DUMU. LUGAL DUMU^{RU} *ki-ik-ki-iš-ta-ru ták-ku* DUMU.LUGAL *ħa-an-te-ez-zi-iš* NU.GÁL *nu ku-iš ta-a-an pé-e-da-aš* DUMU^{RU} *nu* LUGAL-*uš a-pa-a-aš ki-ša-ru* (BoTU 23 A II 36) "A male royal child of the first rank shall become king. If there is no child of the first rank, the son of the second rank may become king". J., dans son commentaire (p.205), dit ceci: "The use of *-san* with *kikkis-* in a passage where the verb has the sense of 'become something' is without parallel in the corpus. The following *kisaru...* is without particle. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the use of *-san* is connected with the reduplicated form"; et il donne des exemples de *kis-* non redoublé accompagné de la particule. Celle-ci ne fait pas défaut au verbe dans le texte cité: elle est seulement en facteur commun aux deux verbes, fait bien connu pour d'autres emplois de particules pronominales. J. poursuit ainsi: "The conditions are seen as potential and the effectuation of the actions is uncertain"; et on le suivra volontiers sur ce point, en regrettant que, dans sa foulée aspectuelle, en quelque sorte, il ajoute: "The particle stresses the process": elle est éventuelle, comme dans les exemples qui viennent d'être cités, et dans ceux qui vont suivre. L'on en distinguera quatre séries:

a) éventuelles en parataxe: J., p.311 [*nu-uš-ša-an ħa-aš-si-[l]* *pa-aħ-ħu-ur pa-ra-iš-[te-ni]* *na-at-ta u[d-d]a-a-ar-me-e-[t]* *šar-ra-at-tu-ma m[a-a-an]-ša-an ħa-aš-si-i* [*pa-aħ-ħu-ur na-at-ta pa-ra-iš-te-ni ta ú-iz-zi* (KBo 3.27= BoTU 10 b, 23) "and (if) you blow on the fire on the hearth you do not break my commands thereby, (but) if you do not blow on the fire on the hearth, it will happen that..." (mais voir, sur ce texte difficile, A. Archi, *SMEA* 116, 1975, 83 sq.).

b) potentielles en subordination:

1° dans la subordonnée: il en est ainsi dans la seconde phrase de l'énoncé précédent (*man-san*), où se trouve la particule, ici encore en facteur commun (mais dans la seconde phrase). Voici un exemple avec *takku* comme conjonction de subordination, J., p.305 ("Kaniu took

boiling pork and placed it in front of DUMU.MAH.LIL (thinking))":
ták-ku-wa-aš-ša-an ki-i ħa-az-zi-zi ta-wa DINGIR^{LUM}
ták-ku-wa-aš-ša-an na-at-ta-ma ħa-a[z-zi-zi] ta-an-tu-wa-aĥ-ĥi-eš
 (BoTU 21, 12) "if he sticks this (on the spit), he is a god, but if he
 does not stick it (on), he is a human";

2° dans la principale en apodose, après subordonnée en *man*, ou en *takku*:

J., p. 299 [*ták-(ku)*] *ta-iš-zi-in ku-iš-ki lu-uk-ki-iz-zi*
 [GU(D.ĤI.A-ŠŪ *e-et-ri*)]-*iš-ki-iz-zi [(nu-uš-ša-a)]n pa(ra-a*
ħa-me-eš-ħa-an-da ar-[(nu-zi ta-iš-zi-in)] [(EGIR-pa pa)]-a-i
 (Lois, § 100) "if someone sets fire to a barn, he will nourish his
 cattle and carry them over to the following spring, and he will give
 (the content of) the barn back to him";

J., p. 313 *ták-ku-ša-an* GIDIM-*it ti-an-zi LÚ MA SALTUM Ú-UL*
ħa-ra-a-tar "if they step together with a dead man or woman, there
 is no offence" (Lois, § 190);

c) avec impératif:

J., p. 308 *nu-mu wa-aš-du-ul-me-et [te-e-ŋd-du ne-za-an*
ga-ni-eš-mi (KUB XXX 10 Ro 24) "may he tell my sins, and I shall
 confess them": après la première phrase à l'impératif, la particule
 accompagne un indicatif au sens futur; on la trouve avec l'impératif:

J., p. 308 [(*nu-uš-ma-ša-an UZU* KAXUD-*it*)] *ka-ri-ip-ten* (BoTU
 23 A II 73) "and devour them with your teeth";

J., p. 304 *gi-im-mi-ya-aš-sa-[a]n A-NA GUD.MEŠ LUGAL*
IGI.ĤI.A-wa ħar-du (KUB XIII 2 IV 23) "and during the winter he shall
 keep his eyes on the royal cattle"; mais, dans cet exemple, et dans
 les exemples comparables de *-san sakuwa- ħar(k)-* "surveiller (tenir
 les yeux sur)", l'emploi de la particule peut aussi s'expliquer par le
 fait qu'il s'agit d'un verbe (de perception) en diathèse moyenne
 dynamique (§ 7).

d) prohibitives (type *utinam nē*): avec *le-e*:

J., p. 309 *nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an ú-e-el-lu-uš ħa-a-li-iš-ši*
a-ša-ú-ni-iš-ši šu-up-li-eš-ši le-e lu-lu-wa-it-ta "and the meadows
 shall not prosper for his pen and his sheep-fold and his cattle" (KBo

VI 34 IV 13):

J., p. 312 *le-e-ma-mu-uš-ša-an pa-aš-ku-i-it-ta* (BoTU 8 III 65) "do not neglect me"; mais cet exemple, et d'autres, comme BoTU III 69, pourraient aussi être compris comme contenant une particule personnelle renforçante, après *-mu-*, cf., sans prohibition, ni éventualité, J., p.312: *nu-mu-uš-ša-an ar-ḥa pa-aš-ku-ut-ta* (KUB XXX 10 Vo. 2) "and you neglected me".

A.3. Préverbe spatial de verticalité

5. J'en viendrai maintenant à l'interprétation la plus généralement retenue de *-san*, comme particule locale, qui est la première en date, celle de Götze, suivie et développée (surtout pour *-kan*) par Pedersen (respectivement G. et P.), et qu'on trouvera dans le manuel de Friedrich (31). Trois points retiendront ici mon attention: le statut de *-san* préverbe et, de manière possible, préposition; la définition du contenu spatial de la particule; la conjonction du sème spatial et d'un sème réfléchi ou, si l'on veut, d'un adjuvant de diathèse sémantique moyenne.

Pour ce qui est du premier point, je partirai d'un exemple homérique, *Il.* 20, 150 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἄρρηκτον νεφέλην ὤμοισιν ἔσσαντο ("ils revêtent un nuage impénétrable sur leurs épaules"): c'est l'un des nombreux exemples du texte homérique "où la construction prépositionnelle est en train de se constituer, et où l'on peut se demander si nous avons affaire à une préposition, ou à un adverbe, ou à un préverbe" (32). On peut se poser la même question p.ex. pour (P., p.153):

na-at-ša-an ^{GiŠ} *la-aḥ-ḫu-ri su-uḥ-ḫa-l* "und es leert es auf einen Opfertisch" (et l'on observera qu'on a ici la même structure de phrase que dans l'ex. grec, avec les trois segments: chaîne pronominale tonique et enclitiques + secteur nominal accentué + verbe final, qu'on peut présumer atone en tant qu'il est principal, et qui se trouve à la fin de la phrase, indifférente à l'accent; dans les deux cas, il y a tmèse du préverbe/préposition (particule) et du verbe. Le même problème se pose pour une forme reconnue comme préverbe telle que *ser*, et, en syntagme nominal, comme postposition (de la question "ubi", alors que l'apparenté *-sara* est une postposition de la question "quo") (33), mais qui peut être préverbe/préposition: ainsi

dans l'exemple (avec ses trois segments de phrase) *še-er-še-me-ta* [G]IR ZABAR *ki-it-ta* (KBo XVII 1+ I 31) "and on the top of them lies a dagger of bronze" (J., p.203).

Le contenu spatial de *-san* a été défini par Götze "Auf und Über" (cf. n.31). On précisera ces vues, en ajoutant que le préverbe indique la verticalité à la fois avec et sans mouvement, et sans opposition entre mouvement vers le haut ou vers le bas: ces précisions sont données, dans un grand nombre de cas, mais non nécessairement toujours, respectivement par *ser*, ainsi qu'on en fait généralement état (34), mais aussi, comme l'a vu Pedersen, par *katta* (35). Exemples de verticalité

a) avec mouvement vers le bas: *nu-za-an kat-ta šu-me-in-za-an par-ku-wa-i...* GIŠ^ŠÚ.A *e-eš-te-en* "sitzet (nur gemütlich) auf eurem reinen Throne" (P., p.160, qui compare κἀθημαι);

b) sans mouvement: verticalité dirigée vers le haut, mais *še-ir-ra-aš-ša-an ŠA GIŠ^{LU}Š ar-ta-ri* ("und darauf steht ein Wagenlenker aus Holz" (P., p.153);

c) avec mouvement vers le haut:

nu-za-an ma-a-an A-NA DUTUŠ^Š še-ir SAG.DU-KA-pát še-ir a-ut-ti "und wenn du auf die Sonne (als) auf deine Person blickst" (G., p.31): la perception visuelle, en moyen sémantique dynamique, se fait par élévation des yeux vers le Soleil; on ajoutera, à ce verbe de perception un verbe gestuel:

nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an UDU UZUGAB-i še-ir e-ip-zi "und er hält ihm das Schaf über die Brust" (G., p.33): le mouton a été porté par un mouvement d'élévation sur la poitrine; mais on ne peut savoir, ici, si l'emploi de *-san*, après *-si-*, n'est pas celui d'une particule personnelle renforçante (§ 9).

A.4. Particule de verbe réfléchi

6. Je répartirai maintenant les exemples de Götze par groupes sémantiques, en tenant compte, à l'intérieur de ces derniers, des flexions, afin de montrer qu'au sème spatial de verticalité se joint, dans un certain nombre de cas, un sème réfléchi (comme nous disons

"se tenir debout, s'asseoir"), en rapport avec la diathèse sémantique moyenne de ces verbes, "Verben des 'Setzens, Legens, und Stellens'" (avec les intransitifs correspondants), selon Götze, et, plus largement, verbes corporels non seulement de positions, mais de mouvement, de gestes, de perception (visuelle), et d'émission (de la voix), sans que, comme dans le cas de *-kan*, on trouve des verbes concernant la vie psychique (36).

a) positions corporelles:

ar- "se tenir, se mettre debout"; moyen (*ar-ta*) (37);

es- "être assis"; "s'asseoir" (avec *-za*); moyen *es -a*; factitif *as-es-* "asseoir", "installer", de la conjugaison en *-hi* (*asas-i*), dont on connaît les attaches avec le moyen;

ki- "être couché", moyen (*kitta*);

dai- "installer, placer", en *-hi* (*dai*);

tittanu- "installer", de la conjugaison en *-mi* (*tittanu(z)zi*);

b) mouvement: *ar-* "arriver", en *-hi*;

c) perception visuelle, *au(s)-*, à conjugaison à moitié en *-hi* (*uhhi*, *autti*), à moitié en *-mi* (*auszi*); on y ajoutera l'émission vocale, "appeler" de conjugaison en *-hi* (*halzihhi*, *halzesti*, *halzai*) (38), avec un doublet en *-ya-mi*; et, surtout, un doublet moyen (*halziya*);

d) verbes gestuels:

lahhu- "verser", moyen (*lahuwa*, *lahuwatta*), et en *-hi* (*lahui*, *lahuwai*); *suhha-*, en *-hi* (*suhhai*);

ishiya- "attacher", en *-hi* (*ishai*), avec un doublet en *-ya-mi*;

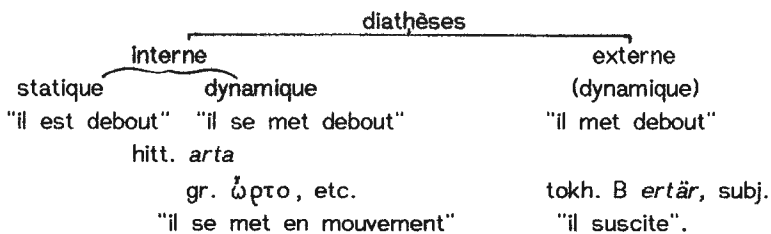
ep- "prendre, tenir" (ex. cité § 5; 12), en *-mi*, comme le sont aussi: *pessiya-* "lancer"; *tlya-* "marcher, s'installer".

C'est dire qu'au sème spatial de verticalité s'ajoute un sème réfléchi, au sens étroit (comme en français "se tenir debout, s'asseoir"), ou, mieux, au sens large qu'on emploie lorsqu'on parle des "verbes réfléchis" occidentaux, du baltique (39), du slave (40), (ainsi que du germanique (41), ou des langues romanes), verbes qui, avec une flexion active, ont pu succéder aux verbes à flexion moyenne. En voici des exemples en slave, où les valeurs de la forme réfléchie sont diverses: réfléchi: *vŭzvratiti* se "se retourner" (diathèse

sémantique interne dynamique); *sūbīrati* sē "se réunir" (avec un sème d'altérité qui a pour signifiant le préverbe); anciens moyens *boitŭ* sē répondant à skr. *bháyate*, de diathèse sémantique moyenne, comme: *bljudp* sē "observer" plus fréquent que *bljudq*; *plakati* sē "pleurer", exprimant un sentiment du sujet; *moliti* sē "prier (à son profit)", en regard de *moliti* "prier" (cf. skr. *yájate/-ti* "sacrifier pour soi/pour un autre"); passif (spécialisation du moyen statique dans un verbe à double diathèse dont l'actif est transitif): L.VI 38 *daite i dastŭ* sē *vamŭ* "δίδοτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν". Ainsi, "le développement pris par la forme réfléchie est caractéristique: aux multiples désinences moyennes s'est substitué un procédé d'expression toujours simple et le même" (42).

7. La substitution du réfléchi au moyen s'explique par l'histoire du verbe. C'est qu'il convient de dissocier de la diathèse flexionnelle (caractérisée par des désinences soit moyennes soit actives) la diathèse sémantique.

D'une part, en effet, les formes fondamentales des racines les plus archaïques, telles que **H₁er-*, qui s'applique à la position debout, sont des *media tantum*; et il faut y distinguer, du point de vue sémantique, une diathèse interne (se référant au sujet), soit statique ("être debout"), soit dynamique ("se mettre debout"), avec activité du sujet), et une diathèse externe, dynamique, comportant un second actant ("mettre debout" + acc.) (43):



Puis, il y a eu adéquation de la diathèse formelle à la diathèse sémantique par deux procédés. L'un, en quelque sorte accessoire, consiste en affixations destinées à caractériser la diathèse externe (redoublement: *ases-*; suffixation [née d'une infixation]: *wahnu-* "tourner" [assortie d'un redoublement dans *tittanu-*]; affixation

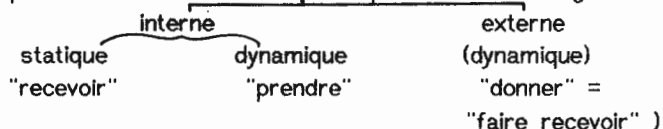
sigmatique: tokh. B *eršām*; présent correspondant au subjonctif cité: cf. en grec ὤρᾱ[ν], aoriste, qui y répond formellement, à l'augment près; les aoristes à redoublement du type λέλαθον, etc.) (44); ces formes ont une flexion d'origine moyenne (3ème p. *-e) ou active (*-ti). Cette dernière résulte de l'autre procédé d'adéquation qui, lui, est essentiel: l'adéquation flexionnelle. La flexion active s'est en effet développée comme signifiant de diathèse dynamique, et a concurrencé la flexion moyenne, plus ancienne: ainsi, à côté de *wehta*, *weh-a-tta* "se tourner", *weh-zi*, *wah-zi* (*wahnu-*, externe). Le moyen devient alors résiduel (p.ex. avec valeur prétéritale: *weh(-a)-tta* qui se trouve au moyen comme présent et comme prétérit distingués par le jeu des particules [*weh(-a)-tta-ri/-t*] sert [sous forme athématique] de prétérit, *wehta* [alors sans particule], à *weh-mi* ; et cf. *ep-zi/ep-ta*, *φημι/φάτο*, etc.). Et il finit par disparaître, notamment là où il est remplacé par des verbes réfléchis.

C'est que, d'autre part, la diathèse sémantique interne a eu deux signifiants: non seulement la flexion verbale moyenne, non spécifique de la référence au sujet, à l'origine, puisqu'elle peut figurer dans des formes de diathèse externe, et qui peut elle-même être soulignée par des adjuvants de diathèse moyenne d'origine pronominale, comme la particule *-r(i) (45); mais aussi le réfléchi, propre au contraire à cette référence.

En hittite, un thème pronominal, -za < *-tyo, a pour seule fonction d'être réfléchi; -san, étymologiquement apparenté au réfléchi tokh. B *šañ*, A *šñi*, s'en distingue parce qu'il peut comporter, de plus, dans certains cas, un sème de verticalité (46). Mais il est notable que, dans tous les exemples (verbaux) retenus par Götze, la particule accompagne des verbes qui, par la référence qu'ils portent au sujet, pourraient, comme les verbes réfléchis slaves, comporter une diathèse sémantique moyenne, puisqu'il s'agit de verbes corporels (positions: perception/émission; mouvement, gestes); et l'on pourrait en ajouter d'autres, où -san est un adjuvant de diathèse moyenne, dynamique (comme -za dans le cas de -za es- "s'asseoir") (47), ainsi -weh- (J., p.269-270), e.g. *nu-wa-aš-ša-an* ^{GIŠ}IG GIM-an [*ú-e-h*]a-at-ta DUMU-[a-aš-ša-wa-aš-ša-an an-ni-iš-ši] [QA-TAM-MA] *ú-e-h*a-at-ta-ru (KBo XII 112 Vo 11 et sqq.) "as a door turns, in the same way the child shall turn in its mother".

Il y a une différence entre le slave (ainsi que le balte, le germanique, les langues romanes) et le hittite: sl. *se*, lit. *si*, etc., sont des référents; *-san* est une particule faisant fonction de préverbe. Mais c'est le lieu de rappeler ici qu'à côté de la particule flexionnelle **-r(i)*, et du référent réfléchi, il y a une troisième sorte d'adjuvant pronominal de diathèse moyenne: le sanskrit a des préverbes qui "facilitent, s'ils ne la provoquent, la diathèse moyenne" (48), ainsi *sam-*, étymologiquement apparenté à *-san*, et *ā-*. Ce dernier, comme *-san*, a deux fonctions catégorielles (mais séparées, et non conjointes): l'une, spatiale, indique le mouvement et la position: l'autre "emploi... ressemble à celui qu'expriment les désinences moyennes" (49). Hitt. *-za da-* appartient au vocabulaire du mariage (§ 12); mais, abstraction faite de cette spécialisation, on pourrait comparer à *-za da-* de ce vocabulaire, skr. *ādat* "il reçoit; il prend", forme d'origine moyenne (50), toutes proportions gardées comme le hitt. *dahhi*, "prendre": à travers l'adéquation flexionnelle (**-t*, ajouté à la forme moyenne **d(H₃)-e + -t*), la diathèse sémantique moyenne se maintient grâce au préverbe pronominal, comme elle le fait, ailleurs, grâce au référent réfléchi accompagnant des verbes de flexion active.

(On posera les diathèses suivantes pour **dō-* "échanger":



8. Hitt. *-san* a des correspondants étymologiques. J'indique ci-dessous essentiellement, mais non exclusivement, des formes reposant sur l'agglutination des thèmes **se* et **ne*.

L'agglutination est segmentable dans le cas de lyc. *se-ne* (51) qui comprend un ligateur, *se* "et", pouvant reposer sur **gh-se*, cf. ξὺν, etc., et un anaphorique, *ne* (comparable au pronom suffixé de 3ème sg. tokh. B *-ne*, A *-m* (52), de même thème que gr. νιν), qui, dans la sphère de l'altérité, prend valeur de réfléchi (cf., pour ce double emploi, gr. ἐ/ἑ). Elle s'est fixée en devenant inanalysable dans le tokh. A *śñi(-kek)* "au contraire", B *(tai-)se(m)* (et *taisa, taisu*) "ainsi", en fonction articulaire (53).

Et l'on a des exemples de toutes les fonctions catégorielles qui ont été proposées pour *-san*.

Comme préverbe aspectuel, le gr. a ξυν- (**gh-su-n*), comportant (comme ἀπό, ἐκ, κατὰ) à la fois les idées de parachèvement et d'anéantissement (54): en v.slave et slavons, *sŭ-* est un préverbe non perfectivant, dont les emplois, purement livresques, restent en dehors du système de l'aspect slave, et calquent ξυν- (e.g. *sŭ-jestŭ* "il co-existe" συν-υπάρχει; etc.) (55).

La forme exprime une modalité d'incertitude dans lat. *for-san*, d'habitude compris comme contenant le nom du "hasard", *fors*, et des formes en quelque sorte "écrasées" du verbe "être" (en raison de syntagmes comme *fors fuat an*, Pl., *forsit*, Hor.) (56): on en fera une agglutination d'un thème **bhr̥-* (cf. (δ-)φρα, etc.), et de **-san* comparable à la forme hittite, en se fondant sur l'analyse pronominale des formes de même sens *for-si-tan* (avec, de plus, une particule comparable à gr. (δ)ταν, got. *þan* "δταν; τότε, δέ", etc.), et, avec séquence inverse des thèmes **se* et **te*, *fortasse*, *fortassis* (**-tan-se*, *-tan-si-s*); les syntagmes comme *fors fuat an*, *forsit* peuvent soit résulter d'étymologies populaires, soit remonter à d'anciennes agglutinations, **bhr̥-si-t*, avec *-t* au lieu du *-s* de *fortassis*, **bhr̥ + -an* (57), avec verbe (enclitique) infixé entre les deux particules. La forme à vocalisme a **sa* peut apparaître en fonction articulaire déictique dans myc. *odaa₂*, *odeqaa₂* (**[y]o-d[e]-sa*, **[y]o-de-kw[e]-sa*, où l'on ne peut savoir si *-sa* note **-sa*, ou **-san*); got. *sai* "voici", interjection déictique (et cf. tokh. B *taisa*, ci-dessus); la même agglutination **sa-i* peut se trouver, en fonction d'espace-temps dans lat. *sae(-pe)* "souvent", tokh. B *sa/-wa/* "droite" (cf. les formes de sens "gauche" ["l'autre côté", non marqué] du type λαί(φ)ός, lat. *laeuus*, v.sl. *lěvŭ*: **lai-wo-*; pour le premier élément pronominal, cf. la particule modale balt. *lai*) (58); la fonction d'altérité apparaît, p.ex., dans le nom des *Sa-binī* (§ 11).

Avec des vocalismes divers, on citera, dans la sphère de l'espace, les préverbes du tokh. A *su*, indiquant le mouvement, *āsuk* skr. "atl-" avec des verbes comme *i-* "aller" (59): v.irl. *s-* indiquant la direction d'un mouvement (*s-air* "vers l'Est", *s-is* "vers le bas", etc.) (60). En slave, *sŭ(n)* est une préposition et spatiale, avec le génitif "en

descendant de", et comitative "avec": cf. lit. *sù*, préposition "avec" + instrumental, et préverbe ainsi que premier membre de composé *su-*; gr. (μέτα-)ξύ "entre les deux" combine espace et altérité; cette dernière fonction est celle de ξύν "avec". Des référents également, dans la sphère de l'espace-temps, agglutinent **se* et **ne*: gr. thess. ὅ νε arc. ὅ νι, ὅ νυ "oùτος" (chypr. ὅ νε, ὅ νυ "ὅδε") (62); tokh. B *seṃ* A *saṃ*, déictiques forts; ce dernier apparaît, de plus, dans la sphère de la subjectivité, qui comprend l'indéfinitude: A *saṃ* est aussi indéfini (63).

Mais surtout, en raison du sème de verticalité que comporte *-san*, et de son association à *ser* "au-dessus", on rapprochera étymologiquement après Götze les deux formes (64), en en faisant, non des thèmes nominaux en *-r/-n*, mais des agglutinations pronominales à vocalisme variable du premier élément, et particules diverses au second:

**sa-n*, de même structure que **ka-n* (hitt. *kan*, gr. *κᾶν*), **ta-n* (gr. ὄ-τᾶν, got. *pan*, lat. [*for*]tan[se] > *fortasse*, hitt. *ka-ttan*), etc.;

**se-r*, de même structure que (*sem-*)*pe-r*, (ῥ)-περ et cf. pamph. ὑπαρ, **ne-r* (gr. νέρ-θε[ν], etc.); à côté de *ser*, de la question "ubi", existe un *sara* (65), de la question "quo", qui peut être comparable, pour la finale, à skr. *pārā* "loin de", et avoir un *-ō, comme p.ex. gr. ἄνω (τε καὶ) κάτω (66) (auquel correspond, sémantiquement, hitt. *kattan sara* "de bas en haut") (67). Le tokh. A a *sārki* "ensuite" (et cf. *neṣiṃ sārki* "comme jadis") (68).

La sphère de personne-d'altérité est riche de formes qui peuvent être rapprochées de très près de hitt. *-san* à sème réfléchi. Le hittite, d'abord, a lui-même deux autres *san*: l'un, en début de phrase, *san*, accusatif, combine un ligateur, *su*, et l'anaphorique *-a*; il est donc proche, pour la fonction articulaire, du lyc. *se-ne* (69). Mais l'autre est bien proche du réfléchi: c'est l'accusatif *-san* (enclitique) de l'adjectif possessif de 3ème p. sg. qui double la forme à vocalisme *-i-* *-sin* (70). L'on ne peut savoir si *-san* est un accusatif du type τό-ν, à désinence nominale, alors seulement homophone de la particule par suite du passage de *-o- à -a-, ou si c'est la particule elle-même, entrée dans la flexion, tout comme dans le cas de (*u-*)*ni(n)*, et, peut-être de *-*sin* (cf. *sīm*, *hīm*, particule indo-iranienne [avec *ī*], etc.) (71). Par ailleurs, l'on a en tokharien B

ṣāñ, A *ṣñi*, valant pour les trois personnes et les trois nombres en fonction de réfléchi et de possessif, et pouvant être premier membre de composé (72): par ces trois fonctions, le référent (non fléchi) est comparable à skr. *sva-* (qui, lui, se fléchit) (73): l'on en citera quelques emplois intéressants, qu'on prendra dans le dialecte A: *ṣñi pat ālu pat* "pour soi aussi bien que pour l'autre", qui présente les deux faces de la catégorie de personne-altérité; *ṣñi ṣñi* distributif "chacun le sien", qui rappelle de loin hitt. *sannapi sannapi* "séparé", "ici et là"; *sās ñi ṣñasseyāp ṣñi* "mes propres parents", où l'on trouve à la fois *ṣñi*, *ñi* qui fait partie de cette agglutination, et est spécialisé comme pronom (enclitique) de 1ère p. sg. en tokh. (le thème auquel il appartient se trouvant le plus souvent en fonction de 1ère p. plur.: v.irl. *-ni*, etc.), et *ṣñasseyāp* lexicalisé au sens de "parent"; c'est une formation en **-ty-o-* qui est comparable, avec un *s-* agglutiné en plus, à got. *nīpjis* "parent par alliance", et à skr. *sānutya-* "étranger" (cf. § 11); le rapport sémantique entre ce dernier et skr. *nītya-* qui, dans une partie de ses emplois, est proche du réfléchi ("son propre") est le même qu'entre *ṣñasseyāp* et *ṣñi*. La forme en *ṣ-* peut reposer sur **s(i)-*: sont apparentés, avec un autre aspect de l'altérité, la privation (de l'autre), lat. *sine*, et, en **s-*, tokh. B *snai*, A *sne* "sans" (traduisant skr. *a-*, ainsi que *nis-*, qui présente, en ordre inverse, les mêmes éléments d'agglutination); ceux-ci sont à la fois prépositions et premiers membres de composés privatifs (74): on pense ici à lat. *sēd* (*sē fraude*; *sēditiō*), qui est, de plus, réfléchi, et a une fonction articulaire adversative "mais" (cf. n.72).

9. B. En syntagme pronominal, *-san* peut fonctionner comme les particules personnelles renforçantes du celtique, auxquelles il peut être apparenté, plus lointainement qu'au possessif-réfléchi du tokharien, il est vrai: mais l'un et les autres ont en commun l'élément *s-*. On rappellera d'abord les formes du vieil irlandais (75):

	singulier	pluriel
I	<i>-se, -sa</i>	<i>-sni, -ni</i>
II	<i>-siu, -so, -su</i>	<i>-si</i>
III	<i>-som, masc.-nt.</i>	} <i>-som</i>
	<i>-sí, fém.</i>	

Et l'on donnera des exemples de la syntaxe de l'une d'entre elles,

choisie arbitrairement comme 1ère p.sg.: -sa, -se (76) (toujours enclitique) est jointe à une forme pronominale explicite ou implicite (sujet du verbe inclus dans la désinence): elle

- renforce le pronom régime, infixé (*ni-m-charat-sa* "ils ne m'aiment pas"), ou suffixé (à une préposition: *dom-sa* "pour moi"; *uaim-se* "de moi");

- renforce le sujet contenu dans une forme verbale (*rofetar-sa* "je sais"; *ro-t-gad-sa* "je t'ai prié"), et est placée après le prédicat de la copule au présent (*am cimbid-se* "je suis prisonnier"), mais entre la forme verbale et la copule au prétérit (*ba-sa-cimbid* "je fus prisonnier");

- renforce l'adjectif possessif (*mo ben-sa* "ma femme");

- est agglutinée au pronom absolu de 1ère sg. (*messe*).

Et voici des exemples dans lesquels hitt. -san peut renforcer un pronom enclitique régime:

J., p. 199 (avec une première phrase déjà citée à propos de *ep-*, § 2): *iš-pa-an-ti-mu-uš-ša-an ša-aš-ti-mi ša-a-ne-ez-zi-iš te-eš-ja-aš na-at-ta e-ep-zi nu-mu-uš-ša-an še-e-er aš-šu-ul na-at-ta iš-du-wa-ti* "In the night no sweet dream takes hold of me in my bed, and no luck is revealed concerning me" KUB XXX 10 Vo

J., p. 189 [*nu-uš-ma*]-*aš-ša-an* KUR.KUR.HI.A *ni-wa-al-la-an še-er hał-zi-iš-[ga-u-e-ni]* "We call to you for the sake of the innocent countries" (KUB XXXI 115, 7); mais la particule peut aussi accompagner le verbe ici parce que "appeler" est de diathèse sémantique moyenne (cf. § 6; 7);

J., p. 192 *nu-un-na-aš-ša-an i-da-a-lu-un-me- [(mi-an)] [(ku-in-ki)] ha-at-ra-a-iz-zi* "and he writes bad news to us" (KUB XXVI 24 II 9), avec une variante sans -san, *nu-un-na-aš*, XXXI 44 II 8.

Sous bénéfice d'inventaire, je mets ici tous les exemples à l'impératif (cf. § 4), de *sakuwa-har(k)-*, J., p.303-304, mais dans lesquels la particule peut renforcer un pronom personnel, comme dans les exemples précédents: *nu-uš-ši-ša-an iš-ju-e-eš-ni-it* NUMUN.HI.A-*it* GUD UDU IGI.HI.A-*wa har-ak* "Be mindful of him with grain, seed, cattle and sheep" (KUB XIII 2 III 36), ou un adjectif possessif: *nu-uš-ma-aš-ša-an ju-u-ma-da-az* IGI.HI.A-*wa har-ak* "and always keep your eyes on them" (XIII 2 III 36).

En un tout autre emploi, *-san* apparaît comme dernier constituant d'agglutinations pronominales adverbialisées: en valeur temporelle dans *anni-san* "d'autrefois"; en emploi déictique dans *ki-ssan* "de la façon que voici"; anaphorique dans *eni-ssan*, *apeni-ssan* "de la façon qui a été dite"; dans la conjonction *ku-ssan* "si" (cf., en un autre emploi, et d'un autre thème, gr. ὅ-τᾱν, dont le second constituant appartient à *te, comme celui de louv. *apa-ti(n)*, qui vaut hitt. *apenissan*) (77).

10. C. En syntagme nominal, compte non tenu des exemples où la particule peut être à la fois préposition et préverbe (§ 5) en valeur spatiale, *-san* est une postposition à fonction d'altérité: datif; comitatif; postposée au nom des "Barbares". En cette fonction, elle est préverbée à *ep-* dans le vocabulaire du mariage, en un emploi qui ouvre d'intéressantes perspectives étymologiques.

La fonction est celle d'une postposition de datif en

J., p. 201 A-NA ^DU-ma-aš-ša-an na-aḫ-šar-az me-ek-ki ki-it-ta-ru "and much reverence shall be shown to the Storm-god!" (KUB XIII 2 II 36): la fonction dative de la forme en *-a* est précisée par la préposition akkadienne A-NA et la postposition hittite *-san*; l'ordre des mots est différent, *-san* restant à sa place dans la chaîne enclitique dans:

J., p. 201 nam-ma-aš-ša-an A-NA LÜ.MEŠ^SSANGA LÜ.MEŠ^S UM-MI-YA-NU-TIM LÜ.MEŠ^SGUDU SAL.MEŠ^S AMA.DINGIR-LIM na-aḫ-šar-ra-az ki-it-ta-ru "and there shall be reverence for the priests, the artisans, the anointed and the mothers of god" (KUB XIII 2 III 19). Dans la discussion de ces exemples, et de ceux qui leur sont comparables, rangés sous *ki-* "lie", J. discute pertinemment de l'emploi de *-san* avec le datif (non obligatoire), p.203. Pour ma part, j'ajouterai que cet emploi rappelle celui de véd. *kam* avec datif (§ 1) (78) ou d'autres formes: ainsi, véd. *ā*, déjà mentionné pour son parallélisme avec *-san* à propos de sa fonction et spatiale et d'adjuvant de diathèse (§ 7), a, de plus, un emploi postpositionnel surtout avec régime locatif, où il précise la désinence sans ajouter de nuance notable (*mānuṣeṣv ā*) ("chez les humains"), également avec accusatif (plus rare) avec nuance de but, et ablatif, au sens de "depuis" (spatial), "en partant de, hors de" (*yatī girībhya ā samudrāt* "allant des montagnes à la mer") (79): la particule *ā* est parfois "un

simple prolongement d'une désinence antérieure" (80). L'on pourrait citer de ces types d'emplois bien d'autres exemples, les latifs du type gr. οἱ κόν-δε, ou, de manière systématisée, les cas secondaires de la flexion tokharienne, où sont ajoutées à la forme d'"oblique" (de forme accusative) des postpositions d'origine pronominales (81) (Instrumental, A -yo; perlatif A -ā, B -sa; comitatif A -aśśāl, B -mpa; allatif A -ac, B -ś(c); ablatif A -āṣ, B -mem; locatif A -am, B -ne; causal B -ñ): on a là un renouvellement des formes de cas obliques dont les finales anciennes sont également des particules pronominales, masquées par leur grammaticalisation.

Pour la fonction comitative, on citera (toujours avec *ki-*):

J., p. 200 [...ERÍN.MEŠ LÚ.MEŠ DUGUD IR.MEŠ-ya] LUGAL-ša-an ku-i-e-eš ki-ya-an-[ta li-ik-zi]... "[and -to] the men, the officials and the servants] that are with the king [he shall swear...]" (BoTU 8 II 22): J. note justement qu'ici "the particle is found with the simplex verb accompanied by a dative, the verb having the sense of 'be with', 'belong to'" (82). On rapprochera, ici, pour la fonction le (-)com (-)comitatif de l'italique (§ 1), pour la fonction et la forme des postpositions tokhariennes du même thème *se (et *syē-) (83): -sa, postposition casuelle de perlatif qui sert aussi d'instrumental (pour lequel A a une forme distincte -yo) (84): B *ṣeme ṣar-sa* "mit der einen Hand" (A *ṣñil tsar-yo* "mit eigener Hand"); postposition non casuelle renforçant le comitatif (qui est A -aśśāl, B -mpa); A *ṣyak*, B *ṣe, ṣesa, eṣe* (qui, de plus, se rencontre avec des formes verbales, et est adverbe) (85). En fonction comitative, un correspondant formel de hitt. -san est bien connu en lituanien, où au premier membre de composé nominal, on a sa- (le plus souvent accentué, sá-) devant voyelle, et consonnes *j, l, m, n, r, s, š, v, z*, sám- devant *b, p*, sán- devant *d, g, k, t* (86), donc, réparties comme allophones, deux variantes combinatoires dont chacune peut avoir une justification étymologique (cf. n.26) et, dont l'une, la forme à labiale, est bien connue en sanskrit, sam-, sa- (87) (le gr. á- pouvant reposer soit sur *sṃ-, soit sur *sṇ-); au premier membre de composé sa-, etc., répond en lithuanien sù comme préposition casuelle, su- comme préverbe comitatifs.

11. En troisième lieu, hitt. -san est, dans la sphère de l'altérité une postposition accompagnant le nom de certains "Barbares", hitt.

LU.MEŠ³ *Lulaḫilaš-šan*, à côté de louv. ^d*Lulahinzaš-tar*. Le nom propre désigne des habitants (incultes) des montagnes, qui pouvaient être engagés comme mercenaires, surtout contre les Gasgas, par les Hittites (88). Leur caractère étranger par rapport à ceux-ci est marqué par l'emploi de *-san*, qui entre dans un cadre dont nous rappellerons les grands traits.

La relation entre les envahisseurs et les indigènes rencontrés et vaincus est une relation d'altérité, entre soi et autre. On peut se désigner soi-même comme "autre" (89). Et c'est ainsi que les Indo-Européens, envahisseurs, ont pu se désigner de l'une ou de l'autre façon (90), "autre" (type *árya-*, *Alanī*) (91), ou "soi" (type *Sa-binī*, *Suèves*, *Suédois*) (92), d'où des oppositions binaires comme

gaul. *Allo-broges* / *Nitio-broges* (93),
lexicalisation onomastique d'une opposition qu'offre le védique
āraṇa- "étranger" (94) / *nītya-* "son propre" (95)
(3, 53, 24; 5, 85, 7; 7, 4, 7) (96), ou
āraṇa- / *svá-* (97).

On a là des oppositions binaires à signifiants pronominaux. Les deux traits sont liés: les pronoms sont des indices de relations, et c'est à ce titre qu'ils servent à former des termes s'appliquant à des individus mis en relation dans des réseaux sociaux nombreux: ici, invasion, ailleurs, amitié, hostilité, hospitalité, alliances familiales - parentés diverses et mariage -, etc. (98). Mais l'on peut sortir de ce système explicitement rationnel au plan linguistique, sans que l'altérité disparaisse au plan notionnel. L'indigène peut en effet être nommé de façons diverses, ayant ou non une étymologie i.e., peu importe: elles ont en commun d'exprimer une façon dont est perçue sa différence. En voici quelques exemples.

La différence peut être marquée sous les espèces du temps (ainsi, l'envahisseur peut arriver en un territoire occupé, depuis la nuit des temps, par des *Ab-orīginēs* (99)); ou de l'espace (*indi-gena*, il est né là où arrive l'étranger), avec, de plus, un sème d'altérité (αὐτό-χθων):

La rencontre ne se fait pas sans heurt: l'indigène peut apparaître comme un ennemi: ainsi, s'opposant aux *árya-*, les *dāsá-* (100), où

l'on a cherché à voir des "domptés" (101) ou des "esclaves" (102), mais qui sont simplement des "étrangers" se comportant en "ennemis" (103), comme le montrent les acceptions des termes indiens auxquels on doit se résigner à refuser une bonne étymologie: à *dāsá-* "démon, ennemi" est apparenté *dásyu-* "démon, impie, barbare" (104).

Parce que les Indo-Européens ne peuvent et ne doivent être définis que par la langue, on accordera une importance toute particulière, enfin (*last, not least*), aux désignations onomatopéiques du type βάρβαροι (cf. skr. *barbara-* "qui bredouille") (105).

La désignation anatolienne a l'originalité de combiner deux expressions de la différence des "Barbares", terme qu'il convient de continuer à employer, même si l'on sait qu'il désigne, plus précisément, des montagnards plus ou moins incultes, servant de mercenaires, etc.: l'une sans étymologie i.e., ni connotation subjective, hostile ou linguistique, si le terme est un ethnique (106); l'autre, relationnelle, qui, comme dans les trois premiers exemples cités, composés à premier membre pronominal, comporte un thème pronominal, ici tout entier à valeur d'altérité: c'est celle qui a pour signifiant les particules pronominales hitt. *-san*, louv. *-tar*, de même structure formelle l'une et l'autre, agglutinations à un thème de vocalisme probablement **a*, **sa-* (cf. *Sabinī*), **ta*, de **-n* et **-r*: hitt. *Lula(h)hiyaš-šan*, louv. *Lula(h)hinzaš-tar* illustrent l'emploi en une même fonction de thèmes pronominaux différents.

Indices de relations, ces particules ont pu se lexicaliser: les formes d'où sont issus hitt. *-san*, louv. *-tar* sont conjointes dans le skr. *sanu-tár* "loin", et dans la sphère de l'altérité, dans skr. *sánu-tya-* "étranger", tokh. AB *šñasše* "parent", qui ont pour second constituant un **ti-o-*, du thème **te*, comme *-tar*; sans ce thème, mais avec antéposition, sous forme avocalique du thème **ghe* de *hostis* < **gho-s-ti-*, gr. *Ξένος* < **gh-senu-o-*: on voit s'opérer une jonction entre les statuts de particule et de forme lexicalisée, comme dans l'emploi de *-san* qui reste à examiner.

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* *

D. -san dans le syntagme "prendre un gendre"

12. L'étranger est ici le conjoint: le dernier emploi de *san* auquel je m'arrêterai s'applique à l'échange matrimonial exogamique:

J., p. 179-180 ("au cas où il n'y a pas de prince") *nu ku-iš*
 DUMU.SAL *ḫa-an-te-ez-zi-iš nu-uš-ši-iš-ša-an* ^{LU}*an-ti-ya-an-ta-an*
ap-pa-a-an-du nu LUGAL-uš a-pa-a-aš ki-ša-r[u] "and the daughter
 who is of the first rank, let them take a husband for her, and may
 he become king" (BoTU 23 A II 38) (107).

L'on pourrait justifier, ici, l'emploi de la particule comme modale (avec l'impératif: § 4), ou comme particule personnelle renforçante après pronom personnel (§ 9); mais le fait pertinent paraît être le contexte relatif au mariage (auquel appartient le nom de la "bru", **snu-so-*, en rapport étymologique avec *san*: § 14). Cette institution est caractérisée, dans le monde i.e., par deux faits sociologiques principaux, dont il convient de dégager les signifiants linguistiques.

D'une part, le mariage résulte d'une transaction entre le père (et éventuellement les parents) de la fille et le futur gendre (108). Cette transaction s'est exprimée par deux syntagmes ayant pour sujet le père de la fille, "donner sa fille" et "prendre un gendre", identiques du point de vue du contenu sociologique, et dont la variation formelle s'explique en grande partie par la diathèse de la racine de l'échange, **d(e)H₃-*, "prendre" en diathèse sémantique interne (moyenne), "faire prendre", d'où "donner", en diathèse sémantique dynamique externe (cf. § 7). Le plus fréquent est "donner sa fille" (109), p.ex. *dare nuptum*, *dare in mātrimonium*; gr. ἐκ-δίδωμι, e.g. Eur., *Méd.* 309 (Médée à Créon): ἐξέδου κόρην ἢ ὅτῳ σε θυμὸς ἤγεν: "tu as donné ta fille à qui te plaisait" (trad. Méridier); skr. *dā-* dans les cinq modes de mariage indien légal (110).

En hittite, la transaction ne peut pas être indiquée par *da-*: ce dernier signifie "prendre", et, dans le vocabulaire du mariage, a une diathèse sémantique moyenne dont l'adjuvant pronominal (cf. § 7) est -*za*: -*za da-* se dit de l'homme qui "prend femme", se marie. Et, dans ce vocabulaire, la transaction s'exprime par un verbe lié à *da-* par sa complémentarité de diathèse: un autre verbe "prendre", lui de diathèse externe, *ep-*, avec, pour régime, le nom du "gendre".

L'opposition entre

-za *da-* pour l'homme qui prend femme, et

-san *ep-* pour le père qui prend un gendre joue, triplement, pour les particules, -za et -san, qui indiquent, respectivement, le renforcement de la personne et l'altérité (sous les espèces de l'exogamie); pour les verbes (aux plans de la racine, et de la diathèse); pour les régimes (femme/gendre).

Dans le syntagme "prendre un gendre", les actants sont les deux parties masculines de la transaction (c'est pourquoi on n'a pas "donner sa fille", qui eût été possible, avec *pai-*). Ce fait, à lui seul, pourrait être un argument contre l'hypothèse d'un matriarcat anatolien; mais, parce que le nom du "gendre" a été considéré comme l'un des témoignages d'une rupture anatolienne d'avec les cadres de la famille i.e., je n'examinerai la particule qu'après avoir discuté quelques-unes des données linguistiques de ce problème.

13. En faveur de l'hypothèse d'un matriarcat, on a avancé des faits linguistiques (111) comme: le nom de la "famille", *hassatar*, dérivé de *has-* qui s'appliquerait à l'enfantement maternel (au contraire de **gen-*, propre à l'engendrement et à la reconnaissance paternelle, comme en témoigne le nom du "genou"); l'ordre père-mère; les noms du "gendre" et du "cousin". Faute de pouvoir en donner une bonne analyse, on laissera de côté le nom du "cousin" *anniniyami-* qui, dans l'hypothèse matriarcale pourrait être un composé du nom de la "mère" (112) (hitt. *anna-*, louv. *anni-*), mais auquel pourrait être conférée une autre explication (p.ex. comme composé en *ad-*). Mais on remarque, d'une part, que *ḫaš-*, comme on le sait maintenant, s'applique non seulement à la mère (KUB 30.10 Ro 6' *am-me-el* DINGIR-YA *ku-it-mu-za* AMA-YA *ḫa-a-aš-ta* "mon dieu, lorsque ma mère me donna naissance"), mais au père (Hatt. I (9) A-BU-YA-*an-na-aš-za* ^mMur-*ši-li-iš* IV DUMU^H.A ^mHal-*pa-šu-lu-pi-in* (10) ^mNIR.GÁL-*in* ^mḫa-*at-tu-ši-li-in* ^fDINGIR^{MES}-*ir-in-na* DUMU[(SAL-*an*)] (11) *ḫa-aš-ta...* "Mon père Moursili nous a engendrés, nous quatre enfants: Halpasouloupi, Mouwatalli, Hattousili, et Massanauzzi, une fille"; d'autre part, que l'ordre "mère-père" se trouve en sanskrit, *mātārāpitārā* à côté de *pitārāmātārā* ca (113), sans qu'on puisse soupçonner la société indienne d'un matriarcat,

contredit d'ailleurs, de ce point de vue, dans le monde anatolien par hitt. *ḫuḫḫa-hannīš* "aïeux (grand-père (et) grand-mère)" (114).

Qu'en est-il, à cet égard, du nom du "gendre" *antiġant-*, étymologiquement beaucoup plus clair que les termes du type *gener*, γαμβρός pour lesquels la variation des nasales empêche de reconstruire un prototype (115), puisque c'est un composé de *anda* (cf. gr. ἔνδον, lat. *endo-/indu-*, etc.) et du participe (cf. ἰών, etc.) de "aller"? Doit-on vraiment y voir un témoin d'un matriarcat anatolien, en le comprenant comme "qui entre dans la maison de l'épousée" (pour y vivre), et en le comparant, du point de vue institutionnel au turc *iç güvey* (116)? Ce serait faire bon marché de la place exceptionnelle, au plan des institutions, de ce dernier: "En Turquie, *iç güvey* 'gendre' désigne l'époux qui vient habiter la maison de son beau-père (et lui est, de ce fait, subordonné). Ce statut non canonique (aussi bien du point de vue turc préislamique que dans l'islam turc) est généralement mal vu. Chez les Turcs (anciens ou islamisés), c'est la femme (échangée contre une 'compensation, prix de la fiancée') qui vient vivre - et travailler - dans la famille du mari (117): on n'a là rien de bien différent du système i.e., en somme" (118). Et l'on est invité à essayer de comprendre autrement le nom du "gendre" hittite: *antiġant-*, celui-ci peut "entrer dans" la maison de la fille, non pour y vivre, mais à la suite du contrat passé avec son futur beau-père, qui peut l'y inviter, comme dans le premier mode de mariage indien: "lorsque (le père), de lui-même (*svayam*), après l'avoir gratifiée de vêtements et de parures donne sa fille (*dānaṃ kanyāyāḥ*) à un homme pourvu de science sacrée et de vertu, l'ayant invité (*āhūya*), c'est le mariage légal (*dharma*) dit *brāhma*" (119).

Mais, sans passer par le détour de ce mode de mariage, on songera à une explication bien plus simple: *anda iġant-* peut être compris comme "celui qui entre dans" la famille (un peu comme le nouveau roi lacédémonien qui, entrant en fonction, est qualifié de ὁ ἐσιών, Hdt., 6, 59, par une forme (**en-s yont-*) proche de celle de *antiġant-*, et, mieux, sans cette proximité formelle, mais avec une forme de "venir" et un préverbe de mouvement, comme l'"étranger", lat. *ad-uena*). Ce nouveau-venu, cet étranger s'oppose à celui "qui est né dans" (la famille), type v.irl. *ingen*, ogam. *inigena* "fille" (dont le

préverbe est relié, en irlandais même, à *ind-*, étymologiquement en rapport avec **endo-*, cf. lat. *Indi-gena*): le mouvement s'accompagne, ici, d'un sème d'altérité, impliqué par la relation entre le conjoint et la famille dans laquelle il entre; et le nom du "gendre" hittite n'est rien d'autre qu'une désignation exogamique, puisque pour "entrer dans", il faut venir du dehors.

S'il en est ainsi, le syntagme hittite

-san antiyant ep-

exprime deux des trois données sociologiques du mariage i.e.: la transaction entre les deux parties masculines qui traitent de l'échange matrimonial, le père, sujet de *ep-* (ou inclus parmi les sujets du verbe, qui est au pluriel dans l'exemple cité), et le gendre, qui en est le régime; l'exogamie, qui a deux signifiants: la particule *-san*, préposée au syntagme régime + verbe, en fonction d'altérité, pour indiquer l'altérité particulière qu'est l'échange matrimonial exogamique; le nom du "gendre" lui-même, désignation exogamique, qui ne suppose pas le moins du monde que le nouveau couple habite dans la maison de la fille.

14. Mais, dans un système sociologique où l'exogamie s'accompagne du départ de la fille vers la maison de sa belle-famille (si bien que le verbe de la transaction est, en grec, le composé ἐν-δίδωμι [§ 12] avec un préverbe s'appliquant à l'"extérieur"), une forme étymologiquement reliée à *-san* a pu se lexicaliser (tout comme *sánutya-*, ξένος (F)ος "étranger", à côté de *-san* en fonction d'altérité accolée au nom des "Barbares"), pour désigner la situation sociale de la jeune mariée, qui vient en étrangère dans la famille où son mari est né. Ce fait, qui suit le mariage, est, avec la transaction qui le précède, et l'exogamie qui caractérise le tout, la troisième donnée sociologique que révèle la langue: on reliera à l'emploi de *san* pour l'échange exogamique dans le syntagme hittite "prendre un gendre" le nom de la "bru", **snu-só-* (gr. νύος, arm. *nu*, gén. *nuoy*, lat. *nurus*, thème en *-u-* dû à l'influence du nom de la "belle-mère", *socrus*, skr. *snusā*, recaractérisé comme féminin par *-ā*, v.h.a. *snur*, *snora*, etc.) (120). Par ce nom, la "bru" est donc désignée comme "l'étrangère" dans un système exogamique. On détaillera l'analyse morphologique de ce **snu-so-*.

Le premier constituant se relie, à travers *san* et les noms de l' "étranger" qui viennent d'être rappelés, à des formes comme le réfléchi tokh. A *ṣñi*, B *ṣañ* que je ne rappelle ici (cf. § 8) que pour mettre en rapport un nom de parenté à agglutination en **sne* (avec vocalismes divers) et les noms de parenté en **swe*, mieux connus, dont je donnerai pour exemple le nom de la "belle-mère", complément familial de la "bru" après le mariage (comme le père de la fille l'est de son futur gendre avant): **swe-kru-* (skr. *sva-s'rū-*, v.sl. *svekry*, lat. *socrus*, gr. *(F)εκυρά*, arm. *skesur*) (121). Pour le second constituant, on mettra en rapport **snu-so-* et **H₂em-so-*, qui fournit une isoglosse anatolo-grecque:

louv. *hamsa-* "petit-fils", hiér. *ham(a)sa* (122), hitt. *hansatar-* "famille" (avec assimilation de la nasale):

gr. *-αμμος*, dans la formation itérative brisée (puisqu'elle comporte deux signifiants pronominaux propres, mais non identiques): **H₂em-n(o) + *H₂em-so- > ἄμναμμος, ἄμνᾱμος* "petit-fils, petite-fille" (123). On sortira, pour terminer, du cadre tracé par *san* pour donner des correspondants étymologiques du premier constituant de ce nom:

**H₂em-n(o)-* de même structure que **kom-no-* (§ 1) apparaît en fonction spatio-temporelle dans l'osque

AMNUD "circuitu", et le latin (osque?) *soll-ennis*, qui s'applique à des cérémonies célébrées à date fixe "le circuit de l'année étant entièrement écoulé" (124). Mais, en fonction d'altérité, on le retrouve dans le vocabulaire des relations sociales d'amitié, et non plus de famille, dans phryg. *ἄδαμνεῖν τὸ φιλεῖν καὶ Φρύγες τὸν φίλου ἄδαμνα λέγουσιν*, Hés. Sans le second élément de l'agglutination (cf. lat. *hostis* < **gho-s-ti-* à côté de **gho-s-pe-t-* > *hospet-*, etc. (125)),

**H₂em-* apparaît dans les formes latines de même sens: (*ad*)*amāre* (126), *amīcus* (127), et, dans le vocabulaire de la parenté, *amita* "tante paternelle" (et cf. n. 91).

Les thèmes qui apparaissent comme seconds constituants de **snu-so-*, **H₂em-so-*, d'une part, et, de l'autre, de **H₂em-no-*, sont, en dernière analyse, ceux qui sont agglutinés dans la particule *san*, dont nous avons examiné ici les emplois: particule peut-être aspectuelle, en tout cas modale dans le système du supplétisme pronomino-verbal; préverbe et/ou préposition indiquant la verticalité

dans le champ de l'espace, et dans celui de la personne-altérité, de quasi-réfléchi, adjuvant de diathèse moyenne, en syntagme verbal; de particule personnelle renforçante en syntagme pronominal; en syntagme nominal, de postposition à fonction de datif, d'une part, de comitatif, de l'autre, et accolée au nom des "Barbares", en un emploi dans lequel la particule est sur la voie de la lexicalisation (cf. skr. *sānu-tya-*, etc.), comme dans le dernier des emplois examinés; celui-ci, qui se rapporte à l'échange matrimonial exogamique, nous a menés au seuil du vocabulaire de la parenté d'origine pronominale (128).

NOTES

- (1) Bader, 1982; 1983b.
- (2) Bader, 1981a. En cet emploi prédicatif, l'adverbe peut offrir l'un de ses sèmes catégoriels, p.ex.:
 - comitatif: φ 93, οὐ γάρ τις μέτα τοῖος ἀνὴρ
 - de position: Θ 210, ἐνθ' ἐνι μὲν φιλότις
 - de mouvement: Z 331, ἀλλ' ἄνα, μῆ...
- (3) Sur ces modalités, verbales et phraséologiques ("peut-être", etc.), voir Benveniste, 1970 = 1974, 85.
- (4) Selon E. Laroche, 1957-58, 161, "-kan et -san,... quelle qu'en soit la fonction précise, modifient le concept verbal dans ses rapports avec l'objet (relations spatiales), ou dans son aspect".
- (5) Sur cette exclusion, cf. Friedrich, 1960, § 299.
- (6) Ivanov, 1979, 75; et cf. note 67.
- (7) Macdonell, 1916, 25.
- (8) Voir, p.ex., Lewis-Pedersen, 1961, § 343 (pour les pronoms suffixés aux verbes); § 344 (pour les pronoms suivant les prépositions, dites alors "conjuguées"). Krause-Thomas, 1960, § 263-264.
- (9) Schwyzler-Debrunner, 1959, 568 (avec bibliographie); 571.
- (10) Tous les exemples de l'Iliade sont du type καὶ νύ κε(ν)... ἰεὶ μῆ (irréal avec un indicatif passé, en général aoriste): Γ 373; Ε 311, 388, 679; Η 273; Θ 90, 131, 217; Λ 311, 750; Ρ 530; Σ 165, 454; Φ 211; Ψ 154, 382, 490, 540, 733 (sauf Ψ 592 εἰ καὶ νυ κεν, où l'agglutination apparaît dans la subordonnée en protase, suivie d'une principale à l'optatif: ἄφαρ κέ τοι... βουλοίμην).

- Dans l'Odyssée, même type qu'en Θ 90 (δ 363, 502; π 220: φ 226; ψ 241; ω 50, 528; variations en λ 317, καί νύ κεν... εἰ... ἄλλ᾽ (irrél), comme: καί νύ κεν(ν)... ἄλλ᾽, ι 79; λ 630; μ 71; φ 128; ξ 325, καί νύ κεν... βόσκοι, optatif).
- (11) E.g. ERIN MES URU-az katta udaš, K Bo II 5 III 30 (cf. Friedrich, 1960, § 295).
- (12) Exemples pris chez Buck, 1904, § 293; je ne discute pas le sens peu clair de *prinuatir* (cf. Ernout, 1961, s.u., p. 127-8).
- (13) Référent déictique hitt. *ka-*, louv. *za-* < **ky-o-*, forme thématisée du thème en *-i-* qu'offre p.ex. lit. *šĩs* (à distinguer de hitt. *-za* particule réfléchie < **ty-o-*); forme avocalique dans lat. (*hi-*)*c*; etc.
- (14) K. von Garnier, 1909.
- (15) Pour les détails dialectaux, voir Chantraine, D.E.L.G., s.u. *κε*.
- (16) Sur osq. *comono*, ombr. KUMNE, voir Buck, 1904, § 107.2.
- (17) Pour d'autres explications, voir Chantraine, D.E.L.G., s.u. *κοινός*; j'ai étudié des formations apparentées dans 1983b, 11-12.
- (18) Principales données bibliographiques: Götze 1933 (30-37 pour *-san*); Pedersen, 1938, § 96, 152-163 (où *-kan* est étudié plus que *-san*); Carruba, 1969, 35-37; Josephson, 1972, 176-190; 299-321; 353-396 (où l'on trouvera développée l'interprétation aspectuelle); 395-396.
- (19) Bader, 1986.
- (20) Watkins, 1963, 30-49; Kurylowicz, 1964, 171-4; Lehmann, 1974, 116-118; 212-214.
- (21) Voir, pour l'anatolien, Laroche, 1957-58, 161-172.
- (22) Voir, p.ex., Lehmann, 1974, 110-112, sur "the subjective quality of the Verb in I.E.", qui pourrait justifier ces syntagmes; et Ivanov, 1979, 74, sur les désinences de 1ère et 2ème sg.
- (23) Procédé né au moyen, comme le montre le hittite: p.ex. *arta*, caractérisé comme moyen par sa désinence *-*to*, donne, dans le système temporel, un couple présent/prétérit, distingués par la présence ou l'absence de leurs particules, et la forme de ces dernières: présent: *arta*, *arta-ri*; prétérit: *arta-t*. De plus, dans le système des voix, médio-passif et actif ne se distinguent à l'origine que par leurs particules: cf., de *-*h₂e*, *-th₂e*, *-*e/o* (qui a pu être refait en *-*to*): moyen *-ha(-ri)*; *-ta(-ti, -ri)*; *-ta(-ri)* / actif *-*hai* > *-hi*; *-*tai* > *-ti*; *-*ei* > *-i*.
- (24) 1972, notamment 395-396, où se trouve systématisée la théorie aspectuelle selon laquelle sont interprétés nombre des exemples du

corpus.

- (25) Bader, 1980, pour des formes de **h₁er-*; pour le sens, voir notamment 39-40.
- (26) Je cite ces deux formes latines afin de rappeler que les deux particules nasales **-m* et **-n* ont pu exister en fin d'agglutination pronominale, ce que masquent les langues où l'opposition des deux est neutralisée à la finale. Mais cette opposition peut subsister à l'intérieur; ainsi, en premier membre de composé, le lituanien a *sam-*, et *-san*, avec nasale dentale comme *for-san*, et hitt. *-san*: l'on peut donc poser une forme à **-n*, en raison non seulement de la valeur modale commune à ces deux particules (§ 8), mais de l'existence de formes à nasale dentale, comme *sani-* "un et le même"; *sanezzi-* "doux". C'est donc à tort que Hoffmann, 1968, pose un **sam-tyo-* pour expliquer véd. *sántya-*, épithète d'Agni, qu'il comprend (p. 33): "in Gemeinschaft befindlich, Genosse, Mitbewohner" (cf. skr. *sam-*), ainsi que v.h.a. *samfti*, *semfti*, v.angl. *sēfte* "agréable, convenable", et hitt. *sanezzi-*, selon lui "angenehm, befriedigend" (p.36): hittite et germanique peuvent s'accorder pour le sens, avec des bases à nasales différentes (ce qui permet de continuer à rapprocher les termes qu'il récuse, p.36: véd. *sánutya-* "étranger", got. *sundro* "à part", v.irl. *sain* "différent, particulier"). En reconnaissant à l'auteur le grand mérite d'avoir montré que germanique et hittite peuvent s'accorder pour le sens, on se demandera s'il convient, pour les relier au terme védique, de poser une évolution sémantique "zusammenselend" > "zusammenpassend", "einem passend" > "angenehm, bequem" (p.34-35), ou s'il ne vaut pas mieux expliquer ces formes par diverses valeurs de la fonction de personne-altérité. Il peut en effet en être de même pour skr. *priyá-* "aimé" (relation avec un autre) et lat. *pro-prius* (sphère de la personne), sans lien de type synchronique entre les deux, ou pour *φίλος* "ami" et dénotant la possession inaliénable (cf. lyd. *bilis*, possessif), et pour véd. *sántya-*, à fonction comitative, et les formes du germanique et du hittite, dont le sens "agréable" peut s'expliquer par "approprié à, qui convient à" (cf. *idōneus*, lui aussi d'origine pronominale < **i-dō-ne(y)-o-*). Sur véd. *priyá-*, etc., voir Scheller 1959; pour *φίλος*, les conclusions de Rosén, 1967, et de Hamp, 1982, sont de loin préférables à celles de Taillardat, 1982, qui rapproche *πείθομαι*, et non lyd. *bilis*, sans tenir compte des

- emplois de possession inaliénable (type H 130 φῖλας... χεῖρας).
- (27) Sur les conditionnelles hittites, voir Friedrich, 1960, § 327-331.
- (28) Voir Friedrich, 1960, § 328, pour les conditionnelles en parataxe.
- (29) Friedrich, 1960, § 280 b 2, pour *lē-man* comparé à (*uti-*)*nam nē* par Sommer.
- (30) Parce que, dans le verbe hittite qui n'oppose à l'indicatif, comme mode, qu'un impératif (à trois personnes), l'impératif a valeur d'optatif et de volontatif (Friedrich, 1960, § 263), on rapprochera les emplois grecs de l'optatif et du subjonctif accompagnés de particules modales (souvent au sens futur avec le subjonctif, e.g. K 507, τῇν δέ κε τοι πνοιῇ Βορέαο φέρησιν "et alors le souffle du Borée l'emportera"), avec "tmèse" de la particule et du verbe, comme dans le cas de *-san*; cf., avec "univerbation", κ 269 φεύγωμεν, εἰ γάρ κεν ἀλύξαιμεν κακὸν ἡμᾶρ "fuyons, nous pourrions encore échapper à la mort". Voir Chantraine (à qui j'emprunte les traductions), 1953, §§ 311-313 et 322-327, respectivement, pour le subjonctif et l'optatif avec particules.
- (31) 1933, p. 37: "Darf man nach dem oben belegten vorzugswelsen Vorkommen bei Verben des 'Setzens, Legens und Stellens' urteilen, so kann man die Spezialisierung nur in dem besonderen Hinweis auf das 'Auf und Über' sehen". Doctrine reprise par Pedersen, 1938, § 96 (et approfondie pour *-kan*), et, à leur suite, par Friedrich, 1960, § 299; en dernier lieu, voir Kammenhuber, 1980 (42 n.20 pour *-san*).
- (32) Chantraine, 1953, § 116.
- (33) Friedrich, 1960, § 230. Le hitt. *suhhi ser* (question "ubi") / *suhhi sara* (question "quo") "sur le toit" montre que position et mouvement sont distingués par des postpositions non flexionnelles (elles-mêmes apparentées), mais non par la postposition casuelle **-i*, aux deux valeurs de locatif et de datif (de direction), ensuite partiellement distinguées, dans certains états de langues, par l'alternance secondaire **-i* (locatif) / **-ei* (datif). Voir, pour les formes démunies de particule, Neu, 1980.
- (34) Ainsi, Friedrich, 1960, § 300.
- (35) Pedersen, 1938, 160.
- (36) "Verba der körperlichen oder seelischen Einwirkung", Pedersen, 1938, 154.
- (37) Je cite les formes sans leurs particules *-ri*, *-t*.

- (38) [nu-uš-ma]-aš-ša-an KUR.KUR Hl.A ni-wa-al-la-an še-er
 ḫal-zi-iš-[ga-u-e-ni] "we call you for the sake of the innocent
 countries", Josephson, 1972, 189 (KUB XXXI 115, 7).
- (39) Hermann, 1927, 83-95 pour la forme et la place du réfléchi,
 notamment 92-95 pour le verbe réfléchi; Endzelin, 1923, §
 704-711.
- (40) Meillet-Vaillant, 1965, § 355-356.
- (41) Prokosch, 1938, 209.
- (42) Meillet-Vaillant, 1965, 329.
- (43) J'ai abordé le problème de l'unicité de la forme moyenne
 fondamentale pour les trois diathèses sémantiques, et de
 l'adéquation de la diathèse flexionnelle à la diathèse sémantique
 dans 1983a, 27-31; 1984, 120-123.
- (44) Ces trois affixations sont, par ailleurs, et plus anciennement,
 celles qui ont servi à dériver des formes aspectuelles et
 temporelles de la forme fondamentale de diathèse:

1° redoublement, e.g. sur

*st(h₂)- /o , forme moyenne (tokh. B ste) :

a) *ste-st(h₂)-e > parfait skr. *tasthé*, lat. *stetit*,
 le premier resté moyen (avec développement, consécutif à celui
 d'une double diathèse née au présent, d'un parfait actif à degré
 plein et élargissement d'abord défectif, type *tásthau*), le second
 entré dans le système de l'actif, grâce à l'adjonction de *-ti; gr.
 ἔστηκε est étymologiquement relié à la même forme, avec une
 restructuration de la désinence qui entraîne une autre syllabation:

< * s e-st(h₂)-to-i :

il a à ses côtés un actif typologiquement comparable à *tásthau*:
 ἔστηκα;

b) *sti-st(h₂)-e > présent skr. *tīṣṭhati*, lat. *sistit*
 devenus "thématiques" par adjonction de la désinence active, qui
 refoule la plus ancienne désinence moyenne au rang de structure
 thématique;

2° infixation, e.g. sur *kl-u- e (gr. κλύει/κλύε(ν)), distincts,
 temporellement, par leurs particules, cf. n.23, et entrés dans le
 système de l'actif),

*kl-ⁿ-u e(l) > skr. *sṛjñé*, entré dans le
 système du passif, en raison du développement de l'actif transitif
sṛjñóti, avec moyen restructuré, par suite de la réfection de la
 désinence *-e/o en *-to, en *sṛjñuté*:

3° suffixations (osq. STAÍT "stat"; *du-e-ō*).

- (45) Particule du thème **re* (cf., en fonction spatiale lat. *re(d)-*; en fonction d'altérité, lat. *re-(ci-pro-co-)*, hitt. *ara-...ara-* "l'un l'autre", comme *ka-...ka-*, et, lexicalisé, *ara-* "ami". Pour l'emploi de **-r...* dans le verbe i.e., voir Watkins, 1969, ch. XIII; pour la présence ou l'absence de *-r/* dans le verbe hittite, Neu, 1968b, 31-40.
- (46) Formellement, la conjonction de *-za san-* aboutit à *-zan*, à moins que ce dernier ne vienne d'une nasalisation de *-za* (Götze, 1933, 30-31); cette explication conforterait l'explication de *-san* comme proche du réfléchi dans certains exemples.
- (47) Sur *-za es-*, voir Neu, 1968a, 27-28.
- (48) Renou, 1952, § 423.
- (49) Renou, 1952, § 378.
- (50) Wackernagel, 1926, 13-14.
- (51) E.g. T.L.7 (voir Laroche, 1957-58, 173-74): *ebēñnē xupa me-ne prñnavate X*. "ce tombeau l'a bâti X. pour lui"; *se-ne pijetē ladi ehbi se tideime* "et il l'a donné à sa femme et ses enfants": *me-ne* agglutine *me*, particule articulaire, et *-ne* en fonction de réfléchi: Bader, 1982, 103-104.
- (52) Krause-Thomas, 1960, § 263.
- (53) Krause-Thomas, 1960, § 290.2 pour *sñīkek*: 287 pour *taise(-m)*, etc.; et cf. note 72.
- (54) Humbert, 1954, § 607; sur **gh-su(n)-*, Bader, 1982, 137-139.
- (55) Vaillant, 1966, 466-467.
- (56) Ernout-Meillet et Walde-Hofmann, dans leurs dictionnaires, rangent toutes les formes *s.u. fors*.
- (57) *An*, particule modale en grec, interrogative en latin (et liée à des interrogatifs en gotique), a été reconnue en hittite (Ottén-Souček, 1969, 80-81).
- (58) On se reportera aux dictionnaires étymologiques usuels pour des explications différentes de celles que je propose pour ces termes.
- (59) Krause-Thomas, 1960, § 285.3. En lituanien, le préverbe *su-* indique un mouvement d'aller et retour quand il accompagne les itératifs de verbes de mouvement: Senn, 1966, § 673.
- (60) 1974, L.E.I.A. S-1. Pour la fonction, comparer hitt. *awan* avec *katta*, etc. (Friedrich, 1960, § 143).
- (61) Vaillant, 1977, § 1361; 1966, § 643.
- (62) Meister, 1909; Lejeune, 1943; López-Eire, 1974, 254-255.

- (63) Krause-Thomas, 1960, § 268; Stumpf, 1976-77.
 (64) 1933, 37 n.1.
 (65) Sur anatol. *ser* (et *sara*), voir Laroche, 1957-58, 175-180; Heubeck, 1964, 264-67; Ivanov, 1979, 23; Shevoroshkin, 1979, 181; Neu, 1980, 35-36.
 (66) Sur ἄνω καὶ κάτω, Verdenius, 1964.
 (67) Pedersen, 1938, § 96, se fondant sur le rapprochement étymologique de *san* et de *ser* proposé par Götze, rapproche de son côté *-kan* et κάτω; il fait de *-san* une forme enclitique d'un **saran*, cf. *sara*, comme *-kan* serait un enclitique correspondant à *kattan* (cf. *katta*), issu de **kantan* (cf. m.gall. *cant* "avec") - l'étymologie de *san* < **saran* étant reprise par O. Carruba, 1969, p. 35-37. Pedersen justifie le passage phonétique de l'un à l'autre de manière inutilement compliquée. Les particules sont bien enclitiques par leur position dans la phrase, et en rapport étymologique avec κάτω, etc. (et **kom*; cf. n.6), mais d'existence indépendante, et de structure formelle autre:

kan (cf. κάτω)

cant

ka tta(n)

agglutinations diverses à premier élément **ka* (cf. (ĩ)-vα, vαv, hitt. *katta*, etc.).

- (68) Tokh. A *neṣ* "d'auaravant", adverbe et adjectif indéclinable, *neṣi*, adjectif, etc., présente une forme intéressante du point de vue de l'agglutination de formes de **ne* et de **se* (donc, en ordre inverse des formes ici étudiées); cf., pour la valeur d'éloignement (mais non temporelle, comme ici), skr. *nīḥ*, gr. νόσ(φ)ι; en fonction articulaire (disjonctive), hitt. *nasma* et *nassuma* "ou"; *nassu* "soit...soit"; articulaire et négative, ombr. *nosue* "nisi"; avec une diphtongue (comme dans la forme tokharienne, où cette diphtongue s'est monophthonguée), sinon en ombrien (Buck, 1904, § 95), du moins en osque, *nei suae* "nisi"; dans le dialecte B, la particule ajoutée à **ne* est, non *-i, mais *-u (*naus*, *nausaññe*).
- (69) Aussi peut-on se demander si à l'enseignement traditionnel concernant *-san* < **s(u)-an* (Friedrich, 1960, §§ 41, 106, 111, 320), il ne convient pas de substituer une interprétation sa- (ligateur, cf. lyc. *se-*) + *-n*, référent de forme avocalique, du thème de lyc. *-ne*, avec la forme qu'offre l'anaphorique tokh. A *-m̃* (sauf s'il résultait d'une syncope).

- (70) Friedrich, 1960, § 114.
- (71) Bader, 1981b.
- (72) Krause-Thomas, 1960, §§ 262; 157.3, pour l'emploi en composition; (Krause-)Thomas, 1964, s.u. *ṣaṇ*, p.249, *ṣṇī*, p.150; 1960, § 290.2, pour *ṣṇīkek* "hingegen" (wörtl. "für sich eben"; vgl. lat. *sed*); en réalité, *ṣēd* a en latin une fonction articulaire (adversative) et, dans la sphère de la personne, est réfléchi, et, dans celle de l'altérité, privatif (avec un sème d'éloignement): *sēditiō*, cf. *se(d) fraude*, etc. Et il en est de même pour A *ṣṇīkek*, articulaire, à côté de *ṣṇī*, réfléchi.
- (73) Macdonell, 1916, §§ 115.c; 116.
- (74) Krause-Thomas, 1960, § 288; (Krause-)Thomas, 1964, s.u. *sne*, p. 156-57; *snai*, 258-9. Et voir Ernout-Meillet, D.E.L.L., s.u. *sine* pour d'autres rapprochements.
- (75) Thurneysen, 1946, p. 252-253; Lewis-Pedersen, 1961, p. 194-195.
- (76) L.E.I.A., 1974, S 2-3.
- (77) Kronasser, 1966, 357-358, refuse de rattacher le dernier constituant de ces adverbes à la particule locale.
- (78) Je laisse de côté sl. *kŭ* préposition + datif, emprunté à l'iranien, selon Benveniste, 1975.
- (79) Renou, 1952, § 378.
- (80) Renou, 1952, § 437.
- (81) Krause-Thomas, 1960, § 71.
- (82) 1972, 203.
- (83) **syo* apparaît comme référent au nominatif du déictique i.iran. *syá* (/tyá-) (Wackernagel-Debrunner, 1930, 545-550), à côté de **sá/tá*-; au neutre de gaul. *so-sio*, qui combine les deux formes; chacune des deux particules, **so* et **-sio* a donné un génitif pronominal (v.sl. *če-so*; skr. *ká-sya*; etc.).
- (84) Krause-Thomas, 1960, §§ 76; 77.
- (85) Krause-Thomas, § 78.
- (86) Senn, 1966, § 569.
- (87) Renou, 1952, §§ 160; 181; 380.
- (88) Voir Güterbock-Hoffner, 1980, s.u. *Laluḥhi* (avec bibliographie). Dans le rituel de Zarpiya (CHT 57), on lit: "il présente une hache de bronze et il parle ainsi: 'viens! ô dieu Santal! Et que les divinités *Innarawantes* viennent avec toi, (elles) qui ont attaché (/ceint) la ceinture (?/le baudrier?) des *Lula(h)hi*, HT I 31:

LU^{MEŠ} Lu-u-la-*hi*-ya-aš-ša-an *hu*-up-ru-uš ku-i-e-eš
iš-*hi*-ya-an-ti-iš". Ces populations pourraient être assujetties, si, d'une part l'hapax *hupru*- pouvait être compris comme "ceinture", et si, d'autre part, l'on considérait que "le symbolisme de la ceinture" avait existé dans le monde anatolien comme, plus tard, en Iran: Widengrén, 1968: dans la société féodale de l'Iran archaïque, la ceinture est "le symbole des liens qui rattachent l'homme-lige, ou le vassal, à son seigneur" (p.155). Dans les textes louvites, le nom apparaît à côté des IR "esclave", GEME "servante", et de LU^{hapiri}- "bédouin, habitant du désert" (cf. Bottéro, 1954).

- (89) P.ex. j'ai entendu quelqu'un dire: "je suis d'une autre religion".
 (90) Solmsen-Fraenkel, 1922, 96-97 (et 39 pour le nom de l'Alsace).
 (91) Sur les noms de l'"autre" dans les langues i.e., Bader, 1985.
 (92) Sur le nom des Sabins, Bader, 1985, 76-77.
 (93) De ces noms, l'un, celui des *Allobroges*, est tiré d'un appellatif (cf. gall. *allfro*), comme celui des *Alanī* l'est du terme qui a donné *āraṇa*- < **al-ano*- "étranger". Dans tous les deux, le sémantisme du thème pronominal (cf. *ārya*-, etc.) est précisé par l'adjonction d'un lexème nominal, comme dans hitt. *hanzassa*- à côté de louv. *ham(a)sa*- (§ 14). Sur ces ethniques, dont le second membre est celui de la "marche", **mrog*- (Pokorny, 1959, 738), voir Lejeune, 1969, notamment 69-75: "le nom des Nitiobroges et celui des Allobroges se trouve donc former un couple de dénominations antithétiques, désignant à l'origine, respectivement, ceux qui sont intégrés, et ceux qui sont étrangers à une unité territoriale et politique donnée" (p.71). Rejeter l'interprétation de Vendryes, L.E.I.A., 1960, s.u. *ni*:- "*nitio*- pourrait être rattaché au germ. v.h.a. *nidar*, v.sax. *nither*, v.angl. *nīder* "en bas"; les Nitiobriges seraient alors les habitants du bas pays. Mais on pourrait aussi rapprocher le sens du skr. *nītyaḥ* 'qui appartient en propre, permanent'; les *Nitiobriges* seraient ceux dont le pays est la propriété durable, ce qui serait en accord avec d'autres noms flatteurs que les Gaulois aimaient à se donner". La variété sémantique "en bas" (germanique) / "son propre" (sanskrit) tient à la dualité des fonctions pronominales marquées d'espace et de personne-altérité. Sur la variation -broges/-briges (forme adoptée par Vendryes), née d'une confusion avec les ethniques à second membre -*brīg*- "force", voir Lejeune, l.c., p.71. Sur le nom des

Gallois *Kymren* (*Cymry*) < **Combrogēs*, voir Solmsen-Fraenkel, 1922, p.7.

- (94) Dans son lemme *áraṇa-*, Mayrhofer, 1956, 46-47, propose une reconstruction **ol(e)nos* en partie inexacte, et fondée sur le rapprochement de v.lat. *ollus*, démonstratif, gaul. *allos* "second", v.sl. *lani* (**alnei*) "de l'année dernière", et ajoute: "weiter wohl mit idg. **aljos...* zu verbinden (vgl. bes. *áraṇāni kṣétrāni*, R.V. 6, 61, 14; ahd. *eli-lenti*, nhd. *Elend* " [qui, pour le sens, équivalent à irl. *aillithir* "d'une autre terre"]. Ces rapprochements sont valables pour le sens, s'agissant, au premier chef, de gaul. *allos*, ainsi que du déictique latin, dans la sphère spatiale, et de la désignation slave qui ajoute à la temporalité, un sème d'altérité: l'"année dernière" est l'"autre année" par opposition à celle où se situe l'énonciation. Mais ils ne le sont que partiellement pour la forme. En effet, d'une part, les vocalismes y divergent: gaul. *a-*, lat. *o-* (et *i-* dans *ille*), sl. *a* ou *o*: d'autre part et surtout, Mayrhofer oublie de rapprocher le nom des Alains (avec les formes modernes apparentées: oss. *ir* (adjectif *iron*) "Ossète"); et ce rapprochement ne permet pas d'autre reconstruction que **al-ano-*, en regard de **al-no-*, **ol-no-*, **il-ne*. A *áraṇa-* se rattache, par ailleurs, *áraṇyam* "Wald, Wildnis, Öde": pour le sémantisme, on comparera la famille germanique à laquelle appartient précisément l'all. *öde* < **au-tyo-*, cf. got. *aups* "ἐρημος", *aupida* "ἐρημία" (voir Feist, 1939, s.u.): le sens en est proprement "à l'écart de", cf. lat. *au-*, etc. (note 114), et pour le sens d'éloignement le thème **le* qui entre dans la constitution du nom de l'"autre" (qui est ce qui est le plus éloigné du soi), tokh. A *lo*, B *lau*, A *lok*, B *lauke*, A *lek* "loin", A *lokit*, B *laukito* "étranger, hôte".

- (95) Sur skr. *nītya* (**nītyo-*, lexicalisé dans le vocabulaire de la parenté par alliance: got. *nīpjis* "συγγενής"), voir Mayrhofer, II, 1963, 162. Le terme est parfois un quasi-réfléchi: Schulze, 1907, 415, indique que le terme a pu prendre le sens de *suus*, ἱδιος, *sva-*, et donne en exemple R.V. 2, 2, 11: *nītye toké dīdivānsam své dāme* "brillant pour sa descendance (et) sa maison".

- (96) R.V. 3, 53, 24 *áraṇam na nītyam* (Geldner, Ved. St. 2, 160); 5, 85, 7, *vesām vā nītyam varuṇāraṇam vā yāt sīm āgas cakṛmā sisrāthas tát*; 7, 4, 7, *pariśadyam hy áraṇasya rékṇo nītyasya rāyāḥ pátayaḥ syāma*.

(97) R.V. 6, 75: 10, 124.

(98) *priyá-*, φίλος (note 26); *amīcus*, d'un thème **am-*, qui a fourni un **am-no-* parallèle à **al-no-*, cf. phryg. ἀδρυμνείν "amare"; *bellum* < **du-alno-*, avec l'une des formes du nom de l'"autre"; *hospes*, *hostis*, ξυνός (Bader, 1982, 131); noms en **swe* comme v.isl. *svilar*, lit. *sválnis* "beaux-frères dont les femmes sont soeurs", etc. (Bader, 1982, 146-47); nom de la "bru", du "descendant" (§ 14); formule du mariage indienne *ámo 'ham asmi sá tvám* (qui a un écho dans le lat. *ubi tu Galus ego Gala*).

(99) Ernout-Meillet suggèrent, de façon inutile, que l'emploi du nom de ces premiers habitants du Latium et de l'Italie comme nom propre par des historiens (Caton, Salluste, Tite-Live) laisse à penser qu'il peut s'agir d'un nom de peuple ancien, déformé par l'étymologie populaire.

(100) Sur cette opposition, voir Lincoln, 1981, 135.

(101) **d̥mso-* de la racine de *dámayati* (bibliographie chez Mayrhofer, I, 1956, 39): donc, forme à degré zéro **d̥m-h₂-*, qui pourrait rendre compte de *dāsá-*, mais nullement de *dásyu-* (cf. note 103).

(102) Le rapprochement est fait alors avec δοῦλος (myc. *do-e-ro*).

Ce dernier, qui a reçu diverses étymologies (voir Chantraine, I, 1968), peut être un **do-sel-o-* dérivé de **dō-* "échanger", d'où "prendre" (ainsi en hittite) et "donner". L.R. Palmer, 1963, 257-58, se fondant sur bab. *širku* "oblat" (offert à la divinité par les maîtres ou les parents selon E. Dhorme), pense que "thus *doero* (δόελος) may well be a derivation of the root **dō-* "give", and the term one more "calque" based on foreign models". M'appuyant sur l'interprétation de *servus* comme "prisonnier de guerre", en rapport étymologique avec hitt. **soru* > *saru* "butin", et cf. arm. *geri* (*gerem* "faire prisonnier", *gerut'wn* "captivité"), etc. (Bader, 1978, 217), je comprends **do-sel-o* comme "pris à la guerre" d'où "esclave", avec le sens "prendre" de **dō-*, e.g. hitt. K Bo III 4 III 77... IR^{MES}-YA-wa-za ku-i-e-eš da-a-aš, avec le nom des "esclaves, serviteurs", comme régime de "prendre".

(103) Mayrhofer, I, 1956, 38-39, rappelle l'emprunt finno-ougrien *tas* "étranger" et pose comme sens ancien "aus dem (fremden) Land", sens qu'il attribue aussi à *dásyu-*, I 28-29. Si **dō-* pourrait à la rigueur convenir à *dāsá-* (mais cf. note 101), il ne peut en être de même pour *dásyu-* (degré zéro attendu: **dī-*). En tout état de cause, il ne paraît pas justifié de renvoyer à *dārāḥ* masc. plur.

- "épouses" (l 36) pour lequel, en revanche, on pourrait songer à *dō-: ce dernier a pu s'appliquer aux mariages faisant l'objet d'un contrat (cf. § 12).
- (104) Mayrhofer, I, 1956, 28-29, s.u., pose un sens "Ungläubige, Feinde", "Götterfeinde, Dämonen", et, tout en reconnaissant qu'il n'y a pas de bonne étymologie, rapproche, pour une raison qui m'échappe, lit. *Tautā* "Deutschland", lett. *tāuta* "Volk", v.pr. *tauto* "Land", etc.
- (105) On rapproche skr. *barbara-* "qui bredouille", au pluriel désignation des peuples étrangers, d'un type onomatopéique connu (lat. *balbus* "bègue", etc?): voir Chantraine, D.E.L.G., I, 1968, s.u. βάρβαρος.
- (106) Voir Landsberger, cité par Laroche, 1978-79, s.u. *Lulāḫhi*, p.160-161: les *Lulāḫhi* sont originaires du pays dont le nom akkadien est *Lullū*, *Lullubu*, *Lulluwu*; la graphie *-(h)h-* renvoie à un ethnique.
- (107) Josephson, 1972, p. 277, n. 10, s'explique sur sa traduction par "mari", sans méconnaître le sens "gendre": bibliographie chez Tischler, 1977, s.u. *antliant-*.
- (108) Voir p.ex. Gates, 1971, 5 (et bibliographie n. 3, p. 1).
- (109) Benveniste, 1969, I, 240-241.
- (110) *Mānava DharmaSāstra*, III, sl. 27-34 pour les huit modes de mariage indien, dans la traduction de Dumézil, 1979, 32-33: dans les trois derniers (union résultant d'une volonté mutuelle ayant pour but (le plaisir) de l'accouplement, enlèvement par force d'une jeune fille qui crie et pleure, union d'un homme et d'une femme endormie, enivrée ou folle), il n'y a naturellement pas de contrat.
- (111) Laroche, 1957-58, 186-187.
- (112) Laroche, l.c.
- (113) Renou, 1952, § 167.
- (114) Bibliographie chez Tischler, 1978, sur le fait de savoir si ce composé, fait de *huhha(nt)-* "grand-père" et *hanna-* "grand'mère" est un dvandva. Ces termes font partie des noms de parenté anatoliens susceptibles d'avoir une étymologie indo-européenne: *huhha-* et les termes apparentés (lat. *avus*, arm. *haw*, etc.) s'analyse par *h₂ew- + -h₂o-, formation qui désigne le "grand-père" comme "lointain" (cf. lat. *au-* valant *ab-* devant *f*: *au-ferō*, etc.), gr. ἀύχαιτείν· ἀνᾶχαρπειν, lit., lett. *au* "au loin"; sl. *u-* indiquant l'éloignement (*u-běžati* "s'enfuir", *u-myti*

"laver" [Vaillant, 1977, p. 127-283], irl. *ó* préposition + datif / *úa* devant article et pronoms suffixés, traduisant à peu près tous les sens de lat. *ab*, etc. A partir de *huhha-* < **h₂ew-h₂o-*, on analysera le nom de la "grand'mère" par **h₂en-h₂o-*, avec le même morphème; l'adverbe pronominal est ici celui qui est par ailleurs agglutiné à **-ti* dans **h₂en-ti* (lat. *ante*, hitt. *hanza*, etc.); la "grand'mère" est alors désignée comme "celle d'avant": *huhha-hannis* seront donc "ceux qui sont dans le lointain antérieur", proprement "ceux d'avant", *ab-ante* (qui apparaît au + II^{ème} s.), puisque lat. *au-* est un allophone de *ab*. Parmi les correspondants étymologiques de *hanna-* (arm. *han*, etc.), on remarquera particulièrement gr. *ἀννίς μητρὸς ἢ πατρὸς μήτηρ*, et *ἀνῶ*, en raison de la présence ou de l'absence de la géminée: absence devant voyelle, dans *ἀνῶ* à suffixe **-oy-*; présence devant laryngale, avec, dans *ἀννίς*, même traitement de **-nh₂-* > *-nn-* que dans *hannis*; on considérera alors que le morphème **-h₂o-* peut apparaître dans d'autres noms de parenté à géminée, comme *νέννος* "père" et "frère de la mère", *νάνναν τὸν τῆς μητρὸς ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀδελφόν* "οἱ δὲ τῇν τούτων ἀδελφῆν", Hsch. < **nen + h₂o-* (le thème pronominal est celui de got. *nīpjis* "parent", etc.); la même formation apparaît dans *γέννα* "descendance", etc. On distinguera donc les termes de "nursery" comme *anna*, *atta* "mère, père", susceptibles de gémination expressive, et les termes indiquant des relations de parenté, où cette gémination peut être étymologique: Bader, 1988.

(115) Voir p.ex. Beekes, 1972, n.10, p.38-39.

(116) Friedrich, 1952, s.u. *antiānt*; et voir Tischler, cité note 107.

(117) Lettre de L. Bazin, du 8-1-1984.

(118) Cf., p.ex., gr. (ἔ)εδνῶ "cadeaux faits par le fiancé au père de sa fiancée", v.h.a. *widomo* "prix de la fiancée"; ou le cinquième mode de mariage indien: "si, après que le (prétendant), de son initiative (*svācchandyāt*), a donné des biens matériels (*dravinam datvā*) aux parents et à la jeune fille selon ses moyens, la fille lui est donnée (*kanyāpradānam*), c'est le mode légal dit *āsura*-" (Dumézil, 1979, 32).

(119) Dumézil, l.c.

(120) Pokorny, 1959, 978.

(121) Pokorny, 1959, 1043-44.

- (122) Bader, 1982, 152-3, avec discussion, de plus, de louv. *hamsuk(k)alla-* "arrière-petit-fils, descendant"; le correspondant de louv. *hamsa-hamsukalla-* est en hittite *hassa-hanzassa-*, avec un dérivé de *has-* "mettre au monde", d'abord simple, puis composé, **hanty-(h)assa-*; le premier membre y est un préverbe dont les conditions phonétiques ne permettent pas de préciser la reconstruction: **h₂em-ti*, comme dans *ham-(sa)*, avec assimilation comme dans *hansatar* ? **h₂en-* comme dans *hanna-* (cf. note 114)?
- (123) Voir Chantraine, D.E.L.G. I, 1968, s.u., pour les attestations dialectales et une autre interprétation étymologique (par le nom de l'"agneau").
- (124) Ernout-Meillet, 1951, s.u.
- (125) Bader, 1982, p. 121-122.
- (126) Formation dénomminative, comme d'autres verbes tirés de thèmes pronominaux, e.g. de **pri-o-* (cf., dans le champ de temporalité $\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\nu$, etc.), skr. *priyá-* "son; aimé" (pour ces deux fonctions, cf. $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, note 26), et les présents v.sl. *prijajǫ*, got. *frijōn* "aimer"; etc.
- (127) Formé comme got. *sineigs* "vieux", skr. *samīkā-* "rencontre hostile", *alīkā-* "faux", cf. pour le *-ī-, qui est, en dernière analyse le même qu'au génitif italique et celtique, $\delta\mu\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ "mêlée", et dans le vocabulaire de la parenté lat. *auīlus* "de grand-père", lit. *anyta* "belle-mère", apparenté à hitt. *hanna-*; etc. (mais *amīta*, etc.).
- (128) Bader, 1988.

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BCILL 42 : LINGUISTIC HAPPENING, 99-106

A NOTE ON PARAGRAPH 28 OF THE HITTITE LAWS

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Among the Hittite Laws treating the institution of marriage (1), §§ 28-30 and §§ 34-36 deal with pre-nuptial arrangements, i.e. betrothal and the necessary payment to the family giving up a member (2). Since the only Old Hittite tablet preserving this section of the Laws, KBo VI 2, omits all of these paragraphs save § 28, it is possible that the other provisions are all somewhat later additions. That is, § 28 is our only certain Old Hittite legal formulation concerning betrothal. I present it here in transliteration and translation, along with a discussion of some of its philological difficulties.

Crucial to the understanding of this law is the interpretation of *ku-uš-ša-an*, preserved only in B ii 11. Some have seen here the noun *kuššan*, "wage; payment" (Friedrich 1952-1954: 120), interpreting it as a functional variant of *kušata*, "brideprice" (3). Since this lexeme is never employed elsewhere in connection with marriage, and since we now know that the following verb *pittenuzzi* is not a derivative of *pittai-*, "to pay" (4), this view must be rejected.

More frequent is the parsing of *ku-uš-ša-an* as a subordinating conjunction *kuššan*, "when(ever)" (5). Only two further contexts have been adduced for this word (6). KUB XXIV 7 ii 61 (CTH 363) is too fragmentary to be helpful: *n]u ? ku-uš-ša-an im-[ma ? o]-ši an-da e-e[š-* (7). Of greater interest is the vocabulary erim.ḫuš Bogh (CTH 301) KBo I 44 + KBo XIII 1 iv 47-49. It will be useful to provide a

A = KBo VI 3 (Middle Hittite ductus)

B = KBo VI 5 (13th-century ductus)

C = KBo VI 2 (Old Hittite ductus)

A ii 5' *ták-ku DUMU.SAL LÚ-ni ta-ra-an-za ta-ma-i-ša-an*
pīt-te-nu-ū z-z[i]

B ii 10-11 *ták-ku DUMU.SAL LÚ-i da-ra-an-za ta-m[ā-*
l pīt-te-nu- zi ku-uš-ša-[a]n

A ii 6' *pīt-te-nu-uz-zi-ma nu ḫa-an-te-iz-zi-ya-aš LÚ-aš*
ku-it ku-it [pīd-da-a-it?]

B ii 11-12 *pīt-te-nu-[I IGI- -zi-iš LÚ- aš*
k[ū-i]t ku-[it

A ii 7' *ta-aš-še šar-ni-ik-zi at-ta-aš-ša an-na-aš Ū-UL*
šar-ni-in-kán-[

B ii 13-14 *ina-at-za šar-ni-en-kán-[z]i [I Ū-UL*
šar-ni-ik-zi

A ii 8' *ták-ku-wa-an at-ta-aš an-na-aš-ša ta-me-e-da-ni LÚ- ni*
pī-an-zi

B ii 14- iii 1 *[tá]k-ku-ān[ida-a-me-e-da-ni LÚ-i*
pī-a[n-

A ii 9' *nu at-ta-aš an-na-aš-ša šar-ni-in-kán-zi ták-ku*
at-ta-aš-ša an-na-aš

B iii 2-3 *nu ad-da-aš an¹-na-aš šar-ni-e[n?]- I š ták-ku*
at-ti-ma an-ni

C ii 1' *nu[?] āt^{1?}-t[ā^{1?}-*

A ii 10' *mi-im-ma-i na-an-ši-kán tu-uḫ-ša-an-ta*

B iii 3-5 *Ū-UL a-aš-šu I na-an-za-an pīt-te-[nu-uz-z]i ku-iš*
na-an-ši-kán[I tuḫ-ša-an-zi

C ii 2' *lmi-im-ma-a[n-*

slightly fuller context (8):

KBo I 44 + KBo XIII 1 iv

44. [me.e]n.na	MA-TI	ku-i [t-ma-an]
45. mē.en.na.a	MA-TI-MA	nu ku-[it-ma-an]
46. me.en.na.a.ma	A-NA IM-MA-TI	nu ku-it-[ma-an-pát ?]
47. me.ta	IM-MA-TI	ku-uš-ša-an
48. me.ta.a	IM-MA-TI-MA	nu ku-uš-ša-an
49. me.ta.a.kam	A-NA IM-MA-TI	nu ku-uš-ša-an-pát

(end of tablet) (9)

Here *kuššan* in various constructions translates permutations of *immati(ma)* (10). According to CAD M/II (Reiner et al., 1977: 406-11), the chief function of *(im)mati* and of the closely related *(im)matima* is as an interrogative pronoun or an adverb, "when?; ever, never", and not as a subordinating conjunction (11). Although occasional use as a conjunction is attested (12), this is hardly the basic meaning, and the first scholar to deal with this vocabulary concluded from its contents that *kuššan* was probably an interrogative adverb (13). On the other hand, lines iv 44-46 equate *(im)mati(ma)* with the Hittite subordinator *kuitman*, "while". This would indicate a rough synonymy of Hittite *kuitman* and *kuššan*, which does not yield a sense for the latter word appropriate for the context of § 28, where a point in time rather than duration is called for.

Thus the available evidence for *kuššan* is contradictory, probably due to the frequent looseness and even inaccuracy (14) of Hittite translations in the vocabularies. At the very least, the reading of *ku-uš-ša-an* as a conjunction in § 28 is open to question.

I propose here a simple textual emendation as the resolution of this crux: Read *ku-iš¹-ša-an* (i.e., *kuiš=an* or perhaps *kuišš=a=an*) *pittenuzzi=ma*, "(and) the one who causes her to run (elope)" (15). While the addition of a single vertical wedge would thus produce a text both intelligible and orthographically correct for the thirteenth-century exemplar B (16), we must postulate an asyndetic

writing *ku-i-ša-an* for the lost portion of Middle Hittite A ii 5', as well as for the completely missing line in Old Hittite C (17).

A possible confirmation of this emendation may be found in the late parallel version of the Laws, KBo VI 4 (18) ii 9': *ku-i-l*, although this remains uncertain due to the frequency with which this text rephrases the legal provisions.

In conclusion, I translate § 28:

If a girl (is) promised to a man, (but) another (man) causes her to elope (19), the one who causes her to elope - whatever the first (20) man [gave] - he shall restore it to him (B: one shall make restitution on one's own behalf). The father (and) mother shall not make restitution (21). If the father and mother give her to another man, then the father and mother shall make restitution. If the father (and) mother refuse (B: But if it is not acceptable (22) to the father (and) mother), they shall separate (23) her from him (B adds: the one who causes her to el[op]e).

ADDENDUM

Long after completing this paper, I discovered that my emendation of KBo VI 5 ii 11 had been proposed by Albrecht Goetze apud Sturtevant-Bechtel 1935: 216, 226. Since no justification is presented there for this emendation, I hope that my contribution may still be of value.

NOTES

- (1) These are §§ 26-37 of the First Series and § 175 of the Second Series, following the numeration of F. Hrozný 1922. On Hittite marriage practice, see V. Korošec 1932 and 1973. Cf. also P. Koschaker 1950, and J. Grothus 1973: 41-44.
- (2) The family of the bride usually received the brideprice, but § 36 sets forth a situation analogous to the Mesopotamian *errebu*-marriage in which the father of the bride makes the payment - see K. Balkan 1948.

- (3) For example, H. Zimmern and J. Friedrich 1922: 9, with n.9 ("(dieser) auch den (Frauen)preis gibt"), and Korošec 1966: 294b.
 (4) See Friedrich 1952-54: 170 f., F. Imparati 1964: 210 f., and also n. 19 below.
 (5) Hrozný 1922:23 ("puis (= -ma), quand il (l')épouse"); A. Ungnad 1925: 105 with n.4 ("wann er abspenstig macht"); Friedrich 1959: 25 ("sobald er (sie) aber entführt"); Imparati 1964: 51 ("appena la rapisce"); E. von Schuler 1982: 102 ("wenn er es entführt").
 (6) See Friedrich 1959: 94.
 (7) See Friedrich 1950: 226 f., where the line is rendered: "u]nd wann im[mer?] drinnen i[st?]" .
 (8) Cf. H. Otten and W. von Soden 1968: 20,33, but see already F. Delitzsch 1914: 28, 33.
 (9) Duplicate is the quadripartite (including syllabic Sumerian) KBo I 35 (+) KBo XXVI 25 ii:

12'	me.na[.n]a ²	MA-TI	ku- i t-[
13'	me.na.[]a	MA-TI-MA	nu[
14'	me.na.[]ši	A-DI MA-TI	[

15'	me.ta[]IM-MA-[
16'	me.ta.[
17'	me.ta.[

- (10) Since Hittite knowledge of Sumerian was slight, and Hittite scholars seem to have relied chiefly on the Akkadian entries when translating the vocabularies, I have ignored the Sumerian columns here. See Hoffner 1967: 302-303.
 (11) Cf. also R. Labat 1932: 136: "*immati*, adv. d'interrog. = quand?"; "*immatima* = en quelque temps que ce soit; jamais".
 (12) See von Soden 1952: § 174e, where a rare meaning "wann auch immer" is given for *immati* (aA, nA, n/spB only).
 (13) Delitzsch 1914: 44.
 (14) Cf. Otten-von Soden 1968: 4-6.
 (15) Oddly enough, my translation was anticipated by E. Neufeld 1951: 8 f.: "he who elopes with her", although in n.27 this writer endorses Hrozný's translation of *ku-uš-ša-an* as "quand".
 (16) Cf. the Late Hittite ritual KUB IX 34 iii 30 f.: *ku-iš-ša-an weritenuir ku-e-ša-an-kán la-aḫ-la-aḫ-ḫi-nu-e-⟨nu-e-⟩ir*, "those¹

who frightened him, those who constantly caused him worry". See CHD III 12, where the beginning of the first clause here is interpreted as *kuiš=an*. Even though this often corrupt text shows incorrect congruence of pronoun and verb here, it nonetheless illustrates the Late Hittite spelling convention with which we are concerned.

- (17) Cf. C i 53" (§ 23): *ku-i-ša-an āppa=ma uwatezzi*. To the asyndetic construction compare also C i 59" (§ 25): *ku-iš paprizzi*.
- (18) On this text, see Korošec 1959.
- (19) Literally "causes her to run". For *pittenu-* as the causative of *pittai-*, "to run", and for the meaning "to elope with", see Friedrich 1959: 94.
- (20) B ii 12 has the adjectival construction *IGI-ziš LÚ-aš*, "the first man", while A ii 6' employs a genitive, *ḫantezziyaš LÚ-aš*, "the man of the first (place)" - cf. the alternation of DUMU.LUGAL *ḫantezziš* and *ḫantezziyaš* DUMU.LUGAL in the rule of succession set forth in the Telepinu Proclamation (KBo III 1 ii 36-37).
- (21) The expression *atta-anna-*, "father (and) mother", is treated inconsistently here even within texts A and B, sometimes construed grammatically as a plural and sometimes as a collective singular.
- (22) Korošec 1932: 562 f. and 1973: 49, n.9, suggests that *a-aš-šu* in B iii 3 is to be understood as "goods", and the relevant clause translated "Wenn die Eltern das (nötige) Vermögen nicht (haben)". While this is indeed possible - note that a break prevents us from determining whether the text had the plene-writing *a-aš-šu-ú* usual in the substantivized form of this word (see C. Watkins 1982) - it seems better to choose the interpretation more in harmony with *mimmai-*, "to refuse", of the older exemplars. See also Kammenhuber 1982: 508.
- (23) On *tuhšanta*, see E. Neu 1968: 176. To the replacement of the medial form in A by an active form of the same verbal stem in the Late Hittite B, cf. the pair *iš-kal-la-a-ri* (A i 37' - § 15): *iš-gal-la-i* (late parallel KBo VI 4 i 37), although B i 16' in this instance retains the older form.

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THE LUWIAN ABSTRACTS IN *-aḫi(t)* AND THE HITTITE NOUNS IN *-ai-*. A CRITICAL REVIEW*

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1. The Luwian abstracts in *-aḫi(t)*, as likewise the Hittite nouns in *-ai-/i-ya*, are morphological types of great interest as testimonies of a primitive stage of Indoeuropean inflexion. They are also important from the phonetic point of view, as evidence of the treatments of the laryngeals in Anatolian. Both have been the object of controversy in more or less recent studies, both with regard to their morphological analysis and to their origins. Some authors have considered that they have a common origin whilst others have denied such a possibility. My aim is to carry out a critical review of these studies, for which I will first give the Luwian abstracts in *-aḫi(t)* (§ 2) and the Hittite nouns in *-ai-* (§ 3) that are recorded. I then give the suggestions that have been put forward on them (§ 4), criticism of same (§ 5) and a final summary with my own suggestions as regards the phonetic and morphological problems implied therein (§ 6).

2. The Luwian neuter abstracts in *-aḫi(t)* functionally correspond exactly to the Hittite abstracts in *-atar*. Habitually of the root upon which they are construed, we have stems in *-i* and quite often derived verbs in *-ai-* or in *-aḫi-*. The data are as follows:

2.1. Luw. *annarummi-* "strong" (in the names of gods in plural *dAnnarummenzi* = Hitt. *dInnarawanteš*), abstr. *annarum(m)aḫi(t)-* "strength" (= Hitt. *innarawatar*) (HW 83, DLL 27, HW 2 Erg. 39). The Hitt. inchoative *innaraweš-* "become strong" implies the existence

of a verb **innarawai-* in the same way as *innarahḫ-* may come from *innarawahḫ-* (HEG 359).

2.2. Luw. abstr. **asraḫi(t)-* (in the gen.-adj. EZEN *ašraḫitaššin* (a festival) HW 36, DLL 34, cf. Laroche 1965: 45), a Hurrite borrowing according to Kronasser, 1962-1966: 209, 228.

2.3. Luw. *ašruli-* "woman (?)", abstr. ("case" in -ša) *ašrulaḫiša* "womanhood (?)" (DLL 34, in which it is not translated, HW 2 Erg. 39).

2.4. Luw. abstr. ("case" in -ša) *atraḫiša*, meaning unknown (DLL 34).

2.5. Luw. neut. *adduwal* "harm", adj. *adduwali-* "bad", abstr. *adduwalahḫi(t)-* "harm", corresponding to Hitt. adj. *idalu-* "bad", abstr. *idalawatar* "harm" and to Hier. Luw. *átu(wa)ta-* "bad" (DLL 35, HW 93, 328, 2 Erg. 39, HHG² 44, cf. also Laroche 1965: 41-42). In Hittite, we also know the verbs *idalawahḫ-* "injure" and *idalaweš-* "become malicious" (HW 93).

2.6. Luw. *ḫandawati-* "leader (?)", abstr. ("case" in -ša) *ḫantawataḫiša* "leadership (?)", corresponding to Lyc. *χῆντawata-* "leader" (DLL 40, HW 2 Erg. 40).

2.7. Luw. abstr. *ḫattulaḫi(t)-* "health" = Hitt. *ḫaddulatar*, cf. also the Hitt. factitive *ḫadulaḫḫ-* "make well" and the inchoative *ḫadduleš-* "become well" (HW 67, 328, DLL 44).

2.8. Luw. abstr. *ḫuitum(ma)naḫi(t)-* "vitality (?)" (HW 1 Erg. 38, in which this translation is given as accurate, DLL 47).

2.9. Luw. adj. *ḫuidwali(ya)-* "alive", abstr. *ḫuitwalahḫi(t)-* "life" = Hitt. *ḫuišwatar*, cf. also the Hitt. verb *ḫuišwai-* "be alive" (HW 72, 328, DLL 47).

2.10. Luw. abstr. ("case" in -ša) *iunaḫiša*, of unknown meaning (DLL 53).

2.11. Hitt. abl., on a Luwian abstract *kunzigannaḫitaz*, of unknown meaning (HW 1 Erg. 10, DLL 57).

2.12. Luw. : *lapanali*- "summer pasture", Luw. in Hitt. LÜ(:) *lapanalli*- "herdsman (on summer pasture)", cf. : *lapana*- "summer pasture", abstr. Luw. *lapanallaḫit*- "summer pasturing" (HD 40-41).

2.13. Luw. adj. *muwatalla/i*- (in instrum. *muwatallati*) "strong", abstr. *muwaddalaḫi(t)*- (in the Hitt. gen. *muwaddalaḫidaš*) "strength" (HW 329, 1 Erg. 39, DLL 72, HD 316); the adjective also appears in Hitt. *muwatta(l)i*- (adjective and anthroponym), Hier. Luw. *muwatali*- (HW 146, HHG 2 85).

2.14. Luw. abstr. *nakkuššaḫi(t)*- "(ritual) substitution" = Hitt. *nakkuššatar*, both formed on the strength of Hurr. *nakkušši*- "(magic) substitute", which appears in this form in Hittite texts. Cf. also the verbal derivatives Luw. *nakkušša(u)*-, Hitt. *nakkuššiya*- "substitute" (HW 148, 1 Erg. 39, DLL 73).

2.15. Luw. *tarpašša*- "(magic) substitution", abstr. (Luw. in Hitt.) *tarpaššaḫi(t)*- "id." (HW 1 Erg. 40, DLL 93, HW 3 Erg. 32).

2.16. Luw. *upaḫili*- "disposable (?)" seems to be an adj. in *-li* derived from the abstract **upaḫi*- "gift", cf. Hitt. *uppeššar* "gift", Hitt., Luw. *uppa*- "send", etc. (HW 234-5, DLL 102, HW 2 Erg. 43).

2.17. Luw. abstr. gen.-adj. in Hitt. (^dU) *warraḫitašša*- "storm god of help", cf. Hitt. *warri*- "help", *anda warrai*- "bring as help", iter. *warrešša*- (HW 245, DLL 107).

2.18. Luw. abstr. ("case" in *-ša*) (*u*)*warannaḫiša*, meaning unknown (DLL 107).

2.19. Luw. abstr. *waššaraḫi(t)*- "goodwill", cf. *waššar*- "be propitious", Hier. Luw. *wasara*- "goodwill" (HW 1 Erg. 40, DLL 109).

2.20. Luw. abstr. *waštaraḫi(t)*- "pasturing (?)", cf. Hitt. *wastara*- "herdsman" (HW 253, 2 Erg. 44, 3 Erg. 37).

2.21. Luw. *ziti-* "man", abstr. ("case" in -ša) *zidaḫiš[a]* "virility" (HW 330, DLL 115-6, HW 2 Erg. 44).

3. As for the Hittite nouns in *-ai-*, there are alternances in their inflexion between forms with *-ai-*, with *-i(y)-* and with *-a-* to which we shall return in § 5.9. They are mainly of common gender, although there are one or two neuters which likewise follow this inflexion. Just as we did with the Luwian forms in *-aḫi(t)-*, we now give those cases in which they appear as derivatives of the same root, verbs in *-ai-*, *-aḫḫ-* or abstracts in *-atar*. The data are as follows:

3.1. *ai-* "ah" (as a noun) (HW 17, HW ² 47).

3.2. *erai-* (a part of liver) (HW 42).

3.3. (DUG) *ḫakkunai-* (comm. and neut.) (a vessel for oil) (HW 46).

3.4. *ḫalluwai-* "a quarrel", *ḫalluwai-* "to quarrel", *ḫalluwatar* "quarrelling" (HW 48).

3.5. *ḫarai-* (dubious) cf. Kühne-Otten 1971: 24.

3.6. *ḫarnai-* "bith-chair" (HW 58).

3.7. *ḫaštai-* (neuter) "bone" (HW 63).

3.8. *ḫašuwai-* (neuter) "Peganum harmali (?)" (HW 64).

3.9. *ḫukmai-* (comm. and neuter) "incantation", cf. LÜ *ḫukmatalla-* "sorcerer" (HW 73).

3.10. *ḫullanzai-* "battle (?)", *ḫullanzatar* "id. (?)" (HW 74).

3.11. DUG *ḫupuwai-* (neuter) (a kind of small cup) (HW 76).

3.12. *ḫurtai-* "curse" cf. *ḫurta(i)-* "to curse" (HW 77).

3.13. *išhamai*- "song" cf. *išhamai*- "sing", *LŪišhamatalla*- "singer" (HW 85).

3.14. *SĠišttagga(i)*- "bow-string" (HW 90).

3.15. *ištarningai*- "illness" (HW 92).

3.16. *kurkurai*- "wound (?)", cf. *kurkuriya*- "mutilate" (HW 118, 1 Erg. 11).

3.17. *(KUŠ)laplai*- (an internal (?) body part) (HD 45).

3.18. *(GIŠ)lazzai*- (a kind of tree or wood) (HW 128, HD 49-50).

3.19. *lelhundai*- (a vessel), *lelhunda(i)*- "to pour (?) (from a *lelhundai* - vessel)", cf. *DUGlelhuntalli*- (a vessel) (HD 60).

3.20. *lingai*- "oath" (HW 129, HD 64-69).

3.21. *(GIŠ)lutta(i)*- (neut.) "window" (comm. in plu.) (HW 131, HD 88).

3.22. *maniyah(h)ai*- "government" cf. *maniyahhatar* "id." *LŪmaniyahhatalla*- "governor" (HW 135, 1 Erg. 13, HD 167-169).

3.23. *UZUmuḥ(ha)rai*- "part of the (hind) leg of an animal" (HW 144, 1 Erg. 14, 2 Erg. 18, HD 317-319, cf. Weitenberg 1979: 303).

3.24. *šagai*- "omen" (HW 176).

3.25. *šaklai*- "custom" (HW 176).

3.26. *šanku(wa)i*- "nail of the finger" (HW 183).

3.27. *šejuwai*- (dub.) cf. Güterbock 1938: 130.

3.28. *(UZU)šišai*- (neut.) "tooth" (HW 194).

3.29. *šulai-* "lead" (Laroche 1966: 163, 181).

3.30. (GiŠ, DUG) *tallai-* (neut.) (vessel for perfumed oil) (HW 206, 1 Erg. 19).

3.31. *damai-* "other, second" (HW 206-7, 2 Erg. 24).

3.32. NINDA *tuhurai-* (a kind of bread) (HW 227).

3.33. *tuhhu(wa)i-* "smoke, vapor" cf. *tuhhai-* "to pant" (HW 226-7, 1 Erg. 21, 2 Erg. 25).

3.34. *uwai-* "pity" (HW 239).

3.35. *wagai-* (dub.) cf. Kronasser 1962-6: 207.

3.36. *waštai-* "sin" cf. *wašdumar* "id." (HW 249).

3.37. *wattai-* "bird (?)" (HW 249).

3.38. *zahhai-* "fight" (HW 257).

3.39. GiŠ *zahrai-* (a sacred symbol) (HW 257).

3.40. *zaihai-* (neut.) (a ritual vessel) (HW 258).

3.41. *zapzagai-* "glass" (HW 260).

3.42. *zašhai-* "dream" (HW 260).

4. The diverse hypotheses put forward to explain the Hittite stems in *-ai-* and the Luwian ones in *-aḫi(t)-* are, in brief, the following:

4.1. Sturtevant (1930) considered that the Hittite stems in *-ai-* were of the same origin as the Greek ones in *-ω/-οι-*, an opinion that was refuted by him in 1937, in which he preferred to compare them to the Latin stems in *-ēi-* of the type of *rēs* (cf. also

Sturtevant-Hahn 1951: 68 f.).

4.2. Pedersen (1938: 38 f.) prefers to derive Hitt. *-aiš* from a group which he breaks down into $-\bar{a} + yo$, which is surprising as this is not a thematic type.

4.3. Kronasser 1942: 89 (later in 1956: 109) considers the formation in *-aiš* as stems in *-i* "mit gedehnter *o*-Stufe", which is contradictory to the presence of forms without *-i-* in Hittite (cf. *infra*).

4.4. Rosenkranz 1952: 56 in turn is concerned with the Luwian forms in *-ahji-*, which he suggests should be interpreted as derivatives of the Hurrite suffix of belonging *-hi* (cf. words such as *ahrušhi-*, etc.) an opinion followed by Kronasser 1956: 89. However, this opinion cannot be upheld for the suffix in the Luwian forms is always *-ahji-*, and never *-hi* after a consonant. Besides, it also appears lengthened by *-t-*, which does not occur with the Hurrite forms (cf. Laroche 1960: 166 f., Kammenhuber 1969: 265).

4.5. Risch 1955 studies the alternances of the verbs of the *pai/piyanzi* type, alongside the nominal stems in *-ai-/iy-* and attempts to explain these alternances on the strength of full degree solutions as against a zero degree of a stem in a laryngeal, but as he does not work with laryngeals with appendix, he has to elaborate a whole series of unnecessary distinctions to explain the different alternances (cf. Holt 1958: 155 ff., Gil 1969: 405).

4.6. Gusmani 1959 takes great pains over these stems and is the first to suggest a common origin for the Hittite forms in *-ai-* and the Luwian ones in *-ahji-*, although he explains them as coming from stems in $-\bar{a} + hi$ (he even toys with the alternative possibility that *-h-* might appear due to the routine of the scribes). Kronasser 1962-66: 205 rightly criticises this proposal by pointing out that it destroys the obvious parallel of these stems with the stems in *-u-*.

4.7. Adrados 1961: 270 f. attempts to solve the problems posed with regard to the type in *-ai-* by considering that it corresponds to the Gr. type $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\acute{\omega}$, and, like Risch, by interpreting them as coming

from a full/zero degree of a laryngeal. Yet - and the novelty lies in this - they are with the laryngeal $*H^y$, which explains the results with -a as against those which gave -ai- and -i-. Likewise, with this explanation, the parallel of stems in -i with those in -u is maintained, for these latter were interpreted by Adrados as coming from $*H^w$ (Adrados 1961: 243 ff.).

4.8. Kronasser 1962-66: 204 ff. returns to the questions. He distinguishes Indoeuropean *nomina actionis* (*halluwal-*, etc.), a neuter with a full degree *ḡaštai*, a group of forms derived from abstracts in $*-mā$ or $*-mo$, $*tā$, $*-to$, etc., which passed secondarily to the stems in -i (among which he includes *damai-* which he considers to derive from an older collective *dama-* "Zweiheit"), a series of cultural words from the world of ritual, perhaps of Hurrite origin (*erai-*, *ḡarnai-* etc.) and other less easily classifiable groups. He also considers that the alternance -ai-/-a- is not to be explained as a purely formal one but as a "superposition with other verbal abstracts", apart from the fact that -y- may fall between vowels, as in -ayaš > -aš and create secondary stems in -a.

4.9. Gil 1969: 401 (following Hamp 1953: 135 ff.) points out how the *ḡaštai* type comes from a stem in a laryngeal, as witnessed by O.I. *asthi*, with -th- from $*t + H$. Likewise (1969: 405-6), he interprets the stems in -aiš as derived from a suffix with laryngeal with appendix, as does Adrados. The old genitive would be the form in -iyaš, whilst -ayaš comes either from $*ōyos$ (with extension of -ōi) or from -oyos (as Gr. *Λητόδος*), with secondary full degree.

4.10. Kammenhuber 1969: 264 f. restricted herself to pointing out the correspondance of functions of the Luwian abstracts in -*ahji-* to those of the Hittite ones in -*atar/-annas*, although she rejects and refutes Gusmani's hypothesis with regard to the common origin of the Luwian stems and the Hittite nouns in -aiš on the strength of these latter being *nomina actionis* of the common gender. This argument is not valid if we bear in mind that the stems in $*eH_2$ give rise in post-Anatolian Indoeuropean both to the neuter plurals and to the feminine stems in -*ā*, as is today generally acknowledged. Kammenhuber also observes (1969: 282 f.), without offering any interpretation of the fact, that the abstracts in -*ḡil(t)* give the ending

-a- which originated in the root word, as against the stems in -i from which they are derived.

4.11. I myself devoted a few pages to the subject in my doctoral thesis (Bernabé unpub. 1973: 540 ff.). In view of the fact that the work has not been published, I give further details as to my conclusions then. In this work, I studied the Luwian stems in -*aḫi*- and the Hittite ones in -*ai*-, which I explained as full degrees of stems in a laryngeal with palatal appendix, that is, as derivatives of $*eH \text{ } ^0$ > Luw. -*aḫi*-, Hitt. -*ai*-, as against the corresponding adjectives or nouns in -*i*- (as also forms with -*i*- in the declension of stems in -*ai*- of the type of *ḫurtiyaš*, as against *ḫurtaiš*, etc.), which would have come from the zero degree $*-H \text{ } ^0$ > -*i*. I based my interpretation on several facts:

4.11.1. The unequivocal presence of a laryngeal reflex in a stem in -*ai* such as *ḫaštai* (cf. O.I. *asthi* < $*H_3 \text{ } ostH \text{ } ^Y$, Gr. *ὀσθακός* < $*H_3 \text{ } ost^oH \text{ } ^Y$), so that it is both arbitrary and unnecessary to separate *ḫaštai*, in which the presence of $*H \text{ } ^Y$ is obvious, from the other cases.

4.11.2. The presence of spellings with -šš- or a double sonant in many of the stems in -*i* corresponding to the formations in -*aḫi*- (e.g. *annarummi*-, *muwattalla*-, *lapanalli*-, *nakkušši*-, *tarpašša*-, *warri*-) which is explained on the basis of a sonant or *s* + *H* (cf. Bernabé 1973, Watkins 1975: 375 ff.). The old alternance would be *annarummi*-/ *annarumaḫi*-, *muwattalli*-/ *muwattalaḫi*-, etc., that is, geminated in the stem in -*i* (from *s* or sonant + *H \text{ } ^Y*), as against a non geminated form in the stem in -*aḫi*- (in which the sonant or *s* were not in contact with the laryngeal and were not, therefore, geminated). Analogy, however, levelled out distribution and we thus have *ašruli*-, *adduwali*-, instead of $*ašrulli$ -, $*adduwalli$ -, as might have been expected, and the reverse, *nakkuššaḫi*-(t)- instead of the expected $*nakkuššaḫi$ -(t)-; etc.

4.11.3. The correspondence of the forms in -*aḫi*- with verbs in -*aḫḫ*-, which quite obviously come from $*-eH \text{ } ^Y$.

4.12. Watkins (1973: 55 note 5, 1975: 364 ff.) gives new evidence for the presence of -*aḫi*- in other Anatolian languages, such as Hier. Luw. *karpártahis*³ "dignity, succession rights" (cf. Meriggi 1967: 34), LUGAL-*his* "royalty", Hitt. *paraḫḫiš* (a post in the palace),

which he relates to the verb *šuš paraḫtla*, as also *ḫataḫiš*, a term related to divination and habitually considered as Hurrite (HEG 217 with bibliography), which he interprets as formed on *ḫat-* "to dry", with the meaning of "dry spots (on the liver)", which were important to fortune-tellers. He also adds the forms of Palaic *warlaḫiš*, *putaḫḫiš* of unknown meaning. Watkins considers that *-t-* is therefore of secondary origin in this suffix, as is to be seen from comparison with the non-Luwian forms, and interprets *-aḫi-* as the result of the Indo-European collective **-eH₂* (that is, the one which gives rise to the stems in *-ā* and to the neuter plurals) + *i* and gives as a typological parallel the adjectival formations of Greek of the *πρεσβής, βασιλῆς, χλωρός* type, which he considers to be a parallel innovation to this latter. Lastly, he gives the formations in *-aḫi* in relation to the verbs in *-aizzi/-aiti*, in which **eH₂ye-* > **-ahye-* > *-aye-*. According to Watkins, Luw. *warrahi(t)-* "help", Luw. Hitt. *ḫU warraḫitaš* "storm god of help" and Hitt. (*anda*) *warraizzi* "bring as help", are in the same relation to each other as Lat. *cūra/cūrāre*, which is also undeniably supported by the existence in Palaic of alternances between *takkuwagati/takuwati*, etc., in which *-g-* is also a trace of the laryngeal.

4.13. Georgiev 1974 once more supports the idea of the identity of the stems in *-aḫi* and those in *-ai*, considering them as the oldest form of what were later to be the stems in *-ā* of the Indo-European languages. As support for his explanation, he points out the presence of a series of traces of *-i-* in the Indo-European stems in *-ā*, such as O.I. *sénay-ā* (Instr. sing.), *sénay-ai* (Dat.), *sénāy-ās* (Gen.-Abl.), Gr. *ῥύναι*, Lat. *quae*, O. Bulg. *zénof-φ*, etc., and concludes that these were originally stems in *-ai* < **eH₁* (cf. also Georgiev 1975: 107 f.).

4.14. Villar 1974: 175 repeats Adrados's hypothesis with regard to the interpretation of the stems in *-aiš* as full degrees with voicing of the appendix of the laryngeals. Nevertheless, he does not take into account the Luwian nouns in *-aḫi-*.

4.15. Weitenberger 1979 examines in detail the formation and documentation of the stems in *-ai*, analysing the chronology of the texts. In his interpretation, he follows Kuiper's theory of 1942 on the

hysterodynamic inflexional type, the schema of which would be:

N. sing. $C\acute{e}C-\bar{o}is$	N. pl. $-\acute{o}y-es$
Acc. sing. $CC-\acute{o}y-\eta\eta$	Acc. pl. $-y-\eta s$
Gen. sing. $CC-y-\acute{o}s$	

He therefore considers the Nom. $-ais$ (< $*-\bar{o}is$) and the Acc. $-an$ (< $*-oym$) as original, on the basis of which analogical levellings were to come about in both senses: extension of results with $-a-$ and with $-ai-$. Hittite would likewise have innovated by eliminating the old alternances in the root vowel (of which he believes he sees a trace in Hitt. *muḫrai-/maḫrai-*).

4.16. Villar 1981: 193 f. collects the contributions of Adrados, Georgiev and Watkins, and displays greater caution and eclecticism than in 1974: He accepts that there were traces of $-i$ in the stems in $-\bar{a}$, but refuses to take a stance as to the explanation which he considers best for justifying the presence of these forms in $-i$ in the inflexion of the stems in $-\bar{a}$.

4.17. Adrados 1981a: 218 ff., 1981b: 240 ff., adds new comparative material of interest with the aim of showing that the ensemble of new data fits in perfectly with his original interpretation of the stems in $-ai$ on the basis of stems with the laryngeal $*H^Y$.

4.18. Lastly, Brosman 1981 criticises Georgiev's hypothesis on the identification of the Luwian stems in $-aḫi-$ and the Hittite ones in $-ai-$, in the first place because, according to him, they are based "on dubious phonology" and secondly, because they come into conflict with Sturtevant's explanation (Sturtevant-Hahn 1951: 68-9) - which, to my mind, says no more than that, perhaps Sturtevant's interpretation is incorrect -, and thirdly, because the only known parallel of a Hittite stem in $-ai-$ is, according to him, the heteroclitte neuter $*osthi$ (which is not true either, cf. § 5.4). He likewise explains (266) $-aḫi-$ on the basis of $-aḫ + i$ and the alternance $-i/-aḫi$ as "a pattern established by the inheritance of derivatives formed prior to the proliferation of secondary i -stems in Luwian", on which cf. § 5.2.

5. Having presented the material and having examined the hypotheses put forward for interpretation of same, the time has come

to formulate the conclusions which I believe may be derived from an analysis of both.

5.1. To begin with the type in *-aḫi(t)-*, it seems obvious that *-t-* is in fact a secondary lengthening (Watkins 1975: 364, Brosman 1981: 266), as may be seen by the forms in other Anatolian languages, as likewise within Luwian, in the "cases" in *-ša* (*ašrulaḫiša*, *ḫantawataḫiša*) or derived ones in *-li* (*upaḫili-*). The parallel of Gr. βασιληῖς, πρεσβηῖς alleged by Watkins is not correct: these are cases of lengthening in **-id-* on forms in **-ēw-*.

5.2. It also seems clear that *-aḫi-* cannot be broken down into **-ā + hi-*, as Gusmani would have it, not only because the parallel with the stem in *-u* is thus broken but also because *-ā* comes from a suffix with a laryngeal. Neither is it possible to break it down into **-ah + i-*. The presence of *-i-* in Hier. Luw., Pal. and Hitt. demonstrated by Watkins 1975: 364 ff., prevents one from accepting Brosman's hypothesis of 1981: 266 (who in any case seems to ignore Watkins's above-mentioned work). In fact, the *i* is found in the suffix from Anatolian onwards and cannot be attributed to "the proliferation of secondary *-i*-stems in Luwian". Neither can we attribute to Anatolian the addition of *-i* to the suffix **-eH₂-*, for there are traces of it in the stems in *-ā* in the whole of Indoeuropean (cf. Georgiev 1974, although formerly Adrados 1961: 268 ff., in a work which Georgiev likewise seems to ignore. Adrados in turn quotes Collitz 1905). Adrados's suggestion on the basis of a suffix **-eH₂^Y-* satisfactorily explains the alternances between the appearance of *-i-* as against its absence. Lastly, the systematic presence of *-i-* in the base stem (*annarummi-/annarumaḫi(t)*, etc.) makes it more plausible to understand the alternance *-aḫi/-i-* in terms of full/zero degree. From the foregoing (and from the arguments I give herebelow after the analysis of the stems in *-ai*), it seems more plausible to me to interpret *-aḫi-* as a Luwian result of **-eH₂^{YO}-* with colouring of the vowel of the timbre *-a-* due to the effect of the laryngeal and with voicing of the appendix as *i*, and the stems in *-i* corresponding to same as derivatives of the zero degree **-H^{YO}-* of the same suffix (cf. § 4.11).

5.3. As to the stems in *-ai-*, we must in the first place, when

establishing the Indoeuropean origins of the inflexion, separate a series of terms without any Indoeuropean etymology, generally from the cultural sphere or *mots voyageurs* that refer to material or botanical terms. I refer to *erai-*, *ḫakkunai-*, *ḫarnai-*, *ḫašuwai-*, *ḫupuwai-*, *ištagga(i)-*, *šulai-*, *tallai-*, *tupurai-*, *wagai-*, *wattai-*, *zahrai-*, *zaiḫai-*, and *zapzagai-*. Their origin is mainly Hurrite (cf. Kronasser 1962-66: 207) so that it may be supposed that they are parallel formations to *Égarupaḫi-* "warehouse" (HW 2 Erg. 15), *kupaḫi-* (a cap) (HW 1 Erg. 10), *TÚGsepaḫi-* (a dress) (HW 3 Erg. 28), *SISKURdupšaḫi-* (a festival) (HW 229), *zizzaḫi-* (a jug) (HW 3 Erg. 38), which are also of Hurrite origin and of very similar lexical characteristics. This would mean that in Hittite, in a group of words in *-aḫi-* of Hurrite origin, the intervocalic *-ḫ-* was lost and that they would have become assimilated to the type in *-ai-* of Indoeuropean origin.

5.4. Now let us turn to the group of forms in *-ai-* of Indoeuropean origin. In the first place there is a series of terms which are unmistakably related to Indoeuropean stems in *-ā*. If we interpret the Indoeuropean stems in *-ā* as coming from lengthenings in **-eH₂* (according to the arguments put forward in § 5.2), it should not surprise us to find in Hittite in derivatives of these stems, alternances between results with *-ai-* and results with *-a-*, which makes it unnecessary to consider them as Kronasser 1962: 206 does, that is, as stems in *-ā* secondarily introduced in those in *-i*. The data are the following:

5.4.1. *ḫukmai-* is a clear abstract in **-mā* (i.e. in **-meH₂*), as is to be seen from the derivative *ḫukmatalla-*, without traces of *-i* (on the etymology of this term, cf. HEG 255-7). Quite probably *damai-* also is such an abstract derivative, according to Kronasser's highly plausible explanation 1962-66: 206. Likewise, the presence of *išḫamatalla-* without traces of *-i*, together with *išḫamai-* bears witness to a formation in *-meH₂*. The alternance *išḫamai-* (subst.) / *išḫamai-* (verb) is identical to that which appears between Gr. οἶμῆ / οἶμῶ, despite the etymological problems posed by the identification of both terms (cf. HEG 378-380).

5.4.2. The following are obvious abstracts in **-tā* (i.e. **-teH₂*): *ḫurtai-* (as against Čop 1971: 46-7; on etymology cf. HEG 308 ff.), *luttai-* originally an abstract on **leuk-* which then became concrete

(cf. Kronasser 1962-6: 206) and *waštai-*. In this last case, the older presence of a laryngeal in the root is guaranteed by the form *wašdumar*, with the result *-um-* from **-Hw-* (on this treatment cf. Bernabé 1983: 40-42).

5.4.3. In turn, *šaklai-* is an abstract in **-lā* (i.e. in **-leH₂^Y*) on the root from which Lat. *sacer*, etc. is derived.

5.4.4. Comparison likewise restores **-eH₂^Y* in *muḫrai-*, which corresponds to Gr. $\mu\tilde{\eta}\rho\alpha$ / $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$ (respectively from **meH₂^Wr^{*}H₂^Y* / **m^{*}H₂^W - reH₂^Y*, cf. Bernabé 1985) and *tuhhu(wa)i-*, which on account of its formation corresponds to Gr. $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\alpha$, $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\alpha$ "sacrifice(s) with fire" from **dhuH^W(e)H₂^Y*.

5.5. Other groups of forms are clearly of Indoeuropean inheritance, but we have no formation parallels like stems in *-ā* outside Hittite. We observe that in some cases they correspond to verbs in *-ai-* / *-iy-* and to abstracts in *-atar* (as happened with the Luwian abstracts in *-aḫi(t)-*), and in others, to formations which denote an Indoeuropean **-H₂^Y*. These are *ḫalluwai-* (cf. *ḫalluwai-* verb, *ḫalluwatar*), *ištarningai-*, *kurkurai-*, *leḫundai-* (*leḫundai-*, verb), *lingai-* (cf. Lat. *ligāre*), *maniyah(h)ai-* (*maniyahḫatar*), *šagai-* (cf. Lat. *sagax*), *zahḫai-*, *zašḫai-*. As we have seen, they are usually related to the formation in **-ōi* or in **-ēi* in Indoeuropean and of course we do not exclude the possibility that some of them may be, that is, that they come from I.E. stems in **-eH₃^Y*, **-eH₁^Y*, but this is merely a theoretical possibility which does not invalidate the rest of this argument.

5.6. Other formations are more difficult to classify (they perhaps come from diverse origins). In the first place, there is a series of parts of the body such as *ḫastai* (with Indoeuropean etymology and with an obvious laryngeal, as we saw in § 4.9), *laplai-*, *šanku(wa)i-*, *šišai-*, which are comparable to the above-mentioned *muḫrai-* and which also recall the formation of Gr. $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$. Vacillations between common and neuter gender are not surprising if we observe how forms in Greek related to *muḫrai-* are a neuter $\mu\tilde{\eta}\rho\alpha$ and a term for a probably feminine gender $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\eta$, or if we bear in mind that from the formation in **-eH₂^Y* come both the I.E. feminine forms in **-ā* and the neuter plurals in **-ǎ/ā*. The forms *ai-*, *uwai-* (cf. HW² 47), which are probably onomatopoeic, are also difficult to classify as

are likewise those terms of which we know nothing, such as *ḫarai-*, *šeḫuwai-*.

5.7. The analysis of the morphological behaviour (as likewise their phonetic one, cf. § 5.9) of these stems shows that the only possible explanation is to consider them as derivatives of Indoeuropean stems in $*-eH\frac{Y}{2}$ and thus related to the I.E. feminine forms in $*\bar{a}$. In fact, Weitenberg's alternative of submitting the Hittite data to be straightjacket of hysterodynamic inflexion is hard to accept.

5.7.1. Hittite displays not the slightest trace of vowel alternance in the root vowel of these stems, a feature which is characteristic of hysterodynamic inflexion. The sole example which Weitenberg 1979: 302-3, believes he has found: *muhrai-* / *māhrai-* is not such (cf. Bernabé 1985). In this case, it is more plausible to see a Hittite formation without root alternance, as is typical of stems in $*-eH\frac{Y}{2}$ which do display vowel alternances in the suffix, as do the Hittite forms in *-ai-*.

5.7.2. The inflexion in *-aiš* is highly defective in the plural and is full of vacillations between *-ai-* / *-a-* / *-i-* from the first texts onwards. It rather gives the impression of an inflexion in formation more than an older lost regular type (cf. Villar 1974: 53 ff.).

5.7.3. The alternance in the paradigm between *-a-* / *-ai-* / *-i-* cannot come from an original regular distribution: Nom. *-aiš* / Acc. *-an* which was later disrupted by analogy. Similar alternances occasionally arise in non-hysterodynamic stems in *-i*. To give a few examples (and this list is by no means exhaustive), cf. $*\text{ḫatugiš}$ / ḫatugayaz / adv. ḫatuga , and the derivate ḫatugatar ; mekkiš / meqqayaz , $*\text{dalukiš}$ / dalugaeš / neut. taluga (a pure stem in $*-eH\frac{Y}{2}$ comparable to the neut. plur. of Gr. $\delta\omicron\lambda\iota\chi\acute{\alpha}$, šalliš / šallayaš / neut. plur. šalla , deriv. šallatar , šuppiš / šuppayaš , etc.

5.7.4. The vacillations *-ai-* / *a-* are comparable to those which occur in the whole of Indoeuropean, cf. the examples given by Adrados 1961: 268 ff. and Georgiev 1974. This also goes against the hypothesis alternative to Weitenberg's, that of the "mixing" of stems in Anatolian (Kronasser 1962-6: 245 ff., Kammenhuber 1969: 282).

5.7.5. Neither does Weitenberg take into consideration the obvious parallel in alternances of the stems in *-ai-* / *-iy-* and the verbs in *-ai-* / *-iy-*, a parallel that is stressed by Watkins for the stems in *-aḫi(t)-* (Watkins 1975: 371, cf. Adrados 1961: 271, a work

that Watkins seems not to have come across).

5.8. It is well known that Hitt. *-ai-* does not phonetically come from an Indo-European diphthong but from a "long diphthong". In the Nom. Sing., it is acceptable to interpret that this long diphthong comes from *Dehnstufe*; yet how can this be accepted in other cases, particularly in a neuter such as *jaštai*? (Cf. Weitenberg 1979: 295 with regard to the existence of hysterodynamic neuters in Indo-European).

5.9. Now let us turn to the phonetic basis of the matter. We can easily explain the alternances *a/ai* as different results of a sequence $*eH_2^Y$ as against forms with *-i* coming from the corresponding zero degree $*-H_2^Y$. Although this is not the occasion to give an extensive phonetic theory that has already been presented elsewhere (cf. Adrados 1961, 1981a, b; Bernabé 1976, 1977), I shall merely give here a scheme of the results put forward (# indicates syllable boundary):

	Full grade
$*-eH_2^Ys$	$\left\langle \begin{array}{l} *-eH_2 \# H_2^{Yo}s > -\bar{a}ls, \text{ Hitt. } -a\check{s} \\ *-eH_2^Y \# s > -\bar{a}s, \text{ Hitt. } -a\check{s} \\ *-eH_2 \# H_2^{Yo}m > -\bar{a}lm, \text{ Hitt. } -ain \end{array} \right.$
$*-eH_2^Ym$	$\left\langle \begin{array}{l} *-eH_2^Y \# m > -\bar{a}m, \text{ Hitt. } -an \\ *-eH_2 \# H_2^{Yo}o- > -\bar{a}yo, \text{ Hitt. } -aya- \end{array} \right.$
$*-eH_2^{Yo}o-$	$\left\langle \begin{array}{l} *-e \# H_2^{Yo}o- > -eyo \text{ (it is likely that Hitt. } -aya- \text{ may} \\ \text{come from } *-o \# H_2^{Yo}o-) \end{array} \right.$

	Zero degree
$*-H_2^Ys$	$\left\langle \begin{array}{l} *-H_2^{Yo}s > -is, \text{ Hitt. } -i\check{s} \\ *-^{\circ}H_2^Ys > -as, \text{ Hitt. } -a\check{s} \\ *-H_2^{Yo}m > -im, \text{ Hitt. } -in \end{array} \right.$
$*-H_2^Ym$	$\left\langle \begin{array}{l} *-^{\circ}H_2^Ym > -am, \text{ Hitt. } -an \\ *-H_2^{Yo}o- > -yo-, \text{ Hitt. } -lya- \end{array} \right.$
$*-H_2^Yo$	$\left\langle \begin{array}{l} *-^{\circ}H_2^Yo > -ayo, \text{ Hitt. } -aya \end{array} \right.$

We find parallels of these alternances outside Hittite, for example, in the derivatives of the following roots:

5.9.1. $*deH_2^Y-$: *ey*: O.I. *dayate*; \bar{a} : Gr. δᾰμος; *y*: O.I. *dyāti*; \check{a} : Gr. ᾰδατος.

5.9.2. $*leH_2^Y-$: $\bar{a}y$: O.Sl. *lajati*; \bar{a} : Gr. λᾰς; $\bar{a}i$: Gr. λᾰτο; \check{a} : Gr. ᾰλας (cf. Bernabé 1975: 345-352).

6. In the face of the data given here, I believe that one may conclude that the most plausible explanation is that the Hittite type in $-ai-$ comes partly from stems with the suffix $*-eH_2^Y$, although a series of formations of non-indoeuropean origin follow this inflexion, most probably deriving from words ending in $*-ahi-$. Neither should one discard the possibility that stems in $*-eH_2^Y$ (those which give rise to forms of the type of Gr. πειθῶ) may have been included in the inflexion of the stems in $-ai-$, or even stems in $*-oH_2^Y$, $*-eH_2^Y$ (that is, the forerunners of the Lat. declension type *rēs*), although this latter point is no more than a theoretical possibility. My statement is based on the following facts:

6.1. The phonetic possibility (and not "dubious phonology" as Brosman 1981: 260 would have it) of admitting a "sound change in progress" (cf. Watkins 1975: 367) $-ahi-$ > $-ai-$ for Hittite, on the basis of stems in $*-eH_2^Y$.

6.2. The high plausibility of the hypothesis that the forms in $-ai-$ of Hurrite origin derive from older formations in $-ahi-$ (cf. § 5.3).

6.3. The obvious parallel of certain Hittite forms in $-ai-$ with stems in \bar{a} in other Indoeuropean languages (cf. § 5.4).

6.4. The presence of results with $-i$ in I.E. stems in \bar{a} (cf. § 5.7.4) makes it more plausible to start with $*-eH_2^Y$ than with $*-eH_2$ lengthened by $-i$ in non-specifiable conditions.

6.5. The continual confusions between $a/ai/i$ in the inflexion and the presence of $-a-$, $-ai-$ in the stems in $-i$, alternances that can only be explained if one starts from $*-eH_2^Y$ / $*-H_2^Y$.

6.6. The documented existence of a laryngeal in forms such as *haštai* (where the *Dehnstufe* is unthinkable), *waštai-* (cf. § 5.4.2), etc.

6.7. The identical distribution displayed by the Luwian formations in *-aḫi(t)-* and the Hittite stems in *-ai-*: both alternate with verbs in *-ai-/iya* (a relationship identical to that existing between Lat. *cūra/cūrāre*, Gr. *τιμᾶ/τιμᾶω*).

6.8. The relation displayed by both the stems in *-aḫi(t)-* and those in *-ai-* to the abstracts in *-atar*. I should like to add a few observations to this respect. In my opinion, the forms in *-aḫi-* lengthened with *-t* (secondary) in Luwian are the same as those which give rise to the Hittite abstracts in *-atar* (from **-eH₂^y-t-*), with the sole difference that Hittite later inflected these lengthened forms as heteroclitic ones in *-r/-n-*. Parallels to this procedure in other Indo-European languages are the type of Lat. *quies/quietem* lengthened secondarily with *-t-* (*quietis*, etc.) or Gr. *χρῶς, χρῶς*, lengthened secondarily with *τ* as in *χρωτός*, etc. The schema of the situation I propose would be as follows:

without <i>-t-</i> lengthening	with <i>-t-</i> lengthening
$\begin{array}{l} \text{Luw. } -aḫi- \\ *-eH_2^y- < \\ \text{Hitt. } -ai- \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{l} \text{Luw. } -aḫit- \\ *-eH_2^y-t- < \\ \text{Hitt. } -at- \text{ (later } -atar/ \\ \text{ } -annas). \end{array}$

$*-H_2^y- >$ Luw., Hitt. *-i-*

6.9. To my mind, the foregoing seems sufficient evidence to postulate the common origin of the stems in I.E. *-ā*, the Luwian abstracts in *-aḫi(t)-* and the Hittite inflexion in *-ai-*, although there was an increase of these latter due to stems that came from other origins; both non-Indo-European forms in *-aḫi-* and maybe derived I.E. ones of stems in **-H₁^y*, **-H₃^y*. In any case, Hittite created a unitary type from them, parallel to what happened in the 5th Latin declension.

6.10. As regards the morphological relationships established between the above-mentioned types, the origin of the transformation of the Indoeuropean morphological type we are studying must have occurred when the process of the disappearance of the Indoeuropean laryngeal phonemes began, this latter bringing about phonetic alterations which masked the older relationships between the full and zero degrees of the stems in $*-eH^Y / *-H^Y$ of any timbre. This in turn caused a readaptation and re-classification of the stems which are found in an initial stage in Hittite (cf. Adrados 1961: 265 ff., 1984).

6.10.1. On the one hand, the Indoeuropean languages tended to create an inflexion in $-i$ as from the zero degree of the stems in $*H^Y$ of any timbre, an inflexion from which forms with a long vowel tended to disappear (the result of the full degrees $*-eH^Y$ - with lengthening of the vowel, according to the timbre of the laryngeal) and with a long diphthong (from $*-eHH^Y$ -), although there are remains in certain formations here and there (of the type of Gr. $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\eta\iota$, etc.).

6.10.2. On the other hand, certain stems with a diphthong are created (with a long result in the Nominative), of the type of Lat. $r\bar{e}s$, Gr. $\pi\epsilon\iota\theta\acute{o}$, etc.

6.10.3. There was far greater extension of the type derived from $*-eH_2^Y$, which tends to eliminate results with $-i$ (although, as I have pointed out, there are remains of it here and there, particularly in the morphologization of the pure stem as a Dative, cf. Adrados 1984: 6). From this, on the one hand, derive the feminines in $*-\bar{a}$ of the Indoeuropean languages, and on the other, the neuter plurals in $*-\check{a}/-\bar{a}$.

6.10.4. It is obvious that the situation in Hittite is prior to this distribution, only if we bear in mind that the feminine gender had not yet been created in Anatolian, this gender being inseparable from the stems in $*-\bar{a}$ in the Indoeuropean languages. The vacillating situation of Hittite is therefore not a product of a mixing of established Indoeuropean types, but displays a situation previous to the distribution we see carried out here - yet with remains of the primitive vacillation - in the Indoeuropean languages. We only see a tendency to isolated a type in $-i$ (with certain traces of $-a/-$, $-a-$) and a type in $-ai-$ which was not yet feminine. Even certain old stems in $*-eH_2^Y$ may have been included in the Hittite inflexion in $-a\check{s}$ (that is, the one corresponding to the Indoeuropean thematic type),

having lost all trace of the results with *-i*. This is probably the case of *annaš* (cf. Adrados 1961: 270, Kammenhuber 1969: 279 ff.). The Hittite and Luwian situation therefore constitutes extremely important evidence of the first stages of the creation of the Indo-European inflexional types.

* The author expresses his gratitude to Josephine Bregazzi for undertaking the English translation of this article.

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BCILL 42 : LINGUISTIC HAPPENING, 131-155

LA LANGUE DES INSCRIPTIONS EPIC HORIQUES DE PISIDIE

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0. En 1890, à Sofular, petit village à 15 km à l'Est de la pointe Sud du lac d'Eğridir, Ramsay et Hogarth découvraient dix-sept stèles funéraires (Ramsay 1895). L'une d'entre elles était anépigraphie ; les seize autres (n° I-XVI dans le corpus donné *in fine*) (1) portaient, en graphie continue, de courts textes qui ne se laissent pas interpréter par le grec.

Ces documents ont été l'objet d'une littérature relativement abondante, compte tenu de leur modestie (voir bibliographie) et l'on peut avoir l'impression que tout a été dit à leur sujet. Pourquoi donc y revenir? Pour deux raisons: a) Depuis les dernières études exhaustives (Zgusta 1957 et Metri 1958), de nouveaux textes sont apparus: l'un est dû à Borchhardt 1975 (n° 18= ici n° XVII), quatre à Brixhe-Gibson 1982 (n° 2, 4, 9, 13 (2)= ici n° XVIII-XXI), et une douzaine, encore inédits, à Th. Drew-Bear, avec lequel je les publierai (2bis). J'ajouterai que Brixhe-Gibson et Th. Drew-Bear apportent, en outre, des épitaphes grecques qui, on le verra, ne sont pas sans intérêt pour l'interprétation des pisidiennes. b) Hormis Ramsay, aucun de ceux qui ont tenté de comprendre les inscriptions produites par lui (3) ne les a vues. Ce fait peut avoir son importance pour l'appréciation de certaines difficultés d'ordre graphique.

1. Selon Ramsay (1895, p.354), ces textes "peuvent être de quelqu'une des périodes appartenant à l'empire romain". Sur critères graphiques, mais sans argumentation, Sundwall (1913, p.255; suivi par Metri 1958, p.42) les situe au début de l'époque impériale ("Schrift etwa Anfang der Kaiserzeit"). Il est évident que, le contenu étant

inutilisable de ce point de vue (4), nous ne pouvons que recourir au style de l'écriture, avec les incertitudes que comporte ce critère. Les seuls traits notables sont le tracé lunaire de l'*epsilon*, du *sigma* et de l'*omega*. Mais on sait qu'un tel tracé apparaît dès ... l'époque hellénistique. J'ai l'impression que les inscriptions sont assez tardives (IIe-IIIe siècle p.C.?); mais c'est seulement une impression, que n'était aucun argument sérieux. Mieux vaut donc le vague de Ramsay que la précision non fondée de Sundwall. J'attribuerai simplement ces documents aux premiers siècles de notre ère: il va de soi qu'ils correspondent à plusieurs générations et qu'ils peuvent s'échelonner sur une assez longue période.

2. Les stèles sont faites d'un calcaire tendre et la surface inscrite est souvent fortement érodée. Telle est sans doute l'origine de l'impression de gravure faible et grossière ressentie par Ramsay (p.353). Les pierres ou les estampages que j'ai pu voir ne la confirment pas tout à fait. Le ductus des lettres n'est jamais vraiment grossier: il est presque toujours très sobre et il peut même être très élégant, comme c'est le cas pour XX (susceptible, il est vrai, de provenir d'un site voisin).

L'érosion de la surface inscrite entraîne naturellement des difficultés de lecture. Ramsay en signale pour les n° X, XII, XIII et XV. De plus, les pierres n'ont pu être étudiées dans les meilleures conditions: "M. Hogarth, atteint d'une soudaine attaque de fièvre, ne fut pas en mesure de me prêter un concours aussi efficace que d'habitude. Aussi, la moitié environ des inscriptions qui suivent se fonde-t-elle uniquement sur mes copies propres" (p.354). Les commentateurs n'ont pas toujours été suffisamment attentifs à ces remarques.

2.1. Les textes de Ramsay nous livrent deux formes présentant apparemment une finale -ιε: δωταριε (I) et γδεβιε (XII), que Zgusta (1957 et 1963) interprète comme des datifs. Or aucun des textes trouvés depuis Ramsay n'offre de séquences se terminant ou susceptibles de se terminer en -ιε. Est-ce un hasard? A la fin du texte I, la lecture de Ramsay est probablement exacte: δωταριενεις; si l'on en croit la copie, le *sigma* est lunaire et l'*epsilon* carré (5):

une confusion est donc exclue. C'est la segmentation de Zgusta qui est sans doute en cause. Avec les autres commentateurs on doit certainement lire $\delta\omega\tau\alpha\rho\iota \epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. Pour le second "datif", Ramsay lui-même (p.361) semble hésiter: "la forme correcte paraît être Gdebetis (cf. les n° XIII et XIV); mais la dernière lettre de notre texte est certainement un ϵ ". S'agissant de tracés lunaires, la distinction entre ϵ et C sur une surface endommagée est souvent très difficile. Sundwall (1913, p.254) et Metri (1958, p.47) ont de bonnes raisons de mettre en doute, sur critère linguistique apparemment (ils ne s'expliquent pas), le $\gamma\delta\epsilon\beta\epsilon\tau\iota\epsilon$ finalement retenu par Ramsay et de lui préférer $\gamma\delta\epsilon\beta\epsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$.

2.2. Il faut certes résister à la tentation de "retoucher" les inscriptions pour les besoins d'une interprétation. Mais il convient de rester constamment vigilant, même quand la lecture de Ramsay paraît certaine ou est donnée comme telle. Ainsi, toujours sans se justifier, Sundwall (*l.c.*) met en doute le $\Lambda\iota\rho$ du texte II. Si, conformément à l'opinion générale, il s'agissait bien d'un anthroponyme (pour une femme), la forme serait, par sa finale, linguistiquement isolée. En effet, si l'on consulte l'index inverse de Zgusta 1964, on trouve cinq noms en $-\rho$. Deux d'entre eux sont pisidiens: $\Lambda\iota\rho$ et $\text{Ουπερ/Εν} \alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho$ (fourni par le n° XIII). Les trois autres sont les suivants: a) Ματαρ (§ 883), en Phrygie, qui représente le nom phrygien de la "mère" employé comme anthroponyme; b) $\Lambda\alpha\rho$ (§ 796), aux confins pisido-lycaoniens, dans une inscription vue par le seul Sterrett: $\Phi\acute{o}\sigma\phi\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \Lambda\alpha\rho \eta \gamma\upsilon\nu\eta$, susceptible d'être lue... $\kappa\alpha\iota \Lambda\alpha\rho\eta \gamma\upsilon\nu\eta$ (6); c) Αυειωρ (§ 126), nominatif déduit du datif Αυειορι et qui doit en réalité être lu $*\text{Αυειορις}$, puisqu'il s'agit d'un nom gaulois en $-r\bar{\lambda}$, d'où grec $-\rho\iota\varsigma$ (7). On verra plus loin (§ 6) qu' $\text{Ουπερ/Εν} \alpha\upsilon\upsilon\epsilon\rho$ est susceptible et a des chances de devoir être éliminé. Reste $\Lambda\iota\rho$. Le hasard a voulu que Borchhardt et ses compagnons (1975, p.69) retrouvent la stèle concernée. Le responsable des questions épigraphiques et linguistiques écrit $\Lambda\iota\rho$, que semble justifier le dessin donné en annexe. Or, il a manifestement été influencé par Ramsay. En effet, si l'on se reporte aux photos de la pierre et de l'estampage présentes dans le même article, on constate: 1. que, contrairement au tracé du dessin, la branche gauche du "lambda" est presque verticale, 2. que sa branche droite rejoint quasiment la base de la haste suivante, 3. que ce qui

est lu *rho* est réduit à une haste verticale: NI paraît être la leçon la plus vraisemblable, cf. ΝΙς et ΝεΙς en IX et XV.

3. On trouvera chez Zgusta 1957 (p. 586 sqq.) une excellente analyse des tentatives d'interprétation. On se contentera de rappeler ici qu'elles se ramènent à deux types, à l'intérieur desquels peuvent naturellement apparaître des différences sensibles.

A. Le premier (Brandenstein et Shafer, suivi par Hemer) s'appuie sur la fréquence de certaines formes. Ainsi *μουσητα*/*μουσητος* (ou variantes) revient à sept reprises (textes I à VII), *δοταις*/*δοτες* à quatre (I, II, III, XIII). Cette répétition interdirait qu'on y vît des noms de personnes. Ce devrait être des appellatifs (e.g. "monument"), des verbes (e.g. "a érigé") ou des noms de parenté. A cette attitude on peut objecter au moins trois arguments: a) L'épithaphe n° III est traduite par Brandenstein 1933-1934, "en souvenir a été érigé", par Shafer 1950, "stèle pour son mari"; comme le remarque ironiquement Metri (1958, p.44), ce texte nous indiquerait qu'il s'agit d'une stèle ou qu'elle a été érigée en souvenir, mais tairait le nom du défunt! Il serait hasardeux d'invoquer contre cet argument l'existence de stèles encore moins loquaces, puisque anépigraphes (Ramsay 1895, n° 17; Brixche-Gibson 1982, n° 5, 6, 7, 8...). b) La fréquence des formes mentionnées ci-dessus est manifestement en partie le fruit du hasard: dans la quinzaine de textes trouvés depuis Ramsay, *μουσητα* n'apparaît qu'une fois et *δοταις*/*δοτες* est totalement absent. c) De toute façon, l'épigraphie anatolienne nous apprend que le patrimoine onomastique de certaines communautés est assez restreint; ainsi Bean et Mitford 1965 (p.110-25) publient vingt-et-une inscriptions provenant de Ayasofya (Cilicie Trachée Occidentale), correspondant à un petit site urbain non encore identifié; parmi elles, trois décrets en l'honneur d'un empereur. Dans les dix-huit textes restants, le gréco-anatolien **Οβριμος* apparaît dix-neuf fois (8) (dont trois dans le même document), *Κόνων* sept fois (dont trois dans le même document). Le texte n° 8, par exemple, nous apprend que Laodicée, fille d'Ouareis, petite-fille de Konōn, arrière-petite-fille d'Obrimos, a épousé un Obrimos, fils de Konōn. La répétition d'une séquence ne saurait donc être un argument contre son identification comme nom de personne.

B. Le deuxième type, inauguré par Ramsay (cf. ensuite Sundwall, Zgusta et Metri), croit retrouver dans les épitaphes presque essentiellement des anthroponymes. Il s'appuie sur une éventuelle adéquation du relief et du texte: "L'interprétation des textes qui suivent est délicate; mais elle est facilitée par la concordance manifeste qui existe entre les noms et les figures du relief. Les inscriptions paraissent mentionner essentiellement les noms et la parenté du mort" (Ramsay 1895, p.355 sq.). Et, en effet, comme le note Metri (*l.c.*), plus le relief représente de personnages, plus le texte est long. Cette orientation est probablement la bonne. Nous avons affaire à des épitaphes d'une grande sobriété, susceptibles de se limiter au nom du défunt, sans même donner son patronyme (cf. le n° VIII, auquel il faut ajouter un inédit de Th. Drew-Bear). L'existence de stèles anépigraphes, avec uniquement un relief, pourrait indiquer l'importance de ce dernier pour l'identification du ou des défunts. Cependant il convient de rester prudent, car la concordance risque de n'être pas toujours totale entre relief et épitaphe, comme le montrent les épitaphes grecques trouvées au même endroit ou dans les environs sur des stèles de même style. Ainsi l'accord est parfait pour les stèles 11 et 16 de Brixhe-Gibson 1982 (respectivement deux hommes/une femme et trois hommes sur le relief et dans le texte); mais il y a discordance dans le cas du document n° 10: représentation de deux hommes et d'une femme par le relief, mention de trois hommes par l'épitaphe; de même, le relief d'un inédit de Drew-Bear représente un homme et deux femmes, tandis que deux, sinon les trois défunts mentionnés par l'épitaphe sont des hommes.

Certaines stèles étaient probablement fabriquées à l'avance et l'on se contentait d'y graver le nom du défunt ou celui du dernier défunt, et, même si d'autres l'étaient après l'inhumation du défunt ou du dernier défunt, il faut tenir compte de la présence éventuelle de tel personnage dans le relief pour des raisons affectives.

En raison d'une possible discordance entre relief et épitaphe, il faut donc se garder *a priori* de "forcer" cette dernière pour la rendre conforme au relief.

3.1. De ce point de vue, quelques documents font, en effet, difficulté. Zgusta (1957, p.580, 606 sq. et 608) lit ainsi le n° 1: Δωταρι Μοσητως, Ειη Δωτ[α]ρις, Δωταρις Νεις "Dōtari fils de Mosēta, Eiē fils de Dōtari, pour Dōtari fille de Nei". Il admet la possibilité d'une seconde interprétation: "Dōtari fils de Mosēta pour Eia fils de Dōtari (et) Dōtari fille de Nei". La seule objection à cette interprétation - mais elle ne serait pas réthibitoire - résiderait dans la disposition des personnages sur le relief: deux hommes à gauche, une femme *seule* à droite. En réalité *seule*, qui laisse entendre que le personnage était isolé à droite, est un ajout de Zgusta. Bien que Ramsay soit muet sur ce point, les trois personnages étaient probablement côte à côte, serrés l'un contre l'autre; tout au plus un ou deux d'entre eux pouvaient-ils se trouver légèrement surélevés sur un socle bas (cf. les n° 8 et 12 de Brixhe-Gibson 1982, anépigraphes) ou assis (*ibid.* n° 11). Deux inédits de Drew-Bear, l'un grec (cf. *supra*), l'autre épichorique, semblent bien indiquer qu'une telle disposition n'était pas pertinente et n'impliquait pas entre les personnes mentionnées par l'épithaphe les relations supposées par Zgusta. D'autre part, il faut noter que le rapport entre le relief et le texte ne serait pas ici le même que dans les autres documents, où relief et épithaphe paraissent renvoyer au(x) défunt(s) exclusivement. En réalité, on peut échapper à ces difficultés par le recours à une autre segmentation: Δωταρι Μοσητως, Ειη Δωτ[α]ρις, Δωταρις Ενεις (cf. *supra* § 2). L'épithaphe mentionnerait trois défunts et l'on retrouverait les trois personnages du relief. Resterait à identifier la femme, s'il y a adéquation totale entre le relief et le texte. L'ordre dans lequel sont rangés, de gauche à droite, les personnages du relief se retrouve-t-il dans l'épithaphe? C'est le cas pour la stèle à épithaphe grecque n° 11 de Brixhe-Gibson, où l'on peut voir une femme assise à droite sur le relief et, dans l'épithaphe, une femme, Ναζ, nommée en dernière position. Quand il y avait adéquation, cet ordre était-il toujours pertinent? La faiblesse du nombre des documents sur lesquels nous opérons interdit de l'affirmer. En tout cas, comme on le verra plus loin (§ 5.1), la morphologie n'exclut pas que le même nom, Δωταρι, ait été porté par un homme et une femme, encore qu'il soit plus raisonnable de penser qu'il désigne deux personnes du même sexe.

3.2. L'application des mêmes principes interprétatifs à IV soulève

également de sérieux problèmes. Au texte $\mu\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\eta\tau\alpha\mu\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ correspond un relief représentant à gauche un homme et à droite une femme tenant un enfant dans ses bras. La méthode combinatoire permet d'isoler facilement deux noms apparemment au nominatif (cf. *infra* § 5.2): $\mu\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\alpha$ et $\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\eta\tau\alpha$. Mais que faire de la séquence finale? Ramsay (1895, p.358) y voit deux noms, $\mu\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha\omicron\varsigma$, ce dernier étant le "génitif de 'Ιᾱς" (opinion de Radet). Zgusta (1957, p.607) hésite entre un ou deux mots (plus vraisemblable selon lui) au génitif: $\mu\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ ou $\mu\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha\omicron\varsigma$: a) Il(s) référerai(en)t à l'enfant: b) si deux mots, l'un d'entre eux (lequel?) serait un appellatif ("fils", "enfant"...), l'autre (lequel?) un possessif; c) ce(s) génitif(s) serai(en)t fonctionnellement sur le même plan que les nominatifs précédents, il y aurait simplement anacoluthie et passage (par erreur) d'un cas à l'autre. Metri (1958, p.47 sq.) suggère la lecture $\mu\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\alpha$, $\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\eta\tau\alpha$ $\mu\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ "Memoua, Mouseta di Masiao(?)". L'enfant pourrait donc ne pas être mentionné. Le nom d'un des deux parents ne serait pas suivi du patronyme: celui de la femme? cf. le n° VIII, réduit au seul anthroponyme, apparemment féminin, lu $\Sigma\lambda\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\chi\alpha$. Toutefois, le philologue italien n'exclut pas une segmentation $\mu\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha\omicron\varsigma$, sur laquelle il ne s'explique pas, mais qui dans son esprit correspondrait sans doute à un nominatif suivi d'un génitif patronymique.

L'interprétation la plus vraisemblable selon Zgusta (deux mots) ferait apparaître une situation doublement insolite: ce serait le seul cas où l'on aurait un appellatif et un possessif. Je ne la discuterai pas dans la mesure où l'auteur ne se risque pas à préciser lequel serait nom, lequel serait pronom. Les autres possibilités évoquées par Zgusta et Metri impliquent toutes une finale génitive en $-\iota\alpha\omicron\varsigma$. Aucun des deux ne s'interroge sur le thème concerné, sinon indirectement Metri dans sa traduction "di Masiao", lequel ne répond à aucun des modèles recensés par ailleurs. En réalité, dans les documents actuellement connus, un génitif en $-\omicron\varsigma$ renvoie régulièrement à un nominatif en $-\alpha$, cf. $\Gamma\delta\alpha\beta\alpha - \Gamma\delta\alpha\beta\omicron\varsigma$ (§ 5.3.1). Aurions-nous donc affaire à un $\mu\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha\omicron\varsigma$, génitif de * $\mu\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha$? L'absence de parallèle dans l'anthroponymie anatolienne rend difficilement défendable l'analyse de cette séquence comme un seul nom. J'y verrais volontiers deux anthroponymes (nominatif + génitif): il y aurait donc concordance entre relief et épitaphe. Deux segmentations seraient dès lors possibles: 1. $\mu\alpha\varsigma\iota\alpha\omicron\varsigma$ (cf. déjà

Metri), mais que faire de Σιλοος génitif d'un *Σιλαα qui ne rappellerait rien de connu? 2. reste Μᾶσι Αος. Μᾶσι n'est pas encore attesté; mais si l'on songe à la fréquente substitution de *i* à *a* comme "voyelle thématique" en terre louvite (9), on le rapprochera du hittite *Masa* (pour un homme, Laroche 1966, p.115) et du gréco-anatolien Μᾶα/Μᾶας, masculin et féminin (Zgusta 1964, § 875/1, 2, 4, 6). Αος serait donc le génitif d'un Αα, surprenant *a priori*; mais E. Laroche (o.c., p.23) cite pour le second millénaire un Αα, sur lequel il s'interroge, il est vrai: "lire Α.Α= *muwa...* ou bien Α(γ)α?". Et à l'époque gréco-romaine, si Αας (masc.) et Αα (fém.) qu'on a cru identifier en Cilicie et en Lycie sont effectivement suspects (Zgusta, o.c., p.43, n.5, et 344, n.2), on peut invoquer l'attestation, en Isaurie, d'Αουα (fém., Zgusta, *ibid.* § 125/1): Αουα est probablement un Lalname de même type qu'Αβα ou Αδα: *a-wa* comme *a-ba*, *a-da* (cf. Laroche, o.c., p.240). Ici il aurait perdu sa semi-voyelle médiane, cf. en Phrygie Orientale le toponyme Γδανμᾶα - Γδανμᾶα (voir en dernier lieu O. Masson, *Florilegium Anatolicum*, Mélanges E. Laroche, Paris 1979, p.245-247); en Pisidie, Lycie et Cilicie les anthroponymes Λα, Λας et Λαας (Zgusta 1964, § 786/1, 2, 3) (10), auxquels pourraient correspondre Λαουας en Galatie et éventuellement Λαβας en Phrygie et Cilicie (Zgusta, *ibid.* § 793/1, 2).

L'épithaphe serait donc à lire Μεμουα, Μουσητα, Μᾶσι Αος "Mémoua, Mouséta, Masi fils (fille?) de Αα". Il paraît vain de chercher à identifier le père, la mère et l'enfant.

4. L'écriture utilisée est naturellement l'alphabet grec contemporain, dont, cependant, elle emploie une partie des caractères seulement, soit dans les textes découverts jusqu'ici: Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, Ζ, Η, Ι, Κ, Λ, Μ, Ν, Ξ, Ο, Π, Ρ, Σ, Τ, Υ, Ω.

4.1. Parmi les signes correspondant à des consonnes, on remarquera l'absence de Θ, Χ, Φ (11). Lors des premiers contacts de quelque densité entre Grecs et indigènes (conquête macédonienne), ces caractères recouvraient en grec des occlusives; mais, au moment où sont gravées les épithaphe épichoriques, ils notent des spirantes. A aucun moment la langue représentée par ces textes n'a vraisemblablement possédé de tels phonèmes. Θ, Χ et Φ étaient donc

inutiles. Tout au plus peut-on s'attendre à les voir apparaître, à l'occasion de découvertes futures, comme doublets de T, K et Π, si, comme les Phrygiens voisins, les indigènes apprenant le grec ont initialement perçu les aspirées de ce dernier comme des occlusives sourdes simples et ont par conséquent ignoré ensuite leurs avatars spirants (12), cf. d'ailleurs dans une épitaphe grecque de Sofular ou des environs χαί pour καί, Brixhe-Gibson 1982, n° 3.

Que valent dans les textes de Sofular Β, Δ et Γ, qui en grec correspondent désormais à des spirantes sauf après nasale?

Enfin, comment apprécier les géminées graphiques que livrent quelques-uns des textes apportés par Th. Drew-Bear, par exemple dans Εδδι?

4.2. Venons-en à présent aux signes vocaliques.

On constate que Y n'apparaît jamais seul (il vaut alors *i* en grec), mais toujours associé à O; le digramme OY sert probablement à rendre [u] (cf. Γπουρωξα, n° VI), [uw] ou [w] (par exemple dans Μεμουα, n° IV, et Ουανι, n° X).

La langue de nos épitaphes ne bénéficie sans doute pas d'une longue tradition graphique. On n'en observe pas moins parfois une sorte de norme; ainsi les radicaux de Μοσητω (e.g. III) et de Μηνει (XIII) présentent toujours un H, pour lequel il est difficile d'imaginer une valeur autre que [i] (pour Ειη, voir *infra* § 5.3.3 b).

J'examinerai plus loin les problèmes posés par les finales. Mais il paraît intéressant de noter dès maintenant que dans les noms qui ont un génitif en -ος la graphie de la finale n'hésite jamais qu'entre o et ω (13), tandis que dans le radical il y a échanges entre o, ou et ω, cf. Μοσητωs (I) - Μουσητωs (II), Γπουρωξα (VI) - Σλπουροξα (VIII). Existence de deux voyelles postérieures d'apertures différentes? Langue louvite tardive, le lycien ne possède naturellement qu'une voyelle d'arrière arrondie, le /u/ (14). Le sidétique, qui semble appartenir à la même famille, pourrait, de façon surprenante, avoir connu un /o/ et un /u/ (15). La langue de Sofular risque d'être, elle aussi, d'ascendance louvite et le flottement O/Ω - OY mentionné *supra* paraît refléter un système vocalique qui ne possède qu'une

voyelle d'arrière, phonologiquement /u/, pour laquelle les locuteurs, ne percevant pas l'opposition /o - u/ du grec, utilisent indifféremment les signes OY et O qui servent à noter cette dernière. Mais pourquoi ne retrouve-t-on pas la même hésitation en finale? Doit-on simplement invoquer ici aussi l'existence d'une "norme"? Les découvertes futures permettront peut-être de répondre à la question (voir encore *infra* § 5.3.1).

4.3. Personne n'a, semble-t-il, mis en doute la lecture Σλπουροξα du n° VIII. Or Σλπ- correspond apparemment à un groupe difficilement prononçable. Ramsay (1895, p.359), sur indication de Radet, invoque l'attestation d'une séquence initiale Στλ- en Pisidie. Il songe sans doute à l'ethnique épichorique de Selgé, tel qu'il est livré par des légendes monétaires (Στλεγιυς ou variantes) (16); mais 1) la liquide et l'occlusive sont là dans un ordre différent, 2) la séquence s'explique aisément à partir de *selg-*, par une métathèse et l'apparition d'un *t* épenthétique, et une forme comme Εστλεγιυς montre qu'un *e* prothétique pouvait en faciliter l'articulation. J'ai dit plus haut (§ 2) que les surfaces inscrites étaient à Sofular souvent très érodées; dans ces conditions il n'y a pas de différence entre un *sigma* et un *epsilon*, qui a perdu son trait médian, entre un *lambda* et un *alpha* qui a perdu sa barrette intérieure: devrait-on lire Ελπουροξα (17) ou Σαπουροξα? Sinon, le groupe initial Σλπ- ne peut s'expliquer que par une syncope et par l'intervention, dans la prononciation, d'une voyelle d'appui: [s°lp] ou [sl°p]. Γπουρωξα (VI), sans doute un composé comme le précédent avec le même second membre que lui, suppose probablement une aphérèse ou, plus probablement, une syncope. La même explication vaut pour Γδαβα - Γδαβος (X, XI, XII) et Γδεβετις (XII, XIII, XIV).

La syncope semble un phénomène banal dans la région. Les groupes, initiaux ou intérieurs, κβ, κδ, τβ, βδ, γδ, κπ, κτ, δβ, γβ relevés dans l'onomastique anatolienne (cf. Zgusta 1964) proviennent quasi exclusivement de Pisidie, Isaurie, Cilicie et Lycie. Ainsi le cilicien Τβως pourrait être la forme syncopée de Τουβως attesté sur le même site (18). Γδαγμασις attesté sur les confins pisido-lyciens et qu'on a tenté de corriger en Γδαμοσις est susceptible de correspondre à Κιδαμουσις (Cilicie) (19). Τβερασητας, Τβερημωσις (Cilicie), Ταρχινδβερρας (Isaurie) et Ρωνδβερρας

(Cilicie) (20) renvoient vraisemblablement au hittito-louvite *tapara* "souverain, maître" (?), qui a sans doute été utilisé parfois comme épithète divine (21). De même, il y a des chances pour qu'il faille rapprocher le Γδααας de Sofular (VII) du Κιδααας isaurien (22). Ces syncopes impliquent naturellement l'existence d'un accent à dominante intensive, comparable à celui qu'on semble déceler en Lycie ou en Pamphylie (Brixhe 1976, p.44). Dans ces conditions, il est inutile de se demander si le système vocalique épichorique de Pisidie comportait des oppositions de quantité: un tel accent, avec lequel les voyelles toniques sont nécessairement plus longues que les autres, exclut semblables oppositions. La présence de Ω et de Η ici, pas plus que dans les textes grecs contemporains, ne suppose nullement l'existence de longues. Comme l'ont fait Zgusta 1957 et Metri 1958, on peut, dans les translittérations en caractères latins, les représenter conventionnellement par *ō* et *ē*; mais le signe diacritique utilisé ne doit pas tromper le lecteur: il indique la présence non pas d'une voyelle longue, mais simplement d'un Ω et d'un Η dans la version originale.

5. L'hypothèse inaugurée par Ramsay et brillamment exploitée par Zgusta 1957 et Metri 1958 (voir *supra* § 3) est incontestablement celle qui rend le mieux compte des faits observés. Moyennant les réserves de détail exprimées au cours des pages précédentes, elle ramène le contenu des épitaphes à des anthroponymes exclusivement. On y rencontre les situations suivantes:

- nom du défunt seul (au nominatif), e.g. Σλπουροξα (ou Ελπουροξα ou Σαπουροξα, VIII),
- nom du défunt au nominatif, suivi du patronyme au génitif, cf. Μουσητα Γδααας (VII),
- nom du défunt au nominatif, suivi du patronyme et du patronyme au génitif, ainsi Νι Μουσητος Δοτες (II).

Quand on a affaire à deux frères, deux soeurs ou un frère et une soeur

- le patronyme peut être répété, cf. Πιλια Πιλιας, Σενα Πιλιας (deux soeurs, XX), Γα Γδαβος, Εδα Γδαβος (un frère et une soeur, XI),
- le patronyme peut n'être exprimé qu'après le second nom, cf.

probablement Αννα, Ζαζι Βοινας (deux sœurs, XXI).

On a vu plus haut (§ 2) qu'il fallait, provisoirement au moins, écarter l'existence d'un datif en $-\iota\epsilon$. De même, nous chercherons un autre cas dans le Ειη du texte I (*infra* 5.3.3 b).

Sont donc probablement attestés deux cas seulement, le nominatif et le génitif. Leur forme et le rapport qu'ils présentent l'un avec l'autre nous orientent, comme l'ont reconnu Zgusta et Metri, vers une langue louvite tardive.

5.1. La plupart des commentateurs ont souligné qu'aucune marque morphologique ne distingue le féminin du masculin:

- le sème *homme* ou *femme* est inclus dans le sémantisme de l'anthroponyme, ainsi dans Μοσητα composé en $*zita/i$ "homme" (cf. *infra*);

- ou, quand il s'agit d'un Lallname par exemple, la même forme peut désigner indifféremment un homme ou une femme.

On se trouve donc vraisemblablement en présence d'une langue qui, comme toutes les langues du groupe anatolien (cf. le lycien au I^{er} millénaire), ne connaît, sur le plan morphologique, qu'une opposition *animé* - *non animé* (23).

5.2. Le nominatif du genre "animé" se présente sous la forme d'un thème nu, terminé par une voyelle: Δωταρι (I), Μοσητα (III), Πιλια (XX). Les deux formes à finale consonantique identifiées jusqu'ici (Λιρ et Εναιουπερ) sont incertaines (*supra* § 2 et *infra* § 6). Une telle situation rappelle naturellement celle du lycien (cf. le nom de personne *Qñturahi*) (24) ou du sidétique (cf. *Poloniu* (25) ou *Poloniw* (26) = grec Ἀπολλώνιος). Le *s* final, qui caractérise encore ce cas en louvites cunéiforme et hiéroglyphique, est tombé dans la langue des épitaphes pisidiennes, comme en lycien.

Le génitif, quant à lui, est caractérisé par une sifflante, avec parfois, nous le verrons, modification du timbre de la voyelle finale du nominatif (type Μουσητα - Μουσητος). Que vaut cette désinence? S'agit-il d'un adjectif comme en louvite (suffixe $-\text{asi-}$) ou en lycien (suffixe $-\text{ehi/-ahi}$, $-\text{asi}$ en lycien B, pour les noms communs et les

pronoms) (27)? Mais on attendrait un accord avec le *nomen regens*, c'est-à-dire, me semble-t-il, une finale vocalique quand ce dernier est au nominatif. C'est pourquoi, à moins de supposer une apocope de la voyelle finale (28), on interprétera la finale pisidienne comme celle d'un authentique génitif (29).

5.3. Malgré sa minceur, notre documentation nous permet d'identifier plusieurs thèmes.

5.3.1. Les thèmes en -a. Selon leur génitif, on observe deux types:

- Dans le premier, le génitif est simplement caractérisé par l'adjonction d'une sifflante à la forme du nominatif, cf. e.g. Τα (inédit) - Τας (V), Πιλια - Πιλιας (XX).

- Dans le second, l'adjonction de la sifflante s'accompagne apparemment d'une modification du timbre de la voyelle précédente, ainsi par exemple Μουσητα - Μουσητος (II, III, IV, V, VI, VII). Γδαβα - Γδαβος (X, XI, XII), Μουα - Μουος (inédits).

A priori deux hypothèses - dont aucune n'est totalement satisfaisante - peuvent rendre compte de cette dichotomie:

- *Ou* nous avons affaire à deux types originellement différents qu'un accident phonétique a fait se rejoindre au nominatif. Or, quand l'origine de la forme est décelable, la voyelle finale du nominatif renvoie, quel que soit le type, à un *a* anatolien; cela est vrai pour les Lallnamen comme Να - Νας, mais aussi pour Μουα - Μουος, qui remonte au hittito-louvite *muwa* (Laroche 1966, p.322), ou pour Μουσητα - Μουσητος, un composé de *muwa* et de *zita* "homme" (30) (louvite *ziti*, Laroche, *ibid.*, p.324sq.).

- *Ou* au génitif α et ο(ω) seraient simplement deux variantes graphiques correspondant éventuellement à un /a/ postérieur hésitant entre [α] et [ɔ], ce qui peut se concevoir dans une langue ne possédant qu'un phonème postérieur arrondi /u/ (lui-même susceptible de flotter entre [u] et [o]). Ainsi s'expliquerait pourquoi jusqu'ici aucun échange entre O/Ω et OY n'a été observé dans les finales de ces génitifs. Mais, pour justifier l'absence d'hésitation A - O/Ω (cf. déjà *supra* § 4.2), il faudrait invoquer l'existence d'une "norme" ayant figé la forme du génitif de certains noms. Dans

Μοσητως (I) ο et ω recouvreraient-ils des articulations différentes? La substitution de l'un à l'autre au cours du mot marquerait-elle la sensibilité du graveur à ce fait? Cf. encore Μουσητος (II, VI). Est-ce un hasard si jusqu'ici nous n'avons pas encore Μοσητος?

5.3.2. Les thèmes en -i:

- Nominatif en -ι, Δωταρι (I), Νι (II, cf. *supra* § 2), Μηνι (inédit); quelquefois en -ει, Μηνει (XIII);
- Génitif en -ις, Δωταρις (I), Νις (IX), Μηνις (inédit); en -εις, Νεις (XV); une fois en -ες, Μηνες (XII).

Au nominatif en [-i] s'oppose donc un génitif en [-is]. L'hésitation I - EI n'a pas besoin d'explication, s'agissant de deux graphèmes pour /i/, interchangeable depuis longtemps dans l'écriture grecque. Le ε du génitif Μηνες s'explique non par l'articulation ouverte du i de Sofular, mais comme une graphie inverse procédant du caractère sporadiquement fermé du /e/ (Brixhe 1987, p.54).

5.3.3. Autres thèmes. Thèmes en -a et en -i sont, de très loin, majoritaires. On en entrevoit sporadiquement d'autres, en -ου (cf. Δοιπου, inédit), en -ω ([.]βω, XVII; mais que vaut ω?). Deux d'entre eux méritent qu'on s'y attarde.

a) Les thèmes en -ε sont attestés au génitif seulement: Δοτες, Δοταις (II, IX), Ουπερδοταις (? XIII, voir *infra* § 6), Ουρζες (inédit). L'échange entre E et AI n'a pas lieu de surprendre puisque, dans l'écriture grecque, les deux graphies sont interchangeables pour /e/. On a vu plus haut, à travers Μηνες pour Μηνις, le caractère fermé du /e/ dans la langue indigène et dans le grec de la région. En face de E pour I, on peut naturellement s'attendre à rencontrer I pour E. Est-ce un hasard si nous n'avons pas, par exemple, Δοτις? Ou faut-il invoquer ici aussi l'existence d'une "norme"? A moins qu'il ne faille voir là d'anciens thèmes en [-a] avec passage à [-ε] (écrit E ou AI), forme sous laquelle ils se seraient fixés. On observe, en effet, fréquemment dans le Sud de l'Asie Mineure la fermeture du a en une voyelle de timbre e (sans doute ouvert, donc [ε]; Brixhe 1976, p.13), qui apparemment ne se confond pas avec le e "ancien", puisque, si l'on rencontre des flottements entre E et I (Brixhe, *ibid.*,

p.19), il ne s'en voit point entre A, E et I.

b) Dans l'épithète I, le troisième nom serait ΕΙΗ. Pour Metri (1958, p.46), ce serait un nominatif. Zgusta (1957, p.608 et 609; 1963, p.481, n.75) penche pour la même hypothèse, mais y verrait éventuellement le datif de ΕΙΑ (cf. IX) et rapprocherait sa finale de celle de ΔΩΤΑΡΙΕ et ΓΔΕΒΕΤΙΕ. Or 1) on a vu que ces deux formes étaient fortement suspectes (§ 2). 2) H n'a pas la même valeur que E. Il s'agit donc vraisemblablement d'un nominatif. Pour l'expliquer, il faudrait invoquer la médiation du grec. Il conviendrait de partir soit d'un théophore /ja (31), soit d'un Lallname Ja, qui correspondrait à la formation hypocoristique la plus simple: *consonne + a*, d'où *j + a*, comme on a *b + a* (Βα/Βας), *m + a* (Μα/Μας), *t + a* (Τα/Τας), *w + a* (Ουα/Ουας), voir Laroche 1966, p.240. Ce nom pouvait être intégré au système nominal grec sous les formes Ια ou Εια (Zgusta 1964, §§ 447/1 et 319), mais aussi éventuellement Ιη/Ειη (cf. Ιης pour une femme, en Pisidie, Zgusta, *ibid.*, § 447/3). Pour justifier l'apparition de formes comme Αμιη en face d'Αμια ou de Ουεναουιη en face de Ουεναουια (Zgusta, *ibid.*, §§ 57/3, 4 et 1153/2), il est inutile de faire appel à un modèle ionien. L'intégration au grec de noms indigènes en -a (pour des hommes et des femmes) avait profondément perturbé la répartition originelle (attique) entre thèmes en -α(ς) et en -η(ς) et, lors de l'hellénisation d'un nom indigène, les deux modèles étaient désormais *a priori* disponibles quel que soit le contexte phonétique (cf. Brixhe 1987, p.67 sq.). Ειη représenterait donc l'emploi, dans un texte indigène, d'une forme grecque. Ce n'est pas impossible, mais peut-être curieux, car deux textes inédits montrent que les locuteurs de Sofular conservaient un sentiment très vif de l'origine de tel ou tel nom: les noms grecs ou latins ont une flexion grecque et les noms indigènes une flexion indigène.

Une autre solution est cependant possible. Ramsay ne parle pas de difficultés de lecture. Mais est-il exclu que son EIH soit tout simplement une interprétation de EI II vu sur une pierre érodée? Dans ce cas, une leçon ΕΥΙ pourrait être envisagée, cf. le génitif ΕΥΕΙς dans le même texte. Le monument est malheureusement perdu et il nous faudrait beaucoup de chance pour que l'avenir confirme ou infirme l'hypothèse.

6. Les bribes de grammaire arrachées à ces modestes textes nous entraînent donc vers le luvite et les représentants tardifs du groupe anatolien méridional. A travers l'analyse de noms comme Μουσητα (§ 5.3.1), on a pu voir que l'onomastique confirmait cette impression (32). Je voudrais m'attarder un instant sur un anthroponyme qui va sans doute dans le même sens.

La seconde ligne du texte XIII est, de l'avoué de Ramsay, d'une lecture difficile: si celle qu'il propose et qui est unanimement acceptée, ΕΝΑΟΥΠΕΡΔΟΤΑΙΣ, est exacte, se pose au moins le problème de sa segmentation: Zgusta (1957, p.605 et 609) propose ΕΝΑΟΥΠΕΡ ΔΟΤΑΙΣ "Enaouper, (fille) de Dotai" (sur le génitif ΔΟΤΑΙΣ, *supra* § 5.3.3); mais une remarque en 1963, p.479, montre qu'il a des doutes: "Falls der Name (oder der Namensteil) ΟΥΠΕΡ..." (cf. encore 1964, § 335). Metri (1958, p.46) suggère trois solutions: ΕΝΑΟΥΠΕΡ ΔΟΤΑΙΣ, ΕΝΑ ΟΥΠΕΡ ΔΟΤΑΙΣ (avec ουπερ = "fils" ou "fille"), ΕΝΑ ΟΥΠΕΡΔΟΤΑΙΣ. La seconde solution, inspirée simplement par le contexte et sans le soutien d'une étymologie pour ουπερ, n'a pas lieu d'être discutée.

On a vu plus haut (§ 2.2) que parmi les anthroponymes anatoliens recensés par Zgusta 1964 et se terminant par -ρ, seul le phrygien Μάτταρ résistait à l'analyse. Bean et Mitford 1970 (p.116, n° 102) produisent pour le Sud de l'Isaurie un nom Ουνδβερ, qu'ils comparent précisément à ΕΝΑΟΥΠΕΡ ou ΟΥΠΕΡ. La forme est gravée sur une paroi rocheuse à l'entrée d'une grotte: or la photographie donnée par les éditeurs ne va pas au-delà de l'*epsilon*: défaut de cadrage? illusion des épigraphistes? mot amputé par l'érosion? Toute vérification est impossible.

Mais, en dehors du caractère insolite d'une finale -περ (ce qui vaut aussi bien pour ΕΝΑΟΥΠΕΡ que pour ΟΥΠΕΡ), un autre trait peut rendre suspecte la segmentation ΕΝΑΟΥΠΕΡ. Zgusta (1963, p.479) tente, non sans vraisemblance, d'interpréter -ουπερ par le hittite *uppara-*, épithète ou désignation locale d'un dieu, qui apparaît dans l'onomastique de l'époque gréco-romaine sous les formes Οπρα-, Ουπρα-, Οβρα-, Ουβρα-: hittite *Uppara-muwas*= lycien Οπραμοας (33). Or il figure très rarement en seconde position. Houwink et Zgusta (*l.c.*) n'en peuvent citer qu'un exemple, Κινδυ-οπρας en

Cilicie. Le Παρτυσουβρα, en contexte néo-phrygien, enregistré par Zgusta 1964 (§ 1211) ne nous offre aucune garantie ni pour sa lecture, ni pour son statut (cf. Zgusta lui-même), ni pour sa segmentation. Quel que puisse être le sens de Ενα-, c'est là, je crois, un fait qui devrait accentuer encore notre suspicion à l'égard d'un Εναουπερ. J'ajouterai à l'encontre d'une segmentation Ουπερ qu'à ma connaissance *uppara* et ses avatars ne semblent pas avoir été utilisés, seuls, comme nom de personne.

C'est pourquoi - encore une fois, si la lecture de la séquence est exacte - je me rallierais volontiers provisoirement à la troisième solution de Metri: Ενα Ουπερδοταις "Ena, fille d'Ouperdotai". Ce dernier serait un composé dont le second élément se retrouverait dans le Δοτες/Δοταις des textes II, III et IX. Pour le rapport entre Δοτε-/Δοται- et Ουπερδοται-, cf. Μουας - Οπρα-μουας.

7. Toutes les épitaphes épichoriques trouvées *in situ* l'ont été à Sofular ou dans la zone du sanctuaire mentionné *infra* n. 35 (une partie des inédits évoqués § 0 et n. 2bis); mais il n'est pas impossible que certaines de celles qui ont été publiées par Brixhe-Gibson 1982 proviennent d'un ou de plusieurs sites voisins.

Sofular (un toponyme turc= "Les Dévôts") ne semble pas avoir été, dans l'antiquité, un site urbain. Je n'y ai vu aucune ruine. Başviran "La Ruine Principale" (34), au fond de la vallée à deux km au Nord, perpétuerait-il le souvenir de ruines aujourd'hui disparues? La modestie des deux villages exclut quasiment que leur édification ait suffi, par le remploi des matériaux anciens, à éliminer les restes de bâtiments de quelque importance. Je n'ai d'ailleurs vu dans les murs de Sofular que des stèles funéraires et les murs de Başviran semblaient exempts de pierres antiques.

Mais la ville gréco-romaine n'est pas loin (35), et c'est l'enclavement de la région qui explique sans doute la persistance de la langue indigène.

Nous sommes au Nord de la Pisidie, mais à la limite de la frontière linguistique avec le phrygien. On a trouvé, en effet, des

inscriptions néo-phrygiennes; - à environ 60 km au N/NO, à la pointe Nord du lac d'Eğridir (territoire d'Antioche de Pisidie) (36); - à 60 km au NO, à l'Ouest du même lac (Senirkent, Uluborlu); - à 40 km au NE, au Nord du lac de Beyşehir (Şarkıkaraağaç).

Depuis Ramsay, la langue des stèles de Sofular est qualifiée de pisidienne. Certes la seule mention antique de la langue pisidienne nous entraîne fort loin au SO, au Nord de la Lycie: Τέταρσι δὲ γλώτταις ἐχρῶντο οἱ Κιβυρᾶται, τῇ Πισιδικῇ, τῇ Σολύμων, τῇ Ἑλληνίδι, τῇ Λυδῶν (Strabon § 631). Mais, même si l'affirmation est exacte quant à Kibyra, Strabon ne nous dit pas que le pisidien était parlé là seulement. En réalité, étant donné le morcellement du relief, il est probable qu'on parlait plus d'une langue ou d'un dialecte sur le vaste territoire que nous appelons la Pisidie (37). Comme ceux de Lycie, Cilicie, Isaurie et Pamphylie, ces parlers étaient sans doute, pour la plupart, d'ascendance louvite, si l'on en juge par l'onomastique personnelle et, dans une certaine mesure, par la toponymie (38). On continuera donc à appeler pisidien l'idiome parlé à Sofular et dans ses environs, en sachant que dans l'antiquité il n'était probablement pas le seul à mériter cette "étiquette".

INSCRIPTIONS EPICHORIQUES DE PISIDIE ACTUELLEMENT PUBLIEES (AVEC INDICATION DU RELIEF)

a) Je donne ici la leçon de l'éditeur. b) Les espaces qui apparaissent ici ou là entre les lettres ou groupes de lettres ne sont pas des lacunes, mais sont provoqués par l'intrusion dans le texte d'un élément du relief (e.g. une tête).

Ramsay 1895, n° 1-16

I. Deux hommes, une femme

ΔΩΤΑΡ ΙΜΟΧΤΩ CEIΗΔΩΤ[Α]
PICΔΩΤAPIENEIC

- II. Un buste de femme

ΛΙΡΜΟΥΧΤΟC

ΔΟ ΤΕC

- III. Un homme

ΜΟΧΤΑΔ[Ο]

ΤΕ C

- IV. Un homme, une femme avec un enfant dans les bras

ΜΕΜΟΥΑΜΟΥΧΤΑ

ΜΑCΙΑ ΟC

- V. Un homme

ΜΟΥΧΤΑ

ΤΑC

- VI. Un homme

ΓΠΟΥΡΩΞΑΜΟΥΧ

ΤΟC

- VII. Un homme

ΜΟΥΧΤΑ

ΓΔΑCΑC

- VIII. Une femme

CΑΠΟΥΡΩΞΑ

- IX. Une femme

ΕΙΑΝΙCΔΟΤΑΙC

- X. Un homme, une femme

ΜΕΝΟΥΑΓΔΑΒΟC

ΟΥΑΝΙ CΒΑΒΟΥ

- XI. Un homme, une femme

ΓΑΓΔΑΒΟCΕΔΑΓΔΑΒΟC

XII. Un buste d'homme

ΓΔΑΒΑΜΗΝΕ
 ΓΓΔ ΕΒΕΤ
 ΙΕ

XIII. Un homme, une femme

ΜΗΝΕΙΓΔΕΒΕΙΙC
 ΕΝΑΟΥΠΕΡΔΟΤΑΙC

XIV. Une femme

ΕΙΑΓΔΕΒ
 ΕΤΙC

XV. Un homme

Τ.ΕΡ ΙΝΕΙC

XVI. Une femme

ΝΗΛΙΚΑC

Borchhardt 1975, n° 18

XVII. Un buste d'homme

. ΒΩΤΑCΝΙC

Brixhe-Gibson 1982, n° 2, 4, 9, 13

XVIII. Un homme, une femme, un homme

ΠΑ(?)ΑΜΟΥΟCΑ(?)C(?)ΚΕΝΟΑ(?)Κ(?)Ο(?)ΛΟCΙΑ
 ΑΜΟΥΟC

XIX. Un homme, une petite fille, une femme

.....
 ΑΜΟΥΟCΓΔΕΒΩ(C?)

XX. Deux femmes

ΠΙΛΙΑΠΙΛΙΑCΕΝΑΠΙ
 ΛΙΑC

XXI. Deux femmes

ΑΝΝΑΖΑΖΙΒΟΙΝΑC

NOTES

- (1) Les textes sont par la suite cités d'après la numérotation en chiffres romains qui leur est donnée dans ce corpus.
- (2) a) Les n° 1 et 3 sont peut-être également épichoriques, mais leur état empêche d'être affirmatif. b) L'origine exacte de ces textes n'est pas assurée, mais le style des stèles les désigne indubitablement comme pisidiennes.
- (2bis) Ils ont été publiés depuis la rédaction de cette contribution: Cl. Brixhe, Th. Drew-Bear, D. Kaya, *Kadmos* 26 (1987), p. 122-170 (et planches I-XX), où l'on trouvera donc les inédits mentionnés dans les pages suivantes.
- (3) Je ne compte pas parmi eux Borchhardt 1975 et ses compagnons, qui se contentent de publier (l'inédit signalé *supra* = XVII) ou de republier des textes (II, V, XI).
- (4) On ne peut non plus espérer tirer profit d'un éventuel contexte archéologique: le village de Sofular et ses environs immédiats sont totalement dépourvus de ruines (*infra* § 7).
- (5) Si cette copie est exacte, nous avons là le seul texte épichorique actuellement connu où l'*epsilon* a ce tracé.
- (6) a) En pareil cas l'article n'est pas nécessaire, cf. e.g. Ἐρμῆς Ἀμεντιανοῦ σὺν γυναικὶ Ἀφρία... (E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia*, Princeton 1971, n° 128; b) sur une finale -η après ρ, ι et ε dans les noms indigènes, voir *infra* § 5.3.3 b).
- (7) Voir W. Dressler, *Beiträge zur Indogermanistik u. Keltologie* (Julius Pokorny zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet), Innsbruck 1967, p.148.
- (8) Dont deux sous la forme de l'adjectif patronymique Ὀβριμιανός (n° 20 et 24).
- (9) Dans les pages qui suivent ce terme est utilisé en son sens large: terre occupée ou langue parlée non nécessairement par des Louvites ou par leurs descendants, mais par des gens utilisant une langue appartenant au groupe anatolien méridional, dont le louvite est le représentant le plus ancien et le mieux connu.
- (10) En Pisidie, il est possible qu'un même homme s'appelle Λας dans un texte et Λαας dans un autre.
- (11) Fait déjà relevé par Shafer 1950, p. 268.
- (12) Sur les mécanismes conduisant à cette situation, voir Brixhe 1987, p. 110-113. Dans la première édition de ce livre, j'ai

supposé une irradiation à partir de la Phrygie, quand le phénomène se rencontrait à l'extérieur de ce domaine. Mais, les conditions offertes par le phrygien (absence d'aspirées) se retrouvant ailleurs et les mêmes causes pouvant produire les mêmes effets, la même situation était susceptible d'être créée indépendamment ici et là (voir maintenant p. 157).

- (13) Flottement banal: la disparition des oppositions de quantité en grec a rendu les deux graphèmes interchangeables.
- (14) Noté par le O de l'alphabet grec.
- (15) Cf. Brixhe, *Kadmos* 7 (1969), p.55, et en dernier lieu G. Neumann, *Annali Scuola Norm. Sup. Pisa VIII* (1978), 3, p.875, qui lit o et w ce qui est lu o et u par les autres.
- (16) Voir Brixhe 1976, p. 288 sq.
- (17) Cf. en Lycie Εἰποα[τ]ι[ις] dans un texte dont la version lycienne donne *ElipJeti*, Zgusta 1964, § 331.
- (18) Bean-Mitford 1970, n° 204, 204a, 205.
- (19) Zgusta 1964, §§ 207 et 602/6.
- (20) *Ibid.*, §§ 1521/1, 2, 1512/14 et 1339/2.
- (21) Voir Houwink 1961, p. 158 sq.
- (22) Zgusta, *o.c.*, § 604.
- (23) Pour les conséquences d'un substrat de ce type sur la morphologie du nominatif des anthroponymes anatoliens dans les inscriptions grecques (e.g. masc. en -α et, inversement, féminin en -ας), voir Brixhe 1987, p.77 sqq.
- (24) Cf. G. Neumann, *Altkleinasiatische Sprachen* (Handbuch der Orientalistik I 2), Leyde-Cologne 1969, p.383.
- (25) Cf. W. Brandenstein, *Minoica* (Festschrift Joh. Sundwall), Berlin 1958, p.89.
- (26) Voir G. Neumann, *o.c.*, n. 15, p.873.
- (27) Se reporter à l'étude fondamentale d'E. Laroche, *BSL* 55 (1960), p. 155 sqq.
- (28) Supposée par E. Laroche pour la désinence lycienne en -h, que, comme -a/ehe, il fait remonter à un *-asa concurrent de *-asi, *o.c.*, p.161 (opinion différente chez Neumann, *o.c.*, n.24, p.384).
- (29) Issu soit d'un suffixe adjectival apocopé et figé, soit d'un authentique génitif anatolien: le louvite hiéroglyphique, au moins, qui exprime la fonction génitive par ces deux tours concurrents, oblige à les supposer au niveau du louvite commun (E. Laroche, *o.c.*, p.156-158 et 162). Il n'est pas exclu que le sidétique

connaisse encore cette concurrence, voir Brixhe, *Kadmos* 8 (1969), p.146 sqq.

- (30) Cf. Zgusta 1963, p.479. Élément représenté par -σητας (une fois -σιτας) dans l'onomastique de l'époque gréco-romaine, voir Houwink 1961, p.171 sq., et Zgusta 1964/1, p.78 sqq.
- (31) *Iarra*/-i, nom du dieu de la guerre hittite et louvite (d'où au II^e millénaire les anthroponymes *Iara-muwa*, *Iarra-ziti*, etc.), pourrait, à l'époque gréco-romaine, survivre dans les noms en Ια-/Εια-, cf. Laroche 1966, p.291, et Houwink 1961, p.137 sq. Notons que le *Ija* hittite mentionné par ce dernier d'après Laroche, *Recueil d'onomastique hittite*, Paris 1951, p.56, n° 1125, n'est pas confirmé par Laroche 1966.
- (32) Aspect bien mis en évidence par Zgusta 1963.
- (33) Laroche 1966, p.292; Houwink 1961, p.162 sqq.; Zgusta 1964/1, p.62 sqq.
- (34) Cf. J. et L. Robert, *Bull. Epigr.* 1959, p.253.
- (35) Un site antique à 6 km au SE de Sofular, près de Mirahor (Timbriada, cf. Ramsay 1895, p.353, et B.V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, Oxford 1911, p.712), et, à quelques km plus loin, vers l'Est, un sanctuaire dont j'ai publié les inscriptions avec R. Hodot, *L'Asie Mineure du Nord au Sud* (= Etudes d'Archéologie Classique VI), Nancy 1988, p. 27-40 et 140-148. Mais les recherches futures devraient amener d'autres découvertes.
- (36) X. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens*, Paris 1958, p.75, prétend qu'"on parlait encore (la langue pisidienne) à Antioche au temps de Saint Paul". Rien dans les chapitres des *Actes des Apôtres* (13 et 14) consacrés aux deux passages de Paul à Antioche de Pisidie (aujourd'hui Yalvaç) ne justifie cette affirmation: confusion avec Actes 14.11, où l'on apprend qu'à Lystra on parlait encore le lycanien? Toujours est-il que les seuls témoignages linguistiques directs trouvés à Antioche sont phrygiens!
- (37) Cf. Hemer 1980, p. 61 sqq.
- (38) Ainsi les noms de Προσταεννα (près de l'actuelle Eğridir, cf. ὁ δῆμος ὁ Προσταεννέων Πισιδῶν, *Inscriptions de Délos* 1603; Zgusta 1984, § 1105, écrit Προσταννέων), Ετεννα (NE de Sidé, Zgusta, *Ibid.*, § 310) ou Κοτεννα (N de Sidé, Zgusta, *Ibid.*, § 462/1) semblent présenter, en finale, l'avatar tardif d'un suffixe ethnique sud-anatolien fort connu: louvite cunéiforme

-(u)wani, louvite hiérog. -wana ou -wani, lycien B -evñini, lyc. A - (e)ñni et -(a)ñna (voir E. Laroche, *BSL* 55, 1960, p.171-173). Ces toponymes auraient donc été fournis par d'anciens ethniques, cf. Λυκαονία et Καταονία, noms de provinces (terres louvites au I^{er} millénaire), qui paraissent comporter un autre avatar du même suffixe (Laroche, *l.c.*).

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BCILL 42 : LINGUISTIC HAPPENING, 157-161

INDO-HITTITE AGAIN

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The subject of this paper has been of interest to students of Hittite and comparative linguistics for a long time: i.e., ever since Forrer suggested it and Sturtevant developed it. About five years ago, the topic was mentioned again in a discussion, and two articles by Warren Cowgill (1972: 557-570 and 1979: 25-39) favoring the Indo-Hittite hypothesis were cited as the definitive treatment on the subject. This statement seemed to me to be a bit strong. I felt that a more cautious statement about the articles would have made a stronger case for their thesis; but, in any case, the subject, which had not lately been one of paramount interest to me, had to be looked into again.

To review the literature on this subject is impossible in a paper of this scope. It is also not necessary. Cowgill has done much of this, and the rest is pretty much common knowledge. Moreover, my purpose is not so much to examine details of phonetics, morphology, and the like, as to ask questions about the approach to the problem.

To summarize the matter briefly, the Indo-Hittite thesis rests on the proposition that there are innovations in Hittite not found in the rest of IE, and innovations in IE not found in Hittite. Among innovations IE has that are not found in Hittite is the pronoun **so*, **sā*, **tod* that is supposed to be a combination of the particles *šu* and *ta* with the enclitic pronoun *-a-*. To this material Cowgill adds the *hi-* conjugation, which is a perfect in IE, but a present/past in Hittite, a point already noted by Meillet (1933: 124 f.) and Benveniste (1936: 230), but which they interpreted differently from Cowgill.

Against the Indo-Hittite hypothesis it has been pointed out that Hittite shows features that are quite typically IE. Thus, and notably, Hittite has middle endings with the element *r-*, an element found also in Italic, Celtic, Tocharian, and Phrygian, where it is in every case an archaism (Goetze 1957: 59, § 3). Also, the Hittite *r:n* stems (e.g., *watar* (nom.), *wetenaš* (gen.)) fit the IE mold rather nicely (Lehmann 1972: 984). Again, the sonantic coefficient, posited over 100 years ago by de Saussure (1879), and taken up a year later by Möller, who suggested the term laryngeal, was shown by Kurylowicz (1927) to be found precisely where expected by de Saussure and as the consonant *h* in Hittite words (Baldi 1983: 157). Furthermore, we might note here that the IE perfect/stative sense is not *always* absent from the *hi*-conjugation in Hittite, as Cowgill himself has noted. For example, the verb *šākki*. Also, an exception exists to Cowgill's general rule of the formation of IE present tense forms from perfects in Old Irish, "where *ad-géuin* and the like function as both present and preterit", and where "old perfect forms function as past tense members of paradigms continuing the PIEP perfect in its stative value" (1979: 20). Such exceptions do not prove rules; they strain them!

Most of what has been said to this point is morphophonemic, with some lexical or semantic details. Syntactic considerations are notable in the preceding review by their absence. But, syntactic factors are one of the principal foundations on which statements about linguistic family relationships rest. Furthermore, some relatively recent work on this matter has added – and not insignificantly – to the arguments for the Indo-European thesis.

Thus, Calvert Watkins (1964) has studied elements of the sentence in Vedic, Hittite, Latin, Greek, and Old Irish. These sentence elements are the sentence connective, the enclitic pronominal element, the preverb, and the finite verb form. Watkins demonstrated that "the patterns of structure of the verb phrase [in these five languages] is sufficiently remarkable that we may safely exclude chance: we have to deal here with direct syntactic inheritances from common IE times" (p.1041).

Again, Lehmann has shown (1972: 985) that, even in such constructions as the comparative degree, Hittite follows a pattern we

should expect if IE is, as is thought, an OV language: thus, *nuwakan ANA ERÍNMEŠ-^sKA ERÍNMEŠ-^sJA mekki*, a pattern it shares with the older, eastern IE languages (p. 985).

Furthermore, Proto-Indo-European used postpositions, as in Vedic Sanskrit (Delbrück, 1888: 21). This is also true of Hittite, with its postpositions. Only later, Greek, Latin, and others would develop new and different means of expressing the comparative and superlative, and begin to put case-governing particles in front of substantives, leading to prepositions.

An additional tie between Hittite syntax and that of IE can be seen in relative constructions. In Hittite and Vedic, relative constructions, attributive adjectives, and genitives precede their antecedents. This is what we should expect if Hittite and Vedic follow the OV pattern of IE (note, e.g., the Hittite expression, *parnaš išjaš*).

Now, no matter what is said about one detail or other, some will see it one way, others another. The question at hand is not so much one of observed data: that has been known for some time and by all interested parties. Rather, the problem is one of inference from those observations, especially the weight given to certain phenomena vis-à-vis others.

Thus, for example, Cowgill thinks that the use of the *hi*-conjugation in Hittite, with its present and past, not perfect, sense, requires a split of Anatolian from IH centuries before IE assumed its characteristic shape, time to permit IE to innovate its perfect. Risch (1975: 247-258), Eichner (1975:71-103), Meillet (*op. cit.*), and Benveniste (*op. cit.*) do not see it that way. However that may be, we can note innovations in other areas without insisting that the antecedent or parent language be split up in Indo-Hittite fashion either for the innovator or the non-innovator. For example, Linear B is found in written texts earlier than any of the related languages other than Hittite, with the time difference between these texts spanning about two centuries. After a while, Linear B was forgotten. Then, classical Greek came to be written after a period of about 400 years. By that time, Indo-European initial **sr*- and **wr*-, found in Bronze Age Greek texts, had become graphemic *ῥ*- (< rh >) (however this is to be

conceived phonetically) in the classical texts, an innovation not found elsewhere in IE, and produced presumably by unknown (i.e., Dark Age) internal 'or perhaps even external) forces (see Carter 1983). Does the appearance of this unparalleled innovation justify positing the existence of an Indo-Helladic subgroup?

Now, the concept of a language family is analogical, based roughly on what we find in the human family. To be sure, analogy illustrates: it does not demonstrate. Even so, we can ask some questions about our prototype. Can the family not change with time and still retain its "familistic" ties? Of course it can. Indeed, it must change with time; otherwise it is dead. Moreover, the fact that one offspring turns out with characteristics markedly different from the others does not mean that the others have different parentage. This is true of physical characteristics sometimes even in the case of identical twins.

To sum up: there are some excellent arguments for the Indo-Hittite hypothesis. There are also excellent arguments - morphophonemic, lexical, and syntactic - for the Indo-European theory. In my opinion, this is especially true of the *h*- in Hittite words, found where de Saussure thought the sonantic coefficient should be in Indo-European words. This, together with the syntactic patterns Hittite shares with other obviously IE languages, makes a strong case for the Indo-European hypothesis, an hypothesis that I find more persuasive than its alternative.

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QUELQUES REMARQUES SUR L'INSCRIPTION LYCIENNE DU PILIER INSCRIT DE XANTHOS

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Benjamin Schwartz, auquel ce livre est dédié, fut l'un de ces pionniers qui s'attachèrent à démêler les relations qui lièrent à haute époque les mondes sémitique, anatolien et égéen.

Dans l'étude de ces relations, les Lyciens, les *Lukka* de l'Antiquité, jouent un rôle important. Nous inspirant de la thèse défendue par P. Kretschmer en 1925, nous avons soutenu dans un article récent (1982) que la langue de ce peuple représentait une forme "fossile" de l'indoeuropéen le plus archaïque, le "proto-IE". Un second article, à paraître prochainement, développera cette approche et répondra à un certain nombre de critiques qui nous ont été adressées. Sans attendre cette publication, nous voudrions aujourd'hui, en l'honneur du savant à l'esprit ouvert et à la curiosité toujours en éveil, dont nous célébrons la mémoire, montrer comment l'approche nouvelle du lycien que nous avons proposée permet d'éclaircir certains problèmes relatifs à l'inscription du pilier de Xanthos. Nous appliquerons pour cela, bien entendu, les conclusions auxquelles nous sommes parvenus concernant l'archaïsme de la syntaxe lycienne. Pour ne citer qu'un exemple, nous traduirons *ti Parzze akã Trĩmĩle* par "Les Perses tuaient les Lyciens", en rapprochant la particule d'action *ti* du radical verbal *akã*. En "indoeuropéen *stricto sensu*", une telle séparation entre le verbe (grec: ἀκ- de ἀκοντίζω ["lancer des javelines", dénominateur de ἀκοντ- "javelot"]) et sa désinence (grec: -οντι-) serait évidemment impossible et seule la forme **akã-ti* pourrait exister.

1. Qui était le fils d'Arpagos?

Le nom, disparu sur la pierre, du dynaste "fils d'Arpagos", dont les exploits figurent sur le pilier inscrit de Xanthos, a récemment donné lieu à controverse. Après les excellents travaux de Six et Imbert (voir en particulier la restitution de l'épigramme grecque par J. Imbert dans *Le Muséon* 1889, p.422-423), un consensus s'était dégagé pour admettre que le roi qui avait fait relater ses hauts faits sur cette stèle était Kerēi (1), nom propre rendu en grec par ΚΡΗΙΣ ou ΚΡΩΙΣ d'après Imbert. Mais récemment, E. Laroche, dans sa reconstitution du début de l'inscription lycienne, a nié cette solution (Laroche 1974a, in fine, et en particulier à la p.146, la phrase "... Kerēi écrit *χέρει* est exclu..."). Cette opinion catégorique a entraîné J. Bousquet (1975) à proposer Gergis (Kerlga en lycien) pour le nom du dynaste "fils d'Arpagos".

Dans un article publié en 1979, W.A. Childs a montré l'inanité de cette "correction".

Nous partageons entièrement l'avis de Childs: le nom du dynaste dont les exploits sont racontés sur la stèle est bien Kerēi, et ceci pour les raisons suivantes:

1.1. On peut parfaitement reconstituer le début de l'inscription de la stèle avec le nom Kerēi. Nous donnons, *exempli gratia*, dans la figure 1 ci-jointe, une reconstitution des premières lignes de la Face Sud (voir au § 2 ci-après la justification de cette reconstitution).

Même si notre reconstitution reste hypothétique, elle montre qu'à la fin de la deuxième ligne le lapicide a commis l'erreur de resserrer ses lettres pour ne pas avoir à couper le mot *Cuprilleh*. Il a du coup décalé l'alignement vertical entre les lettres 21 à 25. Puis, à la troisième ligne, il a rétabli l'alignement avec la première, comme le prouve le fragment 202.

1.2. Le nom du dynaste du pilier ne peut être autre que Kerēi à cause de la phrase des lignes 48-49 de la face sud:

*kerēi : tebete : terñ : sewaksse pddimi : ēti : zehi : hbāti CII
ule : ñtepi :*

"Kerēi battit l'armée adverse et tua, tout en donnant des ordres, en l'honneur de Zeus, sept hoplites pendant la journée".

Le sens de tous les mots de cette phrase est connu, à l'exception d'un seul, *hbāti*, dont le grec donne aisément la traduction: "hoplite" (2). En effet:

- Kerēi est un nom propre connu depuis longtemps;
- le sens de *tebe-*: "frapper", "battre" (cf. grec τύπτω correspondant à la forme fléchie *tubei-*) ne fait aucun doute. Par exemple, en TL 104:

ēce ese pericle tebete arttumparā: "C'était lorsque Périclès battit Arttumpara";

- l'équivalence *terñi*: "armée ennemie" a été établie par divers auteurs;
- le sens de *ēti* suivi du génitif: "en l'honneur de..." ne saurait faire de doute (3): exemple: TL 44, c, 5:

se utāna sttati sttala ēti malijahi: "Et Utāna a érigé une stèle en l'honneur de Maliya (déesse lycienne)";

- l'équation *pdde-*: "commander" est fournie de façon irréfutable par la trilingue de Xanthos (4):

sē ñneñte pddēhadē : trñmile : pddēnehñmis : ijeru : se natrbbijēmi

"Et il (= Pixodaros) avait désigné pour commander les Termiles, comme commandants, Ijeru et Natrbbijēmi";

- le radical du terme *ule*: "journée", "espace de temps", a une bonne étymologie proto-IE. Ce radical *we- a servi à exprimer en indoeuropéen "*stricto sensu*": a) sous la forme, à élargissement, *weǵh-: "cheminer", une notion spatiale; b) sous la forme, à élargissement (Benveniste 1962: 148, par ex.), *wet-: "année", une notion temporelle (5);

- la seule difficulté véritable vient de *sewaksse*, qu'il fut couper en: *sew(e) + aksse*.

sewe = *se* + intensif *we*

aksse: "avoir tué" vient du radical *ak-* "tuer (en transperçant avec un objet pointu)", lequel apparaît par exemple en TL 44, a, 34-35:

etehi : akā : ara : nelede arñna :

"En ce temps-là, les hommes libres de Xanthos étaient tués par les soldats".

me ti parzze : akã : trĩmmile : izredi : pededi : ñtereze :

"Car oui, les Perses tuaient les Termiles qui habitaient dans la ville, 'avec les mains et avec les pieds'..".

La conclusion inéluctable de ce qui précède est que Kerëi est bien le fils d'Arpagos.

II. Peut-on reconstituer le début de l'inscription?

L'entreprise est évidemment extrêmement difficile et ce n'est que sous toutes réserves que nous proposons la reconstitution résumée par la figure 1 ci-jointe.

La justification de cette reconstitution, qui nous a permis de "remettre en place" bon nombre des fragments découverts entre 1950 et 1956 (voir figure 2), réside dans le sens satisfaisant qu'elle fournit pour le début de l'inscription, comme le montre la traduction ci-après. Pour plus de facilité, nous avons découpé le texte en phrases (numérotées en chiffres romains). Les notes entre [] renvoient aux remarques ci-après.

I) *ebẽñni [: stta]lã [: me]nad [ẽ : k]er[ẽi : a]rppakuh : tid[eiimi : ker]i[gah : tuhes [2]:] cu[pr]ile[h :]kahba [1]:*

"Cette stèle, hé bien l'a payé Kerëi, le fils d'Arppaku, le neveu de Keriga, le petit-fils de Cuprile".

II) *a[rññai : td]i : [pr]ññ[awãt]e : s[ec]eb[u]re [3] : ehbi*

"Les Xanthiens l'ont construite et son *grand-vizir* (?)".

III) *[sẽ : merẽtẽ [4] : ñte : mahã]na[ha : t]u[s]ñti : cdu[ñ [5] :]*

"Et ils ont juré sur l'autel des douze dieux de la respecter".

IV) [s(e) arawazija : ehbi : me ti : tete]ri [6] : kal[le]mei [7] : meñ]ne : [tuminehijese [8] : se]n[e : ese : ddewe]ze [9] : sene : tr[ñmi]l[e]jese :]

"Et son héroon, hé bien les citoyens l'ont décoré (?) ceux de Tuminehi, ceux de Ddewe et ceux qui sont Termiles".

V) [sej]e[pññēni : eh]beh : e : mere : e[ceb]u[ri : makaje [10] ?? :]te[teri : dd]ewezijehed[i :]

"Et à son frère cadet, le grand-vizir Maka (?), les citoyens de Ddewe, ses sujets, ont juré [d'exécuter ses ordres?].

Notes et commentaires :

[1] *kahba* : Le sens "petit-fils" paraît solidement établi pour ce terme (voir en particulier T.R. Bryce 1978) et il n'y a pas de raison de l'abandonner, comme le fait E. Laroche pour les besoins de la cause (*apud* Bousquet 1975: 141) (6).

[2] *tuhes* : La seule objection que l'on puisse faire à restituer *tuhes* à la ligne 2 est que dans la ligne 31, il est indiqué que Kerēi est déjà "*tuhes*" de Keziga. Mais il est bien évident que le sens de *tuhes*: "neveu" autorise une telle duplication.

[3] *ecebure* : Nous proposons de décomposer le mot en:

a) *ece(be)*: "semblable ?" (cf. lat. *aequ-us*, *aequ-ālis*). Ce sens pourrait éclairer la fin de TL 118:

se ñtepi : ece : ihi qīa : me ttazi

"Et il a prescrit que sa famille aussi (*ece*) dépose [des offrandes]".

mot à mot:

"Et, dedans-DISOURS INDIRECT, semblablement, de lui, la famille, hé bien, être déposant (= déposer-ZI)".

b) *uri* : "grand" (cf. louv./hitt. *ura-* : "grand").

Si ces hypothèses sont exactes, *ecebure* (mot à mot) "le grand semblable" pourrait désigner le grand-vizir ou le frère cadet du roi, Maka (voir note 10 ci-dessous).

[4] *mere* : le sens de *mere* : "promettre, jurer" découle de la trilingue. Voir Laroche 1974b: 123.

[5] *cduñ* : mot de sens inconnu. Peut-être (si notre reconstitution est exacte): "tenir sa parole".

[6] *teteri* : "ensemble des citoyens". Le terme, un collectif en *-er* (cf. les pluriels type all. *kinder*, étrusque *clenar*), est traduit par πόλις dans la trilingue.

[7] *kall-* : malgré un rapprochement possible avec louv. *hal-*: "pur", le mot est plutôt à rattacher à grec κάλλος. Nous proposons le sens: "décorer".

[8] *tuminehi* : Τυμνισός, ville citée par Stéphane de Byzance.

[9] *ddewe* (ou *ddeu*) : d'après le contexte et l'adjectif *ddewezi* (cf. TL 65, 24: *se qlahi ebijehi ddewezehi* : "et de sa famille d'origine Ddewésienne"), il s'agit visiblement d'une cité, sans doute Τέως mentionnée par Hérodote. Le nom est à rapprocher des ethniques Τήιος, Τίηος, Τίειος, etc... (7).

[10] *makaje* : la reconstitution de ce mot est hautement spéculative et nous ne la formulons qu'à titre d'hypothèse de travail. Elle s'appuie sur les considérations suivantes:

a) à la ligne 16 de la face sud, on trouve un accusatif *makā* dans un contexte où le vizirat (*ecebura*) est évoqué;

b) or *maka* (grec Μάκας) est sûrement un nom propre, probablement d'origine égypto-carienne. La dynastie dont fait partie Kerēi étant d'origine carienne (voir § 3 ci-après), ce nom conviendrait pour le frère cadet (*epñ-nēni*) de ce roi;

c) le fait que le monument élevé à la gloire de Kerēi fut détérioré et le nom de ce roi martelé semble indiquer que cette dynastie fut renversée de façon violente.

Or le texte TL 78, où figure aussi le nom de Maka, est extrêmement curieux. En voici la traduction:

ebēñne tezi me ne prñawate kuprija
 "Ce tombeau a érigé Kuprija"

sei nepñne pijetě esedeñnewe makah

"Et il ne l'a pas donné (en héritage) aux descendants de Maka"

sei ti sijeni purihimeiqā uwatiseh nēni

"Mais il en a fait propriétaire (?) Purihimeiqā, frère d'Uwatise"

sei nepñnijetě esedeñnewe makah

"Et qu'après celui-ci, il ne soit pas pour les descendants de Maka"

seipñpudě idākne makah kahbu kili

..... ?

Même si la dernière phrase où il est question du petit-fils de Maka reste obscure, il semble bien, d'après ce texte, qu'une malédiction se soit attachée au nom de Maka puisque Kuprija (probablement un membre par alliance de la famille de Maka) interdit que ceux de ses descendants qui sont aussi descendants de Maka utilisent le tombeau de famille qu'il a fait ériger.

Si notre thèse est exacte, il semblerait donc que Maka, frère cadet et grand-vizir de Kerēi, dirigea les travaux du monument érigé à la gloire de ce roi. Et peut-être fut-il même son successeur éphémère avant d'être renversé par une révolution de palais...

III. Quelle est l'origine de la dynastie de Kerēi ?

Si la reconstitution que nous proposons est exacte, Kerēi, fils d'Arpagos, serait le neveu de Keriga et de Keziga (probablement deux frères dont seul le premier fut roi) et le petit-fils de Cuprile.

Or c'est un *Keriga* / *Karika* / *Kairka*, c'est-à-dire "le Carien", qui semble bien être à l'origine de la dynastie. Cette hypothèse s'appuie en particulier sur notre reconstitution de la ligne 10 (voir figure 1):

[e]pñ trñmiliñ : kerigahe : qia...

"Après que la famille de Keriga fut devenue Termile..."

Nous appellerons ce personnage Keriga I, pour le distinguer d'un second Keriga qui, comme l'ont montré O. Mørkholm & J. Zahle, a vécu à une époque postérieure et serait, lui, l'oncle de Kerēi. Keriga I, probable beau-père de Cuprille/Kubernis (8) qui, d'après Hérodote commandait les navires lyciens vers 480 av. J.C., au temps de Xerxès (VII, 78) est l'auteur des statères "lourds" mentionnés par Mørkholm & Zahle (voir 1976: 54). On peut penser que son petit-fils (?) Keriga II succéda à Cuprille, qui avait lui-même succédé à son beau-père Keriga I. Une fille de Cuprille ayant épousé Arppaku/Arpagos, la couronne revint finalement (mais à la suite de quelles intrigues?) à Kerēi vers 425 av. notre ère. Ce roi régna sans doute jusque vers 395. Il est possible que Maka, son frère cadet, devint son successeur éphémère avant d'être chassé du trône par une révolte qui rétablit, semble-t-il, la lignée de Keriga II en la personne d'Arbina/Erbina, le fils de ce dernier. Le fait que celui-ci ait dû affirmer (ou réaffirmer) son pouvoir (au cours d'une campagne étrangement courte) sur les villes de Xanthos, Telmessos et Pinara, semble confirmer l'hypothèse de troubles en Lycie aux environs de 395 av. J.C.

Il existe par ailleurs des indices qui conduisent à penser que Arbina, fils de Keriga II, prit le nom d'un Erbbina qui fut roi de Carie et auquel Keriga I dut sans doute son trône. On peut supposer que c'est Erbbina, roi de Carie, qui conquiert la Lycie un peu après 500 av. J.C. et que c'est lui qui installa Keriga I comme roi de Lycie. On trouve en effet à la ligne 25 de l'inscription du pilier de Xanthos une mention explicite du tombeau d'Arbina I (*erbinahe* : *tezi*).

Notre schéma de la figure 3 et le tableau de la figure 4 résument ces conclusions.

On notera au passage que les fils de Cuprille portaient - comme il est habituel en Orient - les noms de leurs deux grands-pères: Keriga d'une part; Keziga/Kossiga de l'autre.

NOTES

- (1) Nous n'acceptons pas les notations d'E. Laroche et restons fidèle aux transcriptions de Kalinka et J. Friedrich, et écrivons *k* et *c* là

où E. Laroche écrit χ et k .

- (2) Voir annexe. Lyc. trqant pour désigner Zeus (ici: gén. Zehl) est une épithète.
- (3) Voir notre analyse de l'inscription trilingue dans BSL 1987.
- (4) Idem.
- (5) Cf. les radicaux indoeuropéens $*at-$ (Pokorny, p.64) et $*et-/jē-$ (Pokorny, pp.271-296).
- (6) Laroche offre la translation (dans l'inscription d'Erbina): "[Erb]bina fils de Kheriga et [descendant (khahba)] de Kuprili a dédié cette offrande... à Artemis".
- (7) Voir notre analyse de l'inscription trilingue dans BSL 1987.
- (8) Il n'est pas possible d'identifier le Kossiga, père de Kubernis d'après Hérodote, avec Keriga I. Cuprille/Kubernis, successeur de Keriga I paraît donc avoir été le gendre et non le fils de ce dernier.

ANNEXE : Sur l'origine du mot "hoplite".

Le terme ὀπλίτης : "hoplite" vient évidemment de ὄπλον: "arme".

On a voulu voir dans ce dernier mot un dérivé du verbe ἔπω < IE $*sep-$: "soigner, vénérer", mais le sens de ἔπω: "s'occuper de ..." rend une telle supposition bien invraisemblable.

L'équation lyc. *hbātl* = grec ὀπλίτης ouvre une nouvelle perspective, celle que ὄπλον provienne du "pélasgique", cette composante "proto-IE" du grec.

La forme lycienne, jointe à l'équivalence lyc. [h] < proto-IE $*gh-$, permet de remonter à la racine proto-IE, soit $*ghebhel-$: "bâton fourchu" que l'on tient dans la main, la première arme de l'homme primitif (cf. galloromain *gabalus*: "épée", all. *gabel*: "fourche", etc...). Le terme dérive très probablement de la racine proto-IE $*ghebh-/ghabh-$: "tenir fermement en main" (cf. Pokorny, p.407).

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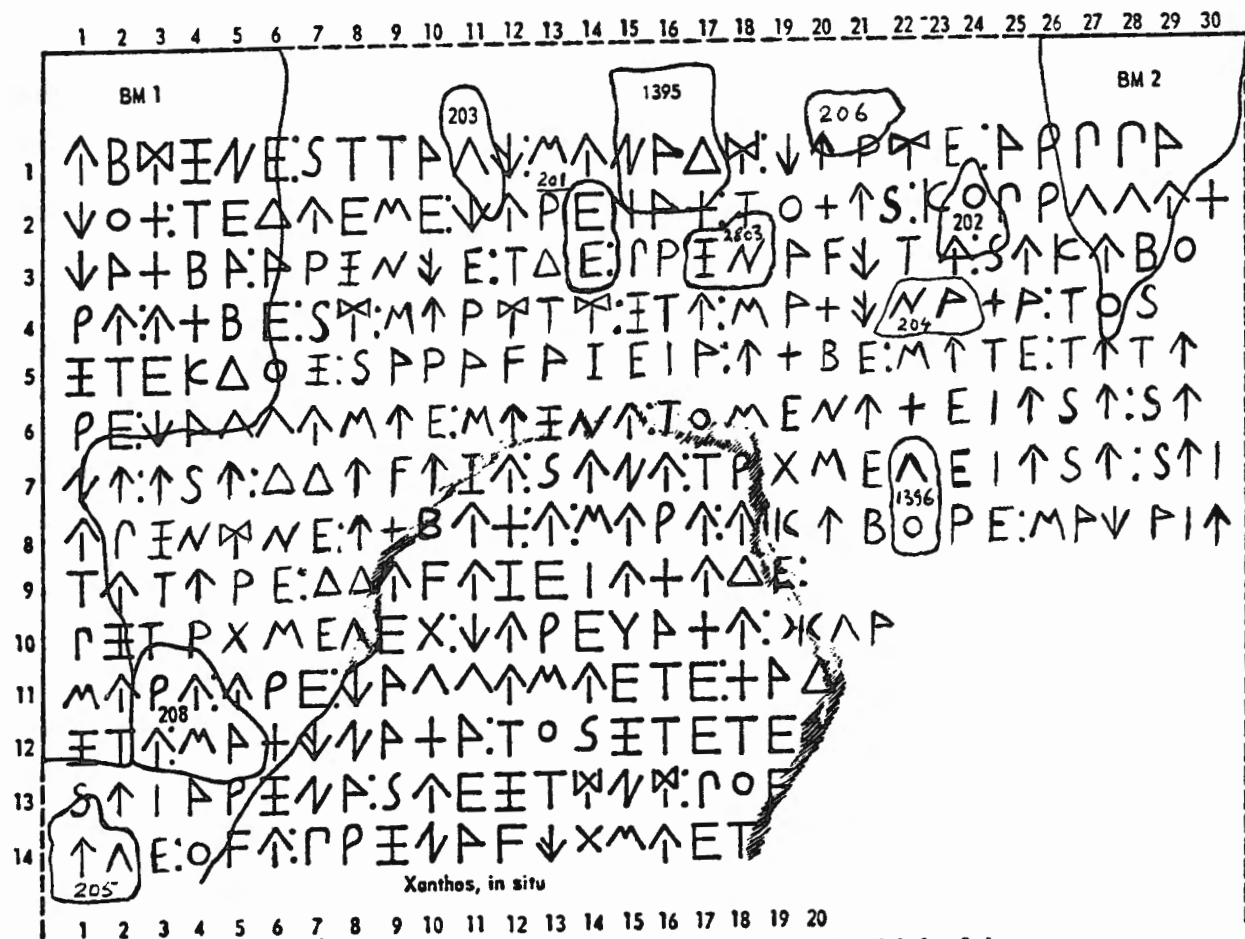


Fig. 1 — Le pilier inscrit : mise en place des fragments inscrits du haut de la face Sud.

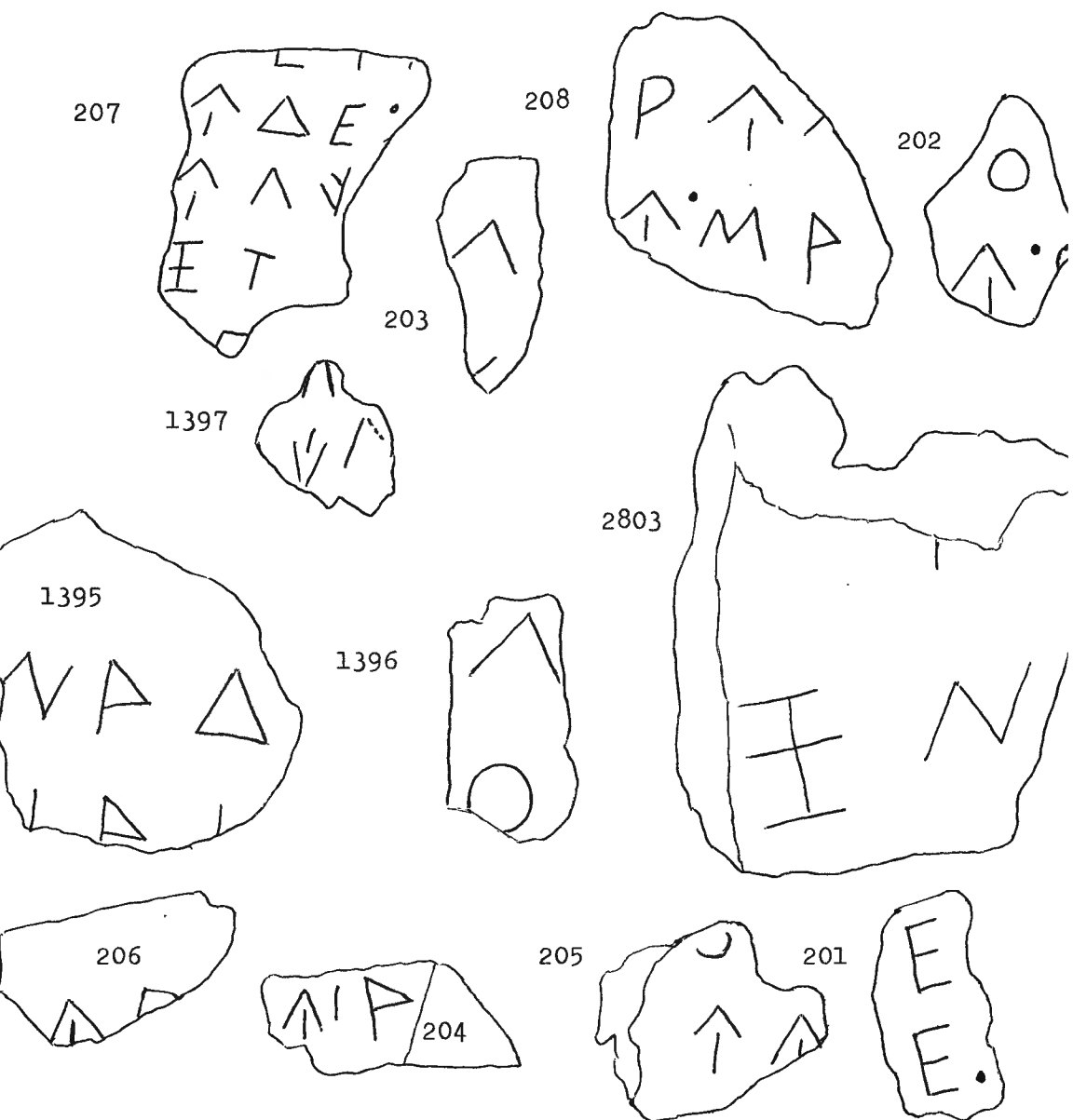
Stèle de Xanthos. Fragments

Figure 3. La dynastie de Kerëi

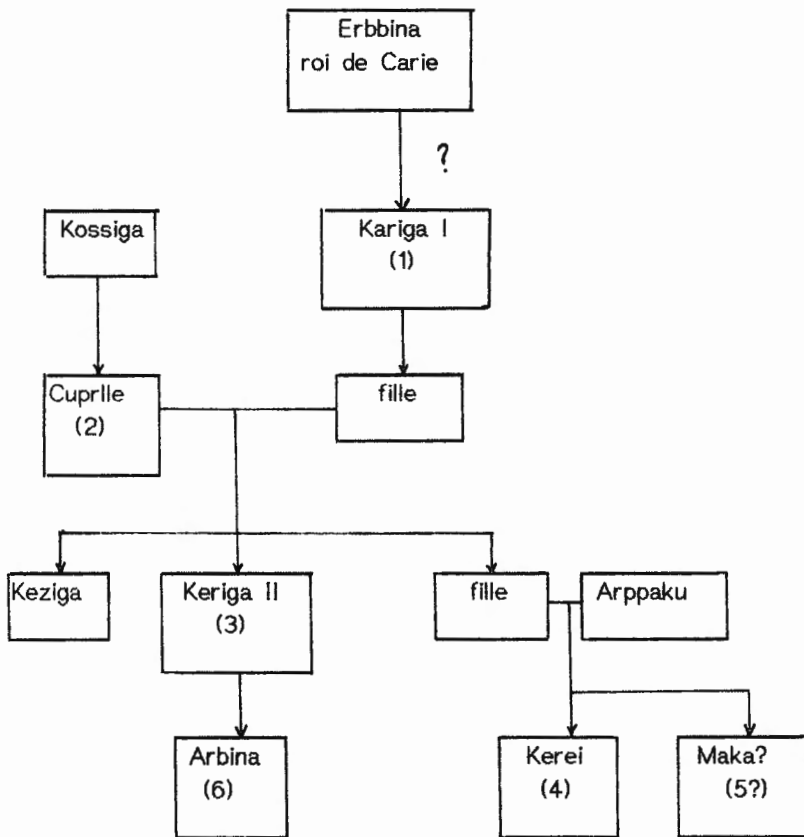


Figure 4.

Perse		Événements connus
	480	Kubernis fils de Kossika commande les navires lyciens (Herdt VII 98)
Xerxes	465	
		La Lycie est membre de la ligue de Délos
Artaxerxes I	449	Paix de Callias
	430	Melasandros part pour la Lycie avec 6 navires
	425	
	412	Révolte d'Amorgas
	407	Défaite d'Athènes par Sparte
	405	
	396	Accord Tissaphernes-Agesilas
	387	Traité avec Antalcidas
Artaxerxes II	380	Autophradates satrape de Lydie Artumpara, son lieutenant, commande en Lycie occidentale
	366	Révolte des satrapes - Mausole satrape de Carie
	358	Trilingue de Xanthos
Artaxerxes III	345	Conquête de l'Egypte par les Perses
	337	

	Lycie	Dynastes contemporains
?	Arbina I (?) Keriga I (Karika)	
c 475	Cuprille	→ Teŋŋiweibi et Sppñtaza (d'après Metz)
c 450	Keriga II	
c 425	Kerëi	→ Teŋŋiweibi (TL 44 - Est - 60/61) → Aruwätijesi (TL 44 - b - 18)
c 395	Maka?? Arbina II	→ Tissaphernes (TL 44) → Ddeneweile et Aruwätijesi
c 380	Hyparque Artumpara	→ Pericles à Lymira Victoire de Tericles sur Artumpera (TL 103/104)
	Hyparque Kondalos	
	Satrape Pixodaros	

ANTHROPONYMIE IN DEN LYDISCHEN INSCRIFTEN

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INHALT

0. Definition - 1. Gewöhnliche onomastische Typen - 1.1. Alleinstehende Idlonyme - 1.2. Zweigliedrige onomastische Formel - 1.3. Mögliche Frauennamen - 2. Sondertypen - 2.1. Dreigliedrige onomastische Formel - 2.2. Metronym neben Patronym ? - 2.3. Anomale onomastische Formel - 3. Besprechung einzelner Probleme - 4. Anknüpfungsmöglichkeiten.

0. Der Titel dieses Aufsatzes wurde absichtlich gewählt, weil der Begriff 'lydische Anthroponymie', den man als prägnantere Überschrift erwartet hätte, in der Tat nicht eindeutig genug gewesen wäre. Darunter könnte man nämlich dreierlei verstehen:

- a) die von den Lydern getragenen Personennamen;
- b) die in sprachlicher Hinsicht als lydisch zu betrachtenden Personennamen;
- c) die in den lydischen Texten belegten Personennamen.

Diesen drei Definitionen entsprechen verständlicherweise verschiedene, sich nur teilweise deckende Corpora. Im Falle von a) schliesst das Corpus, das sich aus Material aus Texten sowohl in lyd(lischer) als auch in fremder Sprache zusammensetzen kann, auch griechische, iranische usw. Namen ein, die aus Prestige oder anderen Gründen von der lyd. Bevölkerung zu eigen gemacht wurden, nicht anders als im Falle der semitischen oder germanischen P(ersonen)Namen bei den romanischen Völkern, wo religiöse bzw. kulturhistorische Momente massgebend waren.

Corpus b) besteht aus einer Teilmenge von a), und zwar aus den PNames, die in der lyd. Sprache motiviert sind und deshalb als typisch lyd. betrachtet werden können. Der sprachliche Aspekt wäre hier ausschlaggebend, doch ist unsere derzeitige mangelnde Kenntnis ein schwerwiegendes Hindernis, das der Aufstellung einer solchen Klasse von PNames im Wege stünde. Ein negatives Kriterium würde in der Aussonderung aller im lyd. Milieu vorkommenden Namen bestehen, die irgendwie zur fremden (griechischen, iranischen, phrygischen, karischen usw.) Anthroponymie zu rechnen sind. Dieses Vorgehen ist allerdings nicht immer zuverlässig, da die Zuordnung der 'anatolischen' PNames zu dieser oder jener Völkerschaft oft auf Schwierigkeiten stößt. Auch das geographische Kriterium ist nur bedingt nützlich, da die Anthroponymie sich weit über die ursprünglichen Grenzen hinaus ausbreiten kann, wie alte und neue Beispiele lehren.

Im Falle c) begegnen dagegen die wenigsten Probleme, weil die Zugehörigkeit zum Corpus hier nicht durch onomastische Kriterien, sondern nur durch die sprachliche Charakteristik der Quellen bedingt ist. Es werden also im folgenden alle PNames zusammengestellt und behandelt, die in den lyd. Texten vorkommen, unabhängig von der ethnischen Zugehörigkeit der betreffenden Personen sowie von der Frage, in welchem Milieu und mit welchen sprachlichen Mitteln der jeweilige Name gebildet wurde (1).

1. In den lyd. Inschriften werden in den meisten Fällen Personen durch den einfachen Individualnamen (oder Idionym = In) oder durch eine zweigliedrige onomastische Formel (= OnF) bezeichnet.

1.1. Das alleinstehende In wird in folgenden Fällen verwendet:

1.1.1. Wenn es sich um den (fremden!) Namen des Herrschers (*Artaksassa-* bzw. *Alīksāntru-*) handelt, nach dessen Regierungsjahr gewisse Inschriften datiert sind (Aufzählung der vollständigen Datierungen in LW, 18 f.): auffällig ist, dass auch im Falle eines mehrmals vorkommenden Dynastennamens wie *Artaksassa-* jeder Zusatz als überflüssig betrachtet wurde.

1.1.2. Auf Siegeln, Münzen und ähnlichen Gegenständen, und zwar unabhängig von der syntaktischen Form der Aussage: einfache Namensangabe (*Nanaś* 78, *Śaśa* 31 ?), einfache Possessivableitung des PNamens (*valvel* 52, wenn die Lesung stimmt), Besitzerangabe mit Kopula (z.B. *manel-im* "[ich] bin des Manes" 55, 56 und 73; ähnlicher Satzbau in 76, 77, 95 und 104, vielleicht auch in 69, wenn *ṛkal-ḥm* zu lesen), Besitzerangabe mit Namen des Gegenstandes (*eś sadmēś mitratalis* "dieses Siegel [ist] des Mitrataś" 74). Wenigstens in zwei Fällen wird aber auf Siegeln eine komplexere OnF verwendet: vgl. 51 und 75 und s. u. 1.2.2. Dass der zur Verfügung stehende Raum bei der Wahl zwischen einer einfacheren und einer vollständigeren Namensangabe eine nicht unwichtige Rolle spielen konnte, ist wahrscheinlich.

1.1.3. Wenn die OnF einer Person direkt oder indirekt aus dem vorangehenden Kontext erschlossen werden konnte. So wird in den beiden Verordnungen des Priesters Mitridastaś (23 und 24) am Anfang die vollständige OnF angegeben (*Mitridastaś mitratalis* "Mitridastaś, [der Sohn] des Mitrataś": 23.5 und 24.1), während im darauffolgenden Text das einfache In erscheint (vgl. 23.18 und 24.17 ff.). In 5.2–3 wurden dagegen die beiden In *Sivāś* und *Mēlaś* ohne Patronym aufgeführt, wahrscheinlich weil dieses sich aus dem Kontext ergab: sei es, dass sich für die beiden als Brüder des zu Beginn des Textes erwähnten Ataś eine Wiederholung des Patronyms *tivdalis* "[Sohn] des Tivdaś" erübrigte, sei es, dass sie Söhne desselben Ataś waren, so dass die Vaterschaft sich unmittelbar aus dem Zusammenhang ergab: zur Interpretation der Inschrift 5 verweise ich auf einen in der Festschrift J. Knobloch (s. Literatur) erschienenen Aufsatz.

1.1.4. Wenn der Betreffende durch eine Verwandtschaftsangabe schon hinreichend kenntlich gemacht wurde: vgl. *ēmλ kānaλ Kileλ* "meiner Ehefrau Kileś" in 5.4 (Zur Bedeutung von *kāna-* s. ebenfalls in der Festschrift J. Knobloch).

1.1.5. Wenn die Possessivableitung eines In sich attributiv auf ein Appellativum bezieht, wird gewöhnlich jeder weitere onomastische Zusatz weggelassen, wahrscheinlich um eine Aufhäufung von Possessiva zu vermeiden: vgl. *ēnaλ-t bakivaλ* "auch der Mutter des

Bakivaš" 10.22, *ist katoval sadmēl* "in der Inschrift des Katovaš" 10.9 (wo es noch hinzukam, dass die OnF des Katovaš schon im Anfangsabschnitt enthalten war), vielleicht auch *kumloḷ* 44.14 (Bezugswort anscheinend verloren), wenn *Kumlo-*, ebenso wie das anderswo vorkommende *Kumli-*, tatsächlich zur Anthroponymie gehört (2). Dagegen findet man in 2.8–9 *ist esl vānaḷ karol sablaḷ* "in dieser Grabkammer des Karoš, [des Sohnes] des Sablaš" mit der vollständigen OnF, die übrigens schon im vorangehenden Textabschnitt erschien.

1.1.6. An manchen Stellen, wo wir nach dem Muster ähnlicher Kontexte die vollständige OnF erwarten dürften, erscheint das einfache In, ohne dass man einen naheliegenden Grund für die vereinfachte Namensangabe erkennt. So *Ānas* 13.1 (am Anfang eines Gedichtes!), wenn die Interpretation als PName zutrifft; *Bartaraš* 40.2 in einer griechisch-lyd. Weihung aus Pergamon; *Mlimn(a)š* mehrmals in 22, einer längeren Inschrift öffentlichen Charakters, die in feierlicher, z.T. vielleicht poetischer Form abgefasst ist; *Titiš* im hochaltertümlischen Text 30. Hinzu würden noch *BL.Irsfantuš* 44.14 und *Batnēds* 44.15 kommen, wenn sie wirklich als In zu identifizieren wären, was vorerst kaum bewiesen werden kann. Manchmal gestattet der Erhaltungszustand des Sprachdenkmals keinen Schluss, wie bei *Karo(š?)* 27.2, das anscheinend ausserhalb einer OnF, jedoch in einem stark verstümmelten Kontext steht. Das könnte vielleicht auch für 62.3 gelten, wo *sablaḷ* allein vorkommt (3).

Für diese vereinzelt Ausnahmen könnten verschiedene Gründe geltend gemacht werden: so sind 13 und 22 stilistisch markierte Texte, während man bei 30 auf das Alter, bei 62 auf den Herkunftsort (Tire im Kaystrota) hinweisen könnte. Es scheint auf alle Fälle kein Anhaltspunkt vorzuliegen, dass das einfache In die Zugehörigkeit zu einer (niedrigen ?) sozialen Schicht kennzeichnete.

1.2. Die zweigliedrige OnF besteht aus dem In und dem vorn In des Vaters (s. u. 1.2.6) durch das Suffix *-li-* abgeleiteten Possessivadjektiv, das die Funktion eines Patronyms (= Pn) innehat: vgl. z.B. *Maneš bētovlis* (43.4) "Maneš, [Sohn] des Bētovs", wörtlich "M., der Bētov'sche". Bekanntlich ist die Bildung auf *-li-* nicht auf die Anthroponymie beschränkt, sondern ersetzt auch bei Appellativa den ursprünglichen Genitiv (s. LW, 36 f.).

1.2.1. Das Pn verhält sich wie ein normales Attribut und wird gegebenenfalls dekliniert: vgl. *sivāml* Saroλ "dem Saroś, [dem Sohne] des Sivāms" (Dativ-Lokativ) in 12.1, mit unregelmässiger, durch den poetischen Charakter des Textes bedingter Wortfolge (das Pn steht nämlich sonst immer hinter dem In).

Nimmt jedoch das In die Possessivform an, so wird an das Pn nicht ein zweites Possessivsuffix angehängt, wie es vom theoretischen Standpunkt aus zu erwarten wäre: vgl. *eśś vānaś sivāmlis armāvlis* "diese Grabanlage [ist] des Sivāms, [des Sohnes] des Armāvś" (*armāvlis* anstatt **armāvli-lis*) in 6.1-2.

1.2.2. Die zweigliedrige OnF - die, nach der Anzahl der Belege zu urteilen, wohl die Standardform der Personenbezeichnung darstellte - ist bisher in folgenden Fällen vollständig erhalten, wobei mit + die OnF gekennzeichnet werden, in denen das In (syntaktisch bedingt) die Possessivform annimmt:

- + *Karoś sabλalis* (2.8-9) (4)
- + *Atraśtaś timlelis* (3.2)
- + *Maneś alulis* (4a.1, 4b.1-2)
- + *Sivāms armāvlis* (6.1-2)
- + *Katovaś atraśalis* (8.5-6)
- Karoś katovalis* (10.1)
- Katovaś karolis* (10.2)
- Srkastuś katovalis* (11.7)
- Saroś sivāmlis* (12.1, in umgekehrter Reihenfolge, s. oben)
- Nannaś bakivallis* (20)
- Mitridastaś mitratalis* (23.5, 24.1)
- + *Alikreś karolis* (26.1)
- + *Anlaś atraśtalis* (26.1) (5)
- Bantakaśaś abrnalis* (41.5-6)
- [*Ka*]roś (oder [*Sa*]roś ?) *artimalis* (42.3)
- Maneś bētovlis* (43.4)
- Aluś mretilis* (49.2)
- Timleś brdunlis* (50.4)
- + *Bakivaś samlis* (51.1-2)
- + *Atraśtaś śakardalis* (54.1-2)
- + *Sivāms atelis* (75.1-2)

1.2.3. Bei anderen OnF ist das In verlorengegangen, während das Pn vollständig oder teilweise erhalten ist (in letzterem Fall kann manchmal eine Ergänzung erwogen werden):

- [X] *artabānalis* (8.4-5)
- [X] *siv]āmlis* (17.1)
- [X] *kat]ovalis* (25.2)
- [X] *k]arolis* (bzw. *s]arolis*) (25.3 und .4)
- [W] *ar]timulis* (25.5)
- [X] *]ftellis* (28)
- [X] *]ralulis* (32)
- [X] *]is* (48)
- [X] *baki]valis* (bzw.; *kato]valis*) (61)
- [X] *] ar[tim]ulis* (70.1-2)

In 98.1-2 sind mehrere Auffassungen prinzipiell möglich, s. u. 2.2. In anderen Fällen ist es angesichts des Erhaltungszustandes der Inschrift kaum zu ermitteln, ob ein Pn oder vielmehr das Possessiv eines In vorliegt, vgl. etwa *Jrolis* in 71.7. In 16.1 ist dagegen das zweite Glied der OnF - d.h. das Pn zum In *Tivdaš*, das aus syntaktischen Gründen in der Possessivform erscheint - in der Lücke verlorengegangen.

1.2.4. Eine Reihe von In ist auch als Pn belegt, was deutlich beweist, dass beide Bestandteile der OnF aus demselben Namengut schöpfen:

Alu-: In in 49.2, Pn in 4a.1 und 4b.2.

Artima-: In in 104 und vielleicht In 98.2 (worüber s. u. 2.2), Pn in 42.3 (in 98.2 eventuell Metronym).

Atrašta-: In in 3.2 und 54.1, während in 26.1 sowohl In als auch Pn denkbar wäre (s. u. 2.2).

Bakiva-: In in 10.22, 51.1 und 108.1, Pn in 20, 21 und vielleicht in 61 (wenn [*baki]valis* zu ergänzen).

Karo-: In in 2.4 und 2.8 (kaum in 2.9, wo eher ein Appellativum steckt, vgl. LW, 144 f.), ferner in 10.1, 27.2 und eventuell in 98.1 (worüber s. u. 2.2), während der bruchstückhafte Kontext 42.3 als Ergänzung sowohl [*Ka]roš* als auch [*Sa]roš* gestattet; Pn dagegen in 10.2, 26.1, 98.1 (wenn nicht In! s. u. 2.2), möglicherweise auch in

25.3 und 25.4, wenn die Ergänzung [*k]arolis* zutrifft.

Katova-: In in 8.5-6, 10.2 und 10.9, Pn in 10.1, 25.2 und wohl auch in 11.7, wozu sich noch 61 im Falle einer Ergänzung [*kato]valis* gesellen würde.

Kumli-: In in 9.2-3, Pn in 1.3.

Mane-: häufig In, jedoch Pn in 101.1.

Mitrata-: In in 74, Pn in 23.5 und 24.1.

Sabla-: In in 62.3, Pn in 2.4 und 2.9.

Saro-: In in 12.1, eventuell (bei einer Ergänzung [*Sa]ros*) auch In 42.3; Pn wahrscheinlich in 25.3 und 25.4, wenn die Ergänzung [*Is]arolis* zutreffen sollte.

Sivām-: In in 5.2, 6.1 und 75.1, Pn in 12.1 und 17.1.

Srkastu-: In in 11.7, Pn in 103.

Timle-: In in 50.4, Pn in 3.2.

Tivda-: In in 16.1 und 25.3, eventuell im zweifelhaften Kontext von 26.2; Pn in 5.1.

In Anbetracht der Anzahl dieser Fälle und der Tatsache, dass die Beschränkung anderen PNamen auf die In- bzw. auf die Pn-Funktion offenbar ganz zufällig ist, ergibt sich mit Evidenz, dass es sich beim zweiten Glied der OnF um ein echtes Pn, nicht um eine Art Gentilnamen handelte.

1.2.5. Wie u. 1.2. hervorgehoben, bedeutet eine OnF wie *Nannaś bakivalis* wörtlich "Nannaś, der bakivaische / der des Bakivaś", wobei das Verwandtschaftsverhältnis zur Person, deren In eben in der Possessivform erscheint, nicht näher bestimmt wird. Erst innerhalb der institutionalisierten OnF erhielt dieses Possessiv seine genauere denotative Funktion, indem es das 'Sohnschaft'-Verhältnis ausdrückte. Damit war die Hinzufügung eines Appellativums für "Sohn" überflüssig, und tatsächlich fehlt es bis auf einen Fall immer.

Die Ausnahme bildet die u. 3.4. besprochene Stelle 10.2-3, wo das vorangehende *biλ voraλ* "seinem Sohne" die an sich unnötige Präzisierung *Katovaλ karoλ voraλ* "dem Katovaś, dem des Karoś, dem Sohne" (6) hervorgerufen hat.

Die Möglichkeit einer anderen Verwandtschaftsbezeichnung, die die OnF ergänzt hätte, wurde im Falle von *Srkastuś katovalis suλoś* (11.7) erwogen (s. LW, 206), da das nur hier belegte *suλoś* dem Anklang nach an die Sippe von altind. *sūnu-* "Sohn" usw. erinnerte. Wenn man

aber ein parallel gebautes Syntagma wie *Mitridastās mitratalis kaveś* "Mitridastās, der [Sohn] des Mitrataś, der Priester" (23.5-6 und 24.1-2) und [*İftellis kaveś* "IX, der Sohn des İfteś, der Priester" (28) vergleicht, so kommt man unweigerlich zum Schluss, dass *śuλoś* in 11.7 - möge es auch eine Verwandtschaftsangabe sein - nur Apposition beim PName sein kann und nicht zur eigentlichen OnF gehört.

1.2.6. Dass das zweite Glied der OnF die Vaterschaft und nicht (wie im Prinzip möglich) die Mutterschaft angab, wurde seit dem Beginn der Erforschung des Lyd. immer stillschweigend angenommen, wohl weil die Angabe des Vaters für wahrscheinlicher gehalten wurde. Da weibliche PNames anscheinend keine formale Charakteristik aufweisen (s. u. 1.3.), ist man in dieser Hinsicht auf aussersprachliche Indizien angewiesen. Es ist in diesem Sinne von Belang, dass die griechischen Entsprechungen von mehreren an zweiter Stelle einer lyd. OnF erscheinenden PNames (z.B. *Καδοας* = *Katovaś*, *Σαπλαας* = *Sablaś*, *Καρους* = *Karovaś*) als Männernamen belegt sind, so dass die Auffassung des In der OnF integrierten Possessivs als Pn begründet scheint.

Im Falle des theophoren PNames *Artimuv*, dem der Name der Artemis zugrundeliegt, wäre man prinzipiell geneigt, weiblichen Charakter anzunehmen, so dass man in *IX arİtimulis* (25.5) und in *IX I arİtimJul* (70.1-2) ein Metronym vermuten sollte. Da diese OnF sich von den übrigen in keinerlei Hinsicht unterscheiden, empfiehlt es sich aber, auch *Artimuv* für den Namen des Vaters zu halten. Weitere mögliche Fälle von Metronymen u. 2.2.

Von einem Gebrauch der Pn als In lässt sich in den lyd. Inschriften keine Spur finden, obwohl die 'lyd.' PNames *Μυρσιλος* (vgl. heth. *Mursili-*) und *Μυταλις* (heth. *Muwatali-* ?) anscheinend das Suffix der Pn aufweisen (*Μυρσιλος* ist sogar als Sohn des *Μυρσος* bekannt) (7). Da diese PNames durch ausserlyd. Quellen überliefert sind, könnte die Interpretation als In auf das fremdsprachige Milieu zurückgehen.

1.3. Da das Lyd. das Femininum als grammatische Kategorie nicht kennt, ist von vornherein zu erwarten, dass Namen für weibliche Personen oder göttliche Wesen nicht besonders gekennzeichnet waren: In der Tat gehören die Namen der beiden Göttinnen *Artimu-*

"Artemis" und *Lamētru-* "Demeter" zur selben Deklinationsklasse wie etwa der männliche PName *Alu-* und weisen die gleichen Endungen auf (8). Auch im Wortbildungstyp sind keinerlei Unterschiede festzustellen.

Unter diesen Umständen ist es sehr schwierig, sichere Frauennamen zu indizieren. Ein solcher ist *Kile-* in *ēmλ kānaλ Kileλ* "meiner Ehefrau Kileš" (5.4), wie der Kontext nahelegt: aus der Tatsache, dass hier das *In* allein steht, ist kein weitgehender Schluss zu ziehen, da dies auch bei männlichen PNames geschehen kann (vgl. 1.1.1. ff.). Ferner wird man sich auf das die Inschrift 17 begleitende Relief stützen, wo eine weibliche Figur dargestellt ist (9): der Text enthielt also wahrscheinlich einen Frauennamen, von dem allerdings nur ein *[siv]āmlis* übriggeblieben ist. Dabei handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um ein Pn (*sivāmlis* ist als Pn aus 12.1 bekannt), so dass man bis zum Beweis des Gegenteils feststellen kann, dass die OnF bei Frauen dieselbe Struktur wie die der Männer aufwies.

Zum möglichen Vorkommen von Metronymen vgl. u. 1.2.6 und 2.2.

2. In einer geringeren Anzahl von Beispielen nimmt die übliche OnF eine erweiterte Form an, die sich durch das Auftreten eines zusätzlichen Possessivadjektivs auszeichnet. Ferner besteht in einem isolierten Fall die Möglichkeit einer anomalen OnF.

2.1. Eine dreigliedrige OnF, die aus *In*, Pn und einem weiteren Possessiv besteht, kommt mit mehr oder weniger Wahrscheinlichkeit an folgenden Stellen vor (mit + werden die Fälle gekennzeichnet, in denen das *In* auch die Possessivform annimmt):

- + *Maneš kumlilis silukalis* (1.3) (10)
- + *Karoš sabλalis istubeλmlis* (2.4)
- + *Ataš tivdalis tarvτallis* (5.1)
- + *Kumlis atelis šam[...Jylis* (9.2-4)
- + *Tivdaš [? X-lis istube]λmlis* (16.1-2)
- [M]an[ē]š bakivalis manē[li]s [?]* (21)
- [X m]anelis [.....]is* (101.1-2)
- [X] srkastulis šf[ardēt...]* (103)
- + *Bakivaš [...Jmi.alis ba.[* (108.1-2)

Unter Verweis auf die ausführliche Auseinandersetzung in *Kadmos* 18/1 (1979), 78 f. und in *Incontri Linguistici* 6 (1980-81), 22 ff. genügt es hier, dass in bezug auf die Deutung dieser OnF folgende Punkte hervorgehoben werden:

a) Wenn in 21 und 108 die Ergänzungen *manēllis* bzw. *baḡlivalis* zuträfen, die aus bekannten PNamen abgeleitet sind, dann könnte man mit Grund behaupten, dass das dritte Glied der OnF wenigstens in einem Teil der Beispiele auf den Namen des Grossvaters hinweisen dürfte, vgl. auch u. 3.4. Sonst findet das dritte Glied in der bisher belegten Anthroponymie keine Entsprechung, was indessen auch auf Zufall beruhen könnte.

Es lohnt sich immerhin zu erwähnen, dass in der griechisch abgefassten ephesischen Inschrift des ausgehenden 4. Jh., die eine Liste von Verurteilten enthält (vgl. Wankel 1979, Nr 2), zur besseren Unterscheidung der Genannten oft auch der Grossvatersname angegeben wird, vgl. etwa Τυίου τοῦ Μένειο τοῦ Σαπλᾶδος.

b) In 103 kommt bei der sehr naheliegenden Ergänzung *śflardēt* J, die das auch an anderen Stellen belegte Ethnikon der lyd. Hauptstadt Sardis ergibt, in erster Linie eine Herkunftsangabe in Frage. Allerdings ist Zugehörigkeit von *śflardēt* J zur OnF nur eine Möglichkeit, da das Ethnikon im Prinzip auch zur Titulatur des Empfängers der Widmung gehören könnte, vgl. in *Incontri Linguistici*, aaO. Dagegen beruht die Auffassung von *istubeλmlis* (2.4 und 16.2) als Ableitung von einem Ortsnamen lediglich auf etymologischen Spekulationen, vgl. LW, 138 f. und LWE, 61.

c) Dass es sich bei diesem dritten Glied um einen Zusatz handelte, der nicht unbedingt notwendig war, erhellt aus der Tatsache, dass in 1.3 *silukalid* (so wegen der Konkordanz) nachträglich über die Zeile geschrieben wurde und dass *istubeλmlis*, das in der OnF von 2.4 erscheint, bei der zweiten Erwähnung derselben Person (2.8-9) ausgelassen wurde.

d) Alle Beispiele von dreigliedriger OnF müssen nicht unbedingt einheitlich interpretiert werden: Da es sich offenbar nicht um institutionalisierte Namengebung handelte, wäre es auch denkbar, dass der Zusatz einmal die Herkunft und einmal die weitere Verwandtschaft angab.

2.2. In zwei Fällen besteht die Möglichkeit, dass die OnF - durch ein mit dem Pn mittels -k koordiniertes Possessivadjektiv erweitert - neben

der Angabe des Vaters auch die der Mutter enthält:

alikre[īd kaṛol[īd ?] an[ali-k atraš[ī [] (26.1)
si[ī[] karol aṛ[ti]ma[ī]-k (98.1-2)

Eine Interpretation "... des X, [des Sohnes] des Y und der Z" passt im Prinzip zu beiden Stellen, lässt sich aber wegen des Erhaltungszustandes der Texte kaum beweisen. Insbesondere könnte in 98 *si[ī[* auch Rest eines Appellativums sein: dann wären *karol* und *aṛ[ti]ma[ī]* als Possessiva von *In* aufzufassen, die z.B. die beiden Besitzer des Gegenstandes angeben würden. In 26 hängt die Deutung von *an[alik* von der Ergänzung des folgenden Wortes ab: im Falle eines Possessivs *atraš[ī[alid]* hätten wir es (wie in 8.4-6) mit zwei OnF, d.h. mit zwei durch *-k* koordinierten Possessivformen der *In* *Alikreš* und *Anlaš* zu tun, die vom jeweiligen Pn (*karoli-* bzw. *atrašali-*) begleitet wären; bei einem PName *Atraš[ī[laš]* (zu dem die Apposition *kaveš* "Priester" zu Beginn von Z. 2 gehören würde, vgl. LW, 70) müsste dagegen *an[alik* Teil der vorangehenden OnF sein, so dass sich die Annahme eines Metronyms von selbst ergeben würde. Da der Umfang der Lücke am Ende von Z. 1 nicht bestimmt werden kann, bleibt die Frage nach wie vor offen; dass dasselbe im Grunde auch für 98 gilt, wurde schon oben angedeutet.

2.3. In 30.2 tritt als persönlicher Dativ *ataλ kitvaλ* auf, dessen Interpretation als OnF Schwierigkeiten bereitet. Da Doppelnamen in den lyd. Texten sonst unbekannt sind, ist die Versuchung gross, mit A. Heubeck und anderen (vgl. LW, 69 und LWE, 37) in *ata-* eine Apposition zu einem *In* *Kitva-* (wie *Bakiva-* und *Katova-* gebildet) zu erblicken. Man würde an einen Verwandtschaftsnamen (etwa "Vater") denken, doch darf man dabei nicht über die Tatsache hinweggehen, dass *Ata-* in 5.1 als PName erscheint, vgl. zur Interpretation den schon erwähnten Aufsatz in der Festschrift J. Knobloch.

Die Aporie ist beim heutigen Stand unserer Kenntnisse nur durch folgende Hypothesen zu überwinden, die jedoch vorerst nicht verifizierbar sind:

a) *Ata- Kitva-* bildet eine eigenartige OnF, bei welcher der zweite Bestandteil nicht die übliche Form des Pn zeigt (*-va-* könnte z.B. ein Abstammungssuffix sein). Möglicherweise würde die Abweichung damit zusammenhängen, dass die Inschrift 30 zu den ältesten lyd.

Sprachdenkmälern (wahrscheinlich Anfang des 6. Jh.) gehört, obwohl man nicht verschweigen darf, dass die übliche OnF mit dem Pn auf *-l/s* schon im vielleicht noch älteren Text 49 erscheint.

b) *Ata-* ist ein sonst unbekannter, mit dem PName homophoner Verwandtschaftsname.

c) *Ata-* und *Kitva-* sind zwei asyndetisch koordinierte In.

3. Im folgenden sollen noch einzelne Fragen erörtert werden, die die Anthroponymie der lyd. Inschriften oder den Gebrauch einiger PName betreffen:

3.1. Einen Nominativausgang *-s* statt *-ś* weist *Ānas* 13.1 auf, das aus inhaltlichen Gründen (vgl. *Die Sprache* 17, 1971, 5) und wegen des Anklangs an die sogenannten Lallnamen *Avα*, *Avvα* usw. als ein PName (In, allerdings ohne Pnl) betrachtet werden dürfte.

Ein asigmatischer Nominativ scheint im isolierten Graffito 31 (*śasa*) vorzuliegen (11), während für *torśa*, das in 80.3 ausserhalb einer OnF belegt ist, auch appellativische Funktion in Frage kommt, vgl. darüber *LWE*, 104 f.

3.2. Abgesehen von den üblichen Possessivadjektiven auf *-li-*, die in der allgemeinen genitivischen Funktion oder spezifisch als Pn vorkommen, ist sonst nur eine Ableitung von einem PName bekannt: es handelt sich um *mida-ṛa-* (13.4), das dem vom Gottesnamen *Arm(a?)*- abgeleiteten *arm-ṛa-* entspricht. Gemäss seinem Ursprung drückt das Suffix allem Anschein nach die Zugehörigkeit aus, vgl. *Athenaeum* 47 (1969), 139.

3.3. Sehr zweifelhaft ist die Zugehörigkeit zum anthroponymischen Corpus von *atalid* (26.2), das wie ein Possessiv zum PName *Ata-* aussieht. In der Tat ist der Sinn der Stelle unerklärt, auch bleibt der Bezug auf das vorangehende, von einem bekannten PName abgeleitete *[ti]vḍalis* nach wie vor dunkel, so dass man nicht ohne Grund auch mit der Möglichkeit einer zufälligen Homophonie mit dem PName *Ata-* gerechnet hat, vgl. *LW*, 69.

3.4. Wegen der Beschränktheit des epigraphischen Materials kann man die anthroponymischen Gewohnheiten bei Angehörigen derselben

Familie nur in sehr seltenen Fällen beobachten. Ein bescheidener Stammbaum ergibt sich z.B. aus dem Beginn der Inschrift 10, wo es nach der ansprechenden Rekonstruktion von E. Vetter (*Zu den lydischen Inschriften*, Sitzber. Österr. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl. 232/3, Wien 1959, 21 ff.) heissen soll:

es[ti] m̥rud Karoš katovalis bil̥l vora[λ ka]ñt̥rol

Katovaλ karof̥l voraλ usw. (10.1-3)

"diese Stele widmete Karoš, [der Sohn] des Katovaš, seinem Sohne / Katovaš, [dem Sohne] des Karoš".

Die Reihenfolge war also Katovaš (Grossvater) – Karoš (Vater) – Katovaš (Enkel bzw. Sohn der beiden Vorangehenden), wobei der Enkel den Namen des Grossvaters erhalten hatte.

Ähnlich würde sich die Sache auch in 21 und 108 verhalten, wenn die Integration *[M]aṛ[e]š bakivalis maṇe[li]s* bzw. *bakiy[ali]s... ...jmi.alis baḱ[ivalis]* zutrifft: in diesem Fall würde nämlich die Deutung des dritten Gliedes der OnF als Angabe des Grossvaters (vgl. u. 2.1) naheliegen, so dass auch die hier gemeinten Maneš und Bakivaš den Namen ihres jeweiligen Grossvaters wiederaufgenommen hätten.

4. Die in den lyd. Inschriften vorkommenden PNames lassen sich mit Rücksicht auf ihre mögliche Herkunft wie folgt gruppieren (12):

KLEINASIATISCHES

Alikre- (Αλικρης in Südphrygien und Pisidien).

Alu- (s. *Αλυάτης, lyd. Königsnamen).

Armāv- (hethitisch *Arma-* usw.).

Ata- (Ατας in Phrygien und Pisidien, Αδας in Karien).

Ate- (Ates in Phrygien, Ατης in Kilikien);

Āna- (Ανα, Αννα in verschiedenen Gegenden).

Karo- (Καρους in Lydien).

Katova- (Καδοας in Lydien, Καδουας in Südphrygien usw.).

Kile- (Κιλης in Südanatolien).

Kitva- (Κιδυς in Lydien, Κιδους in Kilikien).

Mane- (Μάνης in verschiedenen Gegenden).

- Mēla-* (Μήλης, lyd. Königsname).
Mida- (Μίδας, phryg. Königsname).
Nanna- (Νάννας usw. in verschiedenen Gegenden).
Sabla- (Σαπλάς, -ους in Lydien).
Srkastu- (s. Συργάστης, Beinamen des bithynischen Zeus).
Šaša- (Σασας in Lykien und Ostphrygien).
Tarvta- (hethitisch *Tarhu-* usw.).
Tete- (Τετης in Kilikien).
Titi- (Τιτις in Südkleinasien).
Tivda- (hethitisch *Tiwata-*).
Valve- (hethitisch *Walwa-*).

MÖGLICHERWEISE KLEINASIATISCHES

- Anla-* (Ανδα in Mysien ?).
Artimu- (theophorer PName).
Atrašta-, Atrása- (*Αδράστος in der phryg. Sage).
Bakiva- (vom Gottesnamen *Baki-* = Βάκχος abgeleitet).
Saro- (Σαρος in Karien ?).
Sivām- ("kappadokisch" *Siwanala-* ?).

IRANISCHES

- Artabāna-* (**R̥tapāna-*).
Artakšassa- (*R̥taxšaça-*).
Artima- (**R̥tima-*).
Mitrata- (**Miθrāta-*)
Mitridasta- (**Miθradāšta-* o. dgl.).

MÖGLICHERWEISE IRANISCHES

- Abrna-* (LWE, 29).
Bantakaša- (LWE, 40).
Bartara- (LWE, 40).
Brdun- (LWE, 44).
Šakarda- (LWE, 94).

GRIECHISCHES

Alīksāntru- (Ἀλέξανδρος).

ISOLIERTE PERSONENNAMEN

Bētov-.

B.rsfantu-.

Bśadvo-.

Kumli-.

Mlimna-.

Mret-.

Rka- (?).

Sam-.

Siluka- (?).

Tafu-.

Timle-.

UNSICHERES

batnēd- (PName ?).

ismēn- (kaum PName).

Ištubeλm- (eher Ortsname ?).

Kumlo- (PName wie *Kumli-* ?).

Mila- (PName zu *Mida-* ?).

Ośfl- (PName ?).

Qaλdān- (eher Gottesname ?).

torśa- (eher Appellativum).

FUSSNOTEN

- (1) Im folgenden wird durch LW bzw. LWE auf mein Lydisches Wörterbuch (Heidelberg 1964) bzw. auf das dazugehörige Ergänzungsheft (Lieferungen 1-3, Heidelberg 1980-86) verwiesen, wo unter den betreffenden Lemmata weitere bibliographische Hinweise zu finden sind. Die lyd. Inschriften werden mit der in LW und LWE verwendeten Ordnungsnummer (hinter dieser, durch

- einen Punkt trennt, die Zeilennummer) zitiert: Die nach 1963 bekannt gewordenen Texte sind in der dritten Lieferung des LWE abgedruckt. Dort ist auch eine Liste aller in den lyd. Inschriften vorkommenden Eigennamen zu finden (S. 142 ff.).
- (2) In Frage käme eventuell noch *ismēnlis* (śfatoś) 12.7, in dem manche auf Grund des Anklangs ein *ln* vermutet haben; zu einer anderen Möglichkeit vgl. LWE, 59.
 - (3) Anders verhält sich die Sache bei *Qaλdā!* und *qaλdānlld* in derselben Inschrift 62, da hier in erster Linie ein Gottesname in Frage zu kommen scheint, vgl. LWE, 81 f. und 136.
 - (4) Am Anfang desselben Textes kommt dagegen eine dreigliedrige OnF vor, vgl. u. 2.1. Um der Einheitlichkeit willen, werden die OnF im folgenden ständig in der Nominativform (*communis generis*), nicht in der tatsächlich belegten Gestalt aufgeführt.
 - (5) Diese OnF ist allerdings fraglich; eine andere Möglichkeit wird später u. 2.2. zur Sprache kommen.
 - (6) Nach der Wortfolge zu urteilen, ist *voraλ* wahrscheinlich als Apposition zur gesamten OnF aufzufassen (wenn *karoλ* attributiv zu *voraλ* gehören würde, hätte man eher **Katovaλ* / *voraλ karoλ* erwartet). Anhand dieses Befundes scheint mir wenig wahrscheinlich, dass die übliche OnF durch Ausklammerung des Verwandtschaftsnamens *voraś* "Sohn" entstand.
 - (7) Zur Überlieferung der beiden PNames vgl. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prag 1964), 341 f.
 - (8) Trotz der Unsicherheit der Bestimmung des thematischen Ausgangs (vgl. LWE, 68) gilt dasselbe auch für den Namen der Kupapa (*Kufav-/Kuvav-* bzw. *Kufava-/Kuvava-*). Bei *Ac.i-* "Athena" ist der einzig belegte Dat.-Lok. auf *-l* eine lautlich, nicht morphologisch bedingte Ausnahme (s. LW, 33 und LWE, 29).
 - (9) Vgl. G.M.A. Hanfmann - N.H. Ramage, *Sculpture from Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass. 1978), 157. Darstellungen menschlicher Figuren, aus denen sich das Geschlecht der in den Inschriften erwähnten Personen ergeben kann, sind sehr selten: Der Stein, der Nr. 54 trägt, zeigt einen Mann (Hanfmann-Ramage, aaO., 55 f.); Nr. 3 ist oberhalb der Darstellung eines Mannes auf der *κλίνη* und einer sitzenden Frau geschrieben (Hanfmann-Ramage, aaO., 157 f.), und eine ähnliche Totenmahlszene, wo neben dem Ehepaar noch eine Dienerin erscheint, begleitet 101 (vgl. N.H. Ramage, *Anatolian Studies* 29, 1979, 91 ff.). Neben Nr.12 stand

ursprünglich auch ein Relief, das allerdings heute nicht mehr identifiziert werden kann. Daraus ergibt sich, dass die Personen, denen die Inschriften 3 und 54 (in 101 ist die OnF teilweise verloren) gewidmet sind (*Atraštaš timlelis* bzw. *Atraštaš sakardalis*), Männer waren.

- (10) Die OnF wird, unabhängig von der tatsächlich belegten Form, immer im Nominativ communis generis angegeben.
- (11) Kein Nominativ-*s* zeigt auch [...]*ra* in 2.12, in dem man vermutungsweise (vgl. LW, 189) einen Gottesnamen gesucht hat.
- (12) Die PNames werden in der jeweiligen Stammform aufgeführt. Auch hier wird implizite auf die Ausführungen in LW und LWE verwiesen. Für die kleinasiatischen und iranischen Namen sind L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prag 1964) bzw. R. Schmitt, *Iranische Namen in den indogermanischen Sprachen Kleinasien* (*Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, hgg. von M. Mayrhofer und R. Schmitt, Band V/4, Wien 1982) ständig heranzuziehen.

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BCILL 42 : LINGUISTIC HAPPENING, 197-204

LYKISCH *arñna-*

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Die Nachricht des Stephanos von Byzanz, * Ἀρνα stelle den früheren Namen der von den Griechen Ἐάνακος genannten Stadt dar, wird, wie schon in den Anfängen der lykischen Forschung Ch. Fellows festgestellt hat, durch die lykischen Texte bestätigt: In ihnen heisst die Stadt *arñna*. Dabei stellt diese Wortform (u.a.) den Nom. Sg. dar (1), im Gegensatz etwa zu *pinala*, das – wie das griechische Äquivalent Πίναρα – Nom. Pl. Ntr. ist. Das geht hervor aus der Trilingue von Xanthos (N 320), wo in Z.20 die Form *arñna* eindeutig sg. Subjekt ist: vgl. 18-20: *seipibti: ... arñna : se sñmati* "und es gibt A. und bestimmt (?)". (2). Die zu erwartende (gleichlautende) dat. Form *arñna* steht in Z. 4-5, und zwar in syntaktischer Parallele zu dat. *trñmle* "den Lyklern" (.3). Bezeichnend auch die dat. Formulierungen in 45.2-3: *arñna se tlawa se | [pinale] se xadawāti meñna* "den Städten (*meñna* (3)) Xanthos und Tlos und Pinara und Kadyanda" (vgl. im griech. Text Ἐάνακοις Τλω[ι]οις Πινάρ[ε]οις Κανδαυδ[ι]λέοις) und in 44 b.30: *aṛñna : pinale : tlawa : wedre* "den Städten (*wedre*) X., P., T.". – Die mit *-h-* gebildeten Formen finden sich auf den Münzen; reine Gen. auf *-he* (4) scheinen dabei vorzuliegen in *xeriga arñnahe* (M 222 b) und *xerēi arñnahe* (M 224 a); sie wären besonders einleuchtend, wenn in M 222 c *xeriga/arñnahe* χ die Akürzung χ für *xñtawata* stünde ("xeriga, der Stadt *arñna* König"). Dazu kommen alleinstehendes *arñnahe* (M 240 b) sowie weitere abgekürzte Formen in M 205 a, b; 224; 240 c, d. Dagegen stellt *arñnaha* (M 240 a) wohl eine Form des sog. adjectivum genetivale auf *-hi* dar (5). Ein Lok. *arñna* mag nach E. Laroche (6) vorliegen in 44 b.53-54: ein Abl. in *arñnadi* in 40 c.10. – In undeutbarem Zusammenhang stehen *arñna* 29.18; 44 a.34; 44 b.49;

und weiterhin bleiben vorerst unerklärt die Formen *arñnas* 44 c.13 und *arñnaše* 44 c.19.

Weitere Belege des Namens haben die neuen Texte geliefert, und zwar *arñnas* N 303.2 und N 320.30-31 sowie *arñnāi* N 320.6-7: 31. Von ihnen ist die Form *arñnas* N 303.2 ziemlich sicher zu bestimmen: Sie fungiert offensichtlich als PN im Nom. Sg., und dass mit ihr ein (zu *arñna* gebildetes) Ethnikon vorliegt, das als PN verwendet ist, stellt eine naheliegende Vermutung dar (7). Schwieriger sind die Formen *arñnas* und *arñnāi* in der Trilingue zu beurteilen. Ihr Verständnis erschliesst sich vielleicht am ehesten durch den Vergleich der drei formal divergierenden, aber offensichtlich weithin inhaltsgleichen Formulierungen, die sich auf die Bürger von Xanthos und ihre περίοικοι beziehen (8); sie seien hier im Wortlaut vorgeführt:

- (a) .6-7: *arus* : *se-j-epewētlm̃mēi* : *arñnāi*
(gr. ~ Ξανθ(ο)ις καὶ τοῖς περιόικοις .5-6)
- (b) .13-14: *teteri* : *se-j-epewētlm̃mēi*
(gr. ~ πόλις .12)
- (c) .30-31: *teteri* : *arñnas* : *se-j-epewētlm̃mēi* : *arñnāi*
(gr. ~ Ξανθιοὶ καὶ οἱ περίοικοι .27-28).

Alle drei Passus stehen im Nom.

Auf Grund unserer seinerzeitigen Überlegungen zu den lykischen Verbalformen (9) dürfen wir annehmen, dass von den Quasi-Synonyma *arus* und *teteri* das erste einen Sg. ("Gesamtheit der freien Bürger, δῆμος") (10) und das zweite einen Pl. ("die freien Bürger, πολῖται") (11) darstellt; abgesetzt von den freien Bürgern der Stadt sind die (wohl ebenfalls freien) Perioikoi der Stadt und – so dürfen wir ergänzen – die *χδdaza*- "Sklaven", für die allerdings, wie wir erfahren (.20-21 (12)), der Weg in die Freiheit offensteht. Erwähnt sei noch, dass Xanthos als Stadt sowohl als *meñna*- (45.3) als auch als *wedri*- (44 b.30) bezeichnet werden kann. Ob dabei zwischen diesen beiden Bezeichnungen ein inhaltlicher Unterschied – etwa dem von griech. πόλις und ἄστυ entsprechend – besteht, derart dass das eine Appellativum das gesamte Territorium, das andere nur die eigentliche 'Hauptstadt' mit Ausschluss der ländlichen Gebiete meint, und wenn ja, wie die Bezeichnungen zu vertellen sind, lässt sich vorerst wohl nicht sagen.

An dieser Stelle geht es um die Fragen der genaueren Bedeutung, der formalen Erklärung und der syntaktischen Zuordnung der Formen *arññāi* und *arñnas*. Zunächst zu *arññāi*: Die syntaktische Stellung erlaubt für (a) und (c) sowohl eine Übersetzung $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\iota\omicron\iota$ wie $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\iota\omega\nu$; andere Möglichkeiten scheinen ausgeschlossen. Ein Blick auf die zunächst rein formal vergleichbare Bildung *māhāi* kann hier einen Schritt, wenn auch nicht entscheidend weiterhelfen (13). Als Form des Nom. Sg. des lykischen Wortes für "Gott" haben wir seinerzeit ein **mahana* vermutet (14), eine Form, auf die vor allem der eindeutig im Dat. Pl. stehende Ausdruck *mahana ebette* "diesen Göttern" (N 320.9, 35, 37) und die Formen des Adjectivum genetivale *mahanahi* (22; 92.2; 134.4) und *mahanaha* (44 a.12; Ntr. Pl.) deutlich hinweisen. Jedenfalls müsste der Dat. Pl. zu dem von E. Laroche angesetzten *mahan(i)-* in der Form **mahane* erscheinen (15). Die Form des Nom. Pl. lautet *māhāi*, *māhāi* (*muhāi*); vgl. 57.8; 59.3; 88.6; 93.3; 101.4. Wir meinen nach wie vor, dass sie am ehesten auf **mahani* (< *-is) zurückzuführen ist (16) und somit einen indirekten Beleg dafür bietet, dass der Nom. Pl. der -a-Stämme auf -i geendet hat (also **ladi* "die Frauen").

Wenn aber nun nicht alles trügt, lautet auch die Form des Gen. Pl. *māhāi*; denn die sg. Form des Verbums in dem Passus 139.4-5 lässt für *me ne l tubidi h[p]pñte[rus] māhāi* kaum eine andere Übersetzung zu als "dann wird sie (*ne* "eos") bestrafen der *hppñterus* der Götter" (17). Da aber der Gen. Pl. der -a-Stämme möglicherweise auf -āi ausgegangen ist (*lada* : *ladāi*) (18), wäre eine haplogische Verkürzung von **mahanāi* > *māhāi* nicht auszuschließen. Aber wie auch immer man die Frage nach dem Kasus von *māhāi* (und von *arññāi*) beantwortet: das vermutete Flexionsparadigma Nom. Sg. **mahana*: Nom./Gen. Pl. *māhāi* lässt für pl. *arññāi* einen Nom. Sg. **arnana* (**arñnañna*) als Form des zum ON *arñna* gebildeten Ethnikons vermuten. Ein solches Ethnikon **arñnañna* wäre, wie wiederum E. Laroche (19) betont hat, in Anbetracht von *tlawa* "Τλῶς": *tlāñna* "Τλῶεύς" sowie von *χbide-* "Κῶύνος": *χbidēñni* "Κῶύνιος" durchaus denkbar. Immerhin ist zu bedenken, dass wir nicht mit einem primären Ethnikon-Suffix -(ñ)na-, -(ñ)ni- zu rechnen haben. Die mil. Form *χbidewñni* (44 c.46-47) zeigt, dass -ñni- auf -wñni- zurückgeht, das seinerseits ein -wani- (-wañni-) voraussetzt, das dem hier.-luw. Ethnikon-Suffix -wana/i- entspricht (20).

Dementsprechend hätten wir eine Entwicklung von **arñnañna* aus **arna-wana* (**arñnawañna*) anzusetzen, die uns durchaus diskutabel erscheint.

Beträchtlich grössere Schwierigkeiten bietet die morphologische Analyse der Form *arñnas* in N 320.31-32. E. Laroche hat diese Schwierigkeiten deutlich gesehen und versucht, mit ihnen auf folgende Weise fertig zu werden: "l'-s final d'*Arñnas*, s'il n'est pas une simple faute de lapicide, se justifie seulement par une prononciation de sandhi, devant *sey-*: * la ville (d') *Arñna* *, comme *urbs Roma*" (S.74). Die Gewalttätigkeit dieser Erklärung liegt zutage: Ein Steinmetzversehen ist zwar nicht ausgeschlossen (zumindest in einem Fall, nämlich Z.34, liegt ein solches sicher vor; vgl. E. Laroche, S.74), aber kaum wahrscheinlich, und für die alternative Erklärung gibt es m.W. in den lykischen Texten keine Parallele.

Aber auch die von R. Gusmani (21), O. Carruba (22) und vom Verf. selbst (23) vorgebrachten Lösungsvorschläge, die hier im einzelnen nicht diskutiert werden sollen, können aus verschiedenen Gründen nicht überzeugen. Auszugehen ist jedenfalls von der Tatsache, dass *teteri* in dem Passus *se-lj-ehbej-altē ... arñnāi* .30-32 nur ein plur. Subjekt im Sinn von "πολιται" (und nicht sg. "πολις", wie E. Laroche meint) darstellen kann, wie R. Gusmani, a.O., richtig erkannt hat und wie die syntaktische Analyse des Satzes bestätigt (24). Da aber das mit *teteri* verbundene *arñnas* kaum als Gen. des ON verstanden werden kann, liegt es am nächsten, die Wortgruppe im Sinn von *πολιται ἑάνθιοι* zu verstehen. Lässt sich aber diese Annahme mit der Tatsache in Einklang bringen, dass *arñnas* an seiner zweiten Belegstelle N 303.2 eindeutig als Nom. Sg. fungiert? Offensichtlich handelt es sich ja dort, wie wir oben vermutet haben, um ein zum ON *arñna* gebildetes Ethnikon, das als PN (ἑάνθιος bzw. Ἀρνάιος, Ἀρνεύς) verwendet ist. Mit anderen Worten: Kann dieselbe Form *arñnas* sowohl als Nom. Sg. wie als Nom. Pl. fungieren?

Hier gilt es, etwas auszuholen: Es ist gewiss a *limine* problematisch, neben den bekannten Ethnikonbildungen des Lykischen auf *-zi-* (25) (*surezi*), *-ñna/i-* (< *-wñna/i-*; s.o.) und *-li-* (26) (*trñmili*) noch eine weitere Bildungsmöglichkeit auf *-s* anzusetzen.

Immerhin gibt es für *arñna-* : *arñnas* eine Parallelbildung: Zu dem ON *zēmuri* (M 145 a; vgl. auch *zēmure* M 125) "Λίμυρα" hat die Bilingue N 312 in Z.5 die Form *zemuris* geliefert, der in Z.2 ein griech. Λίμυρεύς entspricht. Im Hinblick auf die anderen lyk. Bildungen, die auf -s enden (27), lassen sich die Endungen der beiden Ethnika theoretisch entweder auf *-ns (28) oder *-nts (29) zurückführen; den Vorzug verdient wohl, wie u.a. auch G. Neumann (30) und H. Eichner (31) meinen, die Annahme einer -nt-Bildung: Grundformen also **arñnant-s* und **zemurint-s*. Die durch die Verbindung *teteri arñnas* nahegelegte Vermutung, dass *arñnas* nicht nur die reguläre Bildung des Nom. Sg. darstellt, sondern auch als Nom. Pl. fungieren kann, ist zwar überraschend, scheint aber nicht ausgeschlossen – allerdings nur unter der unbeweisbaren, wenn auch wahrscheinlichen Voraussetzung, dass der Nom. Pl. der konsonantischen Stämme im Lykischen mit -s gebildet worden ist bzw. dass wir überhaupt eine Gleichheit der Formen des Nom. Sg. und Pl. akzeptieren wollen. Nun liegt aber eine Formengleichheit offensichtlich auch bei den -i-Stämmen vor: *tideimi* 107.a.1 scheint Nom. Pl. zu sein, also wie der Nom. Sg. auszusehen, und dasselbe haben wir für *prñezi* (149 a.4), *teteri* (s.o.), *tesēti* (z.B. 149 b.10) und *itlehi* (z.B. 88.5) vermutet. Ist es möglich, dass zu Paaren wie *tideimi* Nom. Sg. (< *-is) : *tideimi* Nom. Pl. (< *-is) auch entsprechende Paare der konsonantischen Stämme *arñnas* Nom. Sg. (< *-nt-s) : *arñnas* Nom. Pl. (< *-nt-s) gebildet worden sind? Wir halten dies für denkbar und schlagen deshalb vor, in der Trilingue die Passus (a) und (c) folgendermassen zu übersetzen:

- (a) ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ περίοικοι τῶν Ξανθίων
 (c) οἱ πολῖται Ξανθιοὶ καὶ οἱ περίοικοι τῶν
 Ξανθίων.

ANMERKUNGEN

- (1) E. Laroche 1979: 86; ausführlich zur Deklination von *arñna* P. Meriggi 1980: 222 f.
- (2) Zu *sñmati* vgl. A. Heubeck 1981: 167 (mit weit. Lit.); H. Eichner 1983: 55 A.45.

- (3) G. Neumann 1974: 112 f.
- (4) G. Neumann 1969: 384.
- (5) Zur Problematik dieser Wortbildung jetzt klärend G. Neumann 1982: 149-61.
- (6) E. Laroche 1979: 110; P. Meriggi 1980: 223.
- (7) G. Neumann 1979: 17.
- (8) Vgl. bereits A. Heubeck 1975: 77-88.
- (9) A. Heubeck 1982: 107-119; 1981: 158-173; zustimmend Anna Morpurgo-Davies 1983: 245-70, bes. 252 f.
- (10) A. Heubeck 1981: 161.
- (11) A. Heubeck 1981: 164 f.; vgl. auch R. Gusmani 1975: 71-5.
- (12) Vgl. O. Carruba et al. 1978: 89-98; H. Eichner 1983: 54-9.
- (13) Zu dem vieldiskutierten *mahan-* zuletzt ausführlich E. Laroche 1979: 107 f.
- (14) A. Heubeck 1975: 79.
- (15) Vgl. P. Meriggi 1978: 243 zu den *-i*-Stämmen.
- (16) Zustimmend N. Oettinger 1976-7: 131-5.
- (17) Vgl. A. Heubeck 1982: 111 f. (mit ält. Lit.). *hppñterus* mag etwa den Sinn von τέμνωσ besitzen.
- (18) E. Laroche 1979: 86 (mit Lit.).
- (19) E. Laroche 1979: 86.
- (20) Einzelheiten und weiteres Material bei E. Laroche 1960: 170-3; R. Gusmani 1968: 5-7.
- (21) R. Gusmani 1975: 71-5.
- (22) O. Carruba 1977: 312-4.
- (23) A. Heubeck 1975: 83-5.
- (24) A. Heubeck 1981: 164 ff., 168.
- (25) E. Laroche 1960: 172; R. Gusmani 1961: 41-58, bes. 44.
- (26) R. Gusmani 1968: 7-8.
- (27) P. Meriggi 1978: 264-6, 268.
- (28) Vgl. die Akk. Pl. auf *-as/-is* < **-ans/-ins*.
- (29) Vgl. Dat. *trqñti* neben Nom. *trqqas* < **trqq(a)nt-s*.
- (30) G. Neumann 1979: 17.
- (31) H. Eichner 1983: 65 f.

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Die lykischen Texte werden zitiert nach den Sammlungen von E. Kalinka, *Tituli Lyciae*, 1901 (1-150), und G. Neumann 1979 (N 301-323), die Münztexte nach O. Mørkholm & G. Neumann 1978 (M 1-302).

ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF HITTITE *tuqqāri* 'BE VISIBLE'

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The etymology of Hittite *tuqqāri* 'be visible' (1) has never been firmly established to all scholars' satisfaction. There have been two main proposals: Schindler (1972: 37) has posited a Proto-Indo-European root **twek-* 'be visible' (2) as the source for *tuqqāri*, while Oettinger (1976: 113; 1979: 555), on the other hand, has denied this etymology, deriving the verb instead from **dheugh-* 'extract: milk' (the source of Sanskrit *√duh-* 'milk', Greek τυγχάνω 'happen by chance; concern; meet with', etc.).

Schindler's etymology has an added dimension to it, one not part of Oettinger's proposal. He suggests that within Hittite there is a connection between the verb *tuqqāri* and the noun *twekka-* 'body; self'. From a phonological standpoint, under standard assumptions about the relation of the Hittite spelling system to Hittite phonology, such a connection is possible, for it is generally held that the spelling of an initial stop is not a reliable indicator of its phonetic value (3).

The semantic motivation for this connection also is quite strong (though denied by Oettinger (1976: 144 n.17)) - Schindler (loc. cit., though in a different context) notes the various derivatives of a root **kwrep-* 'appear, show oneself' (4), among which are the Greek verbal form *πρέπει* 'appear' (5) and nouns meaning 'body' (e.g. Vedic *kṛp-* 'form, beauty', Avestan *kəhrpəm* 'form, body', Latin *corpus* 'body', etc.) that give a parallel to the *tuqqāri* / *twekka-* connection. Moreover, other semantic parallels can be adduced: If the (relatively safe) assumption is made that the verb in this pair shows the more basic meaning, then the starting point for the connection is

the link in meaning often found in forms for 'face' and ones for 'see, sight', as in the German pair *Gesicht* and *sehen* or the English (via Romance) words *visage* and *vision*. The step from 'visage' to 'person' (in the abstract) is a fairly natural one, given the identificatory nature of a person's face (6), and moving from there to 'self' (also an abstraction) and ultimately to 'body' (a more concretized, physical meaning) involves no difficult assumptions.

In addition, Schindler's proposal is all the more attractive because of formal problems with Oettinger's etymology. In particular, on the phonological side, *tuqqāri* shows a consistent double spelling of its medial stop. Under the assumption, accepted by most Hittitologists, that this spelling practice reflects a Hittite voiceless stop and consequently a derivation from a Proto-Indo-European voiceless stop, a preform **dhugh-* (zero-grade of **dheugh-*) for the root in *tuqqāri* is counterindicated (7). Oettinger's explanation for the apparent voiceless stop, namely that it is the result of influence from the rhyme-word (!) *wakkāri* 'lacks', is far from compelling (note, for instance, the lack of a full word rhyme between *wakkāri* and *tuqqāri*).

Thus, it seems that Schindler's proposal concerning a connection between *tuqqāri* and *twekka-* internally within Hittite is to be adopted (8). The question then arises as to what outside connections are available for this Hittite word-family. It is here, though, that an additional problem crops up.

In particular, the standard assumption about *twekka-* is that it belongs with the reconstructed noun required by the comparison of Sanskrit *tvác-* 'skin, hide' and Ancient Greek *σάκος* 'shield' (so Mayrhofer s.v., Chantraine s.v., Pokorny 1099, for example). The Greek-Sanskrit connection seems to be a good one, for both the form (cf. the double sigma in Greek *φερε-σακής* 'shield-bearing' giving evidence of a pre-Greek initial cluster in the simplex form and Sanskrit *s-*stem formations such as in *sú:rya-tvacas-* 'having skin shining like the sun' or *tvacas-yā-* 'found in the skin') and the meaning ('shield' explained as the stretching of skin over a frame) make this an excellent equation. The Hittite form apparently fits right in, and moreover would seem to negate the force of the remark of

Burrow (1943-6: 347-8), in taking *tvac-* to be a Dravidian loan-word, that "the total absence of the word in any other IE. languages is sufficient to confirm the doubts raised by the etymology itself".

However, adding the Hittite form to the apparent cognate set of *tvac-* and *ῥάκος* presents a problem for the Greek form. Working just from the Greek and the Sanskrit, one might reconstruct a pre-form **twak-* (9), the **a* being motivated by the correspondence of Greek *α* to Sanskrit *a* (10). The Hittite form, though, makes it likely that the *e*-vocalism is original, given the predominance and basic nature of **e* in Proto-Indo-European roots (as recognized by Chantraine (loc. cit.)) (11). Thus, more recently, scholars have instead reconstructed a pre-form **twek-* for this cognate set (so Schindler (loc. cit.) and Melchert (1984: 53), for example). Once this step is taken, however, the Greek vocalism becomes problematic, though this fact has been ignored in the handbooks (12), for there is no straightforward way of deriving a Greek *α* from PIE **e* in that phonetic context (13).

Thus the *tuqqāri* / *twekka-* connection seems compelling, as does the *twekka-* / *tvac-* / *ῥάκος* connection, but taking all these forms as interrelated and therefore deriving the whole set from a root **twek-* raises the aforementioned problem for the Greek cognate. Accepting Oettinger's etymology, on the other hand, makes it difficult to maintain the attractive *tuqqāri* / *twekka-* connection, because of the problems with deriving a meaning 'body' from a meaning 'derive, extract'. Assuming then that the *tuqqāri* / *twekka-* connection is to be maintained, it seems that the only solution to this problem lies in separating *tvac-* / *ῥάκος* from *tuqqāri* / *twekka-*. In that case, *tvac-* / *ῥάκος* could be from **twak-* (as noted above), thereby accounting for the Greek *α* in a natural and non-ad hoc fashion (14). This is only possible, however, if an etymology is found for *tuqqāri* and *twekka-* in which the connection between these two Hittite words can still be made via reasonably well motivated semantic shifts.

Fortunately, such an etymology is available. In Albanian there is a verb *duk-em* '(I) appear, seem'. This provides a satisfactory root etymon for Hittite *duqq-ari* on several grounds. Phonologically, the connection is unimpeachable, for the consonants match up as

expected: Albanian initial *d-* to Hittite [d], Albanian medial *-k-* to Hittite [k] (medially spelled <-qq-/-kk-/-gg->), as does the root vocalism (Albanian *u* from PIE **u*, as in *gjumë* 'sleep' <--*sup-no-, cf. Huld (1984: 156)), and the semantic connection is clear as well. Moreover, the two are parallel from a morphological standpoint, in that they are both zero-grade middle voice formations (15). The Indo-European root that *tuqqāri/dukem* derive from can be thus reconstructed as **dwek-*, an apparently hitherto unrecognized root (e.g. not in Pokorny's listing) (16). The connection of *tuqqāri* with *twekka-* can be semantically motivated along the same lines as noted above (i.e. *corpus/πρέπει*, *Gesicht/sehen*, etc.), because the meaning of **dwek-* is roughly parallel to that of **kwrep-* discussed by Schindler.

Thus, a solution to the problem of the vocalism in the Greek *σάκος* is possible as is a satisfactory etymology for *tuqqāri* that allows for a connection with *twekka-*. However, even if it should turn out that the internal Hittite connection between *twekka-* and *tuqqāri* needs to be abandoned and/or that the outside connection of *twekka-* with *tvac-* is compelling enough on other grounds to be maintained (17), the root etymology proposed here by which *tuqqāri* enters into the family of Albanian *dukem* (etc.) can remain as valid. At the very least, then, an investigation of the consequences of recognizing the difficulties involved in these connections has helped to clarify the origins of the Hittite verb.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) This verb also means 'be important', a meaning which Oettinger (1976: 113; 1979: passim) takes as primary; Melchert (1984: 103), on the other hand, takes 'be visible' to be the primary meaning, a view which is adopted here. The transliteration *tuqqāri* used here also follows Melchert's formula for this verb, with *-qq-* standing for the variety of medial spellings (<-qq-/-kk-/-gg->) and *tu-* for the different initial spellings (see footnote 3, though perhaps the transliteration *du-* should be used if the suggestion made here concerning the etymology of the verb is to be

adopted), and \bar{a} for the *scriptio plena* writing of the vowel (without intending that this be taken to signal vowel length, stress, and the like (see Melchert, 1984: 9 n.*).

- (2) This is indeed a positing, for the root **twek-* was not recognized prior to Schindler's proposal (e.g. it is not among those listed in Pokorny (1959)).
- (3) Regarding the spelling of the two, the following is noteworthy: even though *twekka-* is spelled only with the <tu> sign, *tuqqāri* is also spelled with the <tu> sign (though with the <du> sign as well) initially, so that a connection between the two seems not to be counterindicated. The medial stop in both forms is spelled variously: <-qq->, <-kk->, <-gg-> (always doubled!) and the difference in the signs used seems not to reflect a phonetic difference of any sort (see, for example, Oettinger, 1976: 144).
- (4) For the connection between 'appearance' (as in **kwrep-*) and 'vision' (i.e. 'be visible' and related meanings, as in *tuqqāri*), cf. Latin *videō* 'see' and its deponent form *videor* 'appear, seem'.
- (5) Pokorny (op. cit.) does not include $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota$ under his entry **krep-* (his root for *corpus*, *kṛp-*, etc., and note that he recognizes the possibility of a variant **kwrep-* as the form of the root), choosing to include it instead with Armenian *erewim* 'be visible, appear' under a root **prep-* (so also Chantraine s.v.). Even if that etymology for $\pi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota$ is adopted, however, there is still a parallel for the semantic connection Schindler posits, since Old Irish *richt* 'form, figure' seems to be related to *erewim*, deriving from **prp-tu-*. It seems that there is still quite a bit of sifting necessary for the interrelations among these forms and putative roots (and others that may be connected as well, e.g. Gothic *fairhvus* 'world', if from a tabu metathesis **perkw-* of the variant root form **kwrep-*), all of which must await further research.
- (6) One can compare also the colloquial English expression *what's his face* for 'what's his name, whoever he is?!'.
- (7) There are admittedly instances in which Hittite sound changes have led to pronunciations (and thus spellings) that are at odds with the generalizations – often referred to as Sturtevant's Law (see, e.g., Melchert (1984: 11 n.9) – concerning the spelling of Hittite stops in relation to their Indo-European origin, but there is

no clear indication that *tuqqāri* presents the relevant phonetic environments for any such developments.

- (8) Melchert (1984) accepts this connection via his reconstructions of *tuk- for the verb and *twek-/tuk- for the noun.
- (9) Pokorny (1959: 1099) reconstructs *twakos for these forms and curiously he includes Hittite *twekka-* without comment on the vocalism (see also footnote 11).
- (10) The reconstruction of the rare (for Proto-Indo-European) vowel *a here is not problematic because of the following velar; *a shows a skewed distribution in the proto-language, occurring primarily adjacent to gutturals.
- (11) One could of course maintain the reconstruction with *a (i.e. *twak-) and force the Hittite noun into this mold via an ad hoc sound change of *a - >e in Anatolian. That is unsatisfying for the same reasons as with requiring an ad hoc sound change in Greek historical phonology through a reconstruction *twek-. Similarly, one might suppose that Hittite inherited a zero-grade (cf. *yag'- 'sacrifice' for a root with a-vocalism that has a zero-grade, as shown by Sanskrit *yaj(-ati)/j(-ya-)*) of this root (and cf. the occasional oblique forms with a stem *tukka-* mentioned in footnote 17) and remade a full-grade, but then it becomes problematic why this was remade as *twek-* and not, following the more usual pattern of ablaut, as *tewk-*. Thus it would seem best at this point to accept e-vocalism in the reconstruction and deal with the problem of the unexpected Greek α.
- (12) Surprisingly, no mention of this problem is made in either Schwyzler (1939) or in Chantraine (s.v.).
- (13) There are some word in which it seems that *e may have become Grk. α in the context *tw*__, however all such cases involve either words with a medial liquid (which in a zero-grade could by itself have been responsible for the α), e.g. the words for 'four' (especially in the combining form τρᾰ- as in τράπεζα 'table' (<--*kw̥tw̥r̥-pedyā, see Schindler (op. cit., 34)) and σώρξ 'body' (which Schindler (op. cit.) takes from a remodeled zero-grade), or else words with doubtful etymologies, e.g. σαίνω 'move the tail' and σάρω 'sweep' (see Chantraine s.v.). See Joseph (1988) for detailed discussion.
- (14) In that case, it is entirely possible also that Burrow is correct in seeing a non-Indo-European origin for *tvac-* (though it need not

be ultimately derived from Dravidian, as he suggests). If a loan word, though, it would have to have been a very early loan (perhaps of the same age as *paraçú-/πέλεκυς* 'axe', in a similar semantic sphere), because of the valid sound correspondences that hold between *tvac-* and *σάκος*.

- (15) Although the occurrence of middle voice inflectional morphology with a verb with this meaning is not surprising, the combination of zero-grade root ablaut and middle inflection is significant. To be sure, zero-grade middle voice formations are not uncommon in Indo-European: in Sanskrit, for example, zero-grade is the norm in middle voice formations of ablauting verbs, and in Hittite, there is the Old Hittite intransitive middle form *urāni* 'burns' from zero-grade **ur-ó-ri*, derived from a Hittite root *war-* 'set fire to' (the later form *warāni* being an analogical introduction of the full-grade stem from the transitive verb - see Melchert (1984: 11 n.13)). However, full-grade middles did exist in Proto-Indo-European, to judge from the evidence of Sanskrit *ḡáy-e* (later *ḡé-te*) 'lies' \approx Greek *κεῖ-ται* 'lies' \approx Hittite *<ki-i-ta>* 'lies', all from **k'ei-(t)o-*; thus, zero-grade was not an automatic concomitant of middle inflection and its occurrence in *tuqqāri/dukem* becomes a noteworthy feature that can be probative in a comparison. Moreover, Hittite does have some full-grade middles, e.g. *nēari* 'leads' (from **néiH₁-o-ri*), but those apparently had root-accent while *tuqqāri/urāni* did not (see Melchert, 1984: 103).
- (16) It is possible that the Greek verb *δεύω* 'sees' (\approx βλέπω (*Et. M.* 260, 54) and items apparently related to it (e.g. *ἐνδυκέως* 'carefully', the Homeric adjective *ἄδευκής*, etc. - see Chantraine (s.v. *ἄδευκής*)) also belong with *dukem / tuqqāri*. The schwebe-ablaut form (**dewk-*) in Greek could be explained straightforwardly by assuming that Greek inherited only a zero-grade for this root (maybe in an original middle voice formation, and cf. also *ἐνδυκέως*) and then formed a new full-grade as needed after the usual ablaut pattern giving **dewk-* (see also footnote 11). There are, perhaps though, other possibilities for the source of the Greek forms, which thus remain problematic.
- (17) Without trying to vitiate the conclusions drawn in this paper, it is important to point out the type of compelling "other"

considerations one might have in mind. For example, the occurrence of apparent ablaut in the Hittite noun, shown by the occasional oblique forms with stem *tukka-* (Melchert (1984: 53), Schindler (loc. cit.) is consistent with the assumption that the noun originated in a root noun, the morphological type of *tvac-*, and thus could be given more weight than the avoidance of a problem with the putative Greek cognate. In that case, it may be that Greek *σάκος* simply is to be divorced from *twekka-* and *tvac-*; similarly, a careful reexamination of the relevant Greek forms may reveal that **e → α* in the particular phonetic context in question is regular (or even somehow shows the effects of influence from *σάρεξ* - see also footnote 13).

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WORD-FINAL -r IN HITTITE

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It has long been recognized that several Hittite words ending in -r appear occasionally in texts without the final -r. There seems to have been more or less universal agreement that the omission of -r reflects a genuine difference in pronunciation. Since most of the forms without -r appear to alternate with others with -r, scholars have generally concluded that Hittite word-final -r was either weakly articulated or occasionally lost in speech: see e.g. Friedrich (1960: 33).

However, Eichner (1973: 75 with n. 78) has proposed a general loss of word-final -r after unaccented vowel in (pre-)Hittite. Word-final -r would be preserved regularly only in nominative-accusative plurals in -ār, such as *uddār* 'words' and *widār* 'water' (collective), where graphic -a-ar represents a long vowel. The preservation of the long vowel in these forms would be due to a secondary shift of the accent to the final syllable: *widār* instead of **wēdar* < **wēdōr* (1). One may add here *ḫaršar* 'head' (pl. *ḫaršār*) and *ḫuitar* 'wild animal, beast' (pl. *ḫuitār*).

Eichner is obliged to explain all other cases of preserved final -r as analogical after the plural forms above: thus sing. *wātar* after *widār*, *paḫḫur* 'fire' after *wātar*, and after *paḫḫur* all other nouns in -ur except *pēru-* 'rock', where the failure to restore -r is attributed to 'prophylactic dissimilation'. In the abstracts in -ātār the analogical restoration is inconsistent.

There are some difficulties with Eichner's account, one of which has been pointed out by Neu (1982: 206) in a recent comprehensive treatment of word-final *-r* in Hittite: all cases of alternation between final *-r* and \emptyset are after *-a-*. There are no cases of loss of final *-r* after *-e-*, *-i-* or *-u-* (except *pēru-*, where it **never** appears, suggesting that its loss here is differently conditioned from that in *-ar/-a*). By Eichner's explanation, it is hard to see why the analogical influence of *paḫḫur* on other nouns in *-ur* should be so much more consistent than that of *wātar* on nouns in *-ātar* (2).

There is also the more basic problem of the motivation for the massive analogy which Eichner must assume. Obviously, the proposed remodeling of the singulars *wātar* and *uttar* after their respective plurals is quite reasonable. Since influence of *paḫḫur* 'fire' on *wātar* 'water' seems assured (gen. sg. *witenaš* after *paḫḫuenaš*: see Schindler 1975: 7), influence in the opposite direction is also possible. That all nouns in *-ātar* are reshaped after *wātar* and all those in *-ur* after *paḫḫur* is much less compelling. Furthermore, Eichner does not even mention nouns in *-eššar/-eššanaš*, *-āwar/-āunaš*, *-mar/-mmnaš*, or verbal nouns in *-war/-waš*. Since there are no direct analogical models, the final *-r* of these classes is presumably after that in *-ātar/-annaš*, the only formal association being that of heteroclisy. We are now at the end of a long analogical chain indeed. A more direct alternative solution for *-ar/-a* seems desirable.

To my knowledge, all previous discussions of the *-ar/-a* alternation have assumed that the two forms are in fact mere alternates, entirely equivalent in sense and function. A reexamination of the attestations in my own files (now happily supplemented by Neu's complete survey) has led me to a quite different result.

I wish first to reiterate Neu's principal conclusion. Through a careful and painstaking review of all relevant examples, he has amply confirmed the earlier impressionistic conclusion that the forms of *r/n*-stems without final *-r* are archaisms. Most attestations are found in assured OH and MH texts (although most often the manuscripts are NH copies). Others appear in texts where influence of older models is indisputable (3), while a few examples are undatable. No such forms occur in assured NH compositions such as

historical texts.

There are three occurrences in OH manuscripts: 3 *NINDA - wagešša* 'three w. loaves' (KBo XVII 30 III 7), 2 *hanešša ma[(rnuwan)]* 'two h. vessels of m.' (StBoT 25.80 IV 8) (4), and *takku šumeš natta šaktēni kani LÚŠU.GI-ešša* NUGÁL 'If you (pl.) do not know (it), (then) there is no old age here' (KBo XXII 1 Vs 5-6) (5). The first two examples are clearly plural in sense, as marked explicitly by the preceding numeral. Since Hittite may construe a plural number with a singular noun (6), the grammatical form of *wagešša* and *hanešša* actually is ambiguous, but the possible association of the *-ešša* forms with plural meaning seems worth pursuing. Note further that in the remaining OH example *LÚŠU.GI-ešša* 'old age' is to be understood as a possession of a plural subject. Thus a collective plural here is also quite in order.

A reexamination of other cases in final *-a* in heteroclitc stems with respect to number confirms the connection between lack of final *-r* and (collective) plural number.

In KUB XVII 10 I 38 we find *[par]tauwa-ššet-wa amiyanta* (likewise KUB XXXIII 5 II 13 *[part]āwa-ššit-wa amiyanda*): 'its (the bee's) wings are weak'. In this case *partāwa* must be taken unambiguously as a collective plural, as shown by the adjective *amiyanta*. Similarly in KUB XXX 10 I 11 *hattata hūmanta* 'all your wisdom' can only be a collective plural, based on the form of *hūmanta*. Note further that in KUB I 16 II 56 (and III 58) we find collocated *uddār-mit hattāda-mitt-a* 'my words and wisdom'. The pairing with *uddār* certainly suggests that *hattāda* is likewise plural. In view of these examples, *hattata-šumet [(harakta)]* 'Our wisdom has perished' in KUB XXIV 4 Vs 8 should also be taken as a collective plural. The fact that the verb is singular is, of course, no counterargument, since Hittite follows the *tā zoḡa trékhei* rule (see Friedrich 1960: 118). Nor does the spelling *hattatar-šumet* in the parallel KUB XXIV 3 II 18 weigh against interpreting *hattata* as a plural. As indicated above, the forms without final *-r* are archaisms, while in NH compositions the nom.-acc. plural form of *r/n*-stems is assuredly the same as the singular (7). We would thus not be surprised to find an archaic *hattāta* replaced in a NH copy by the

then current *ḥattātar*.

The form *alwanzata* 'sorcery, spell' is, with one fragmentary exception, found only in various manuscripts of the Ritual of Allī (CTH 402). While most examples are ambiguous, *lišḥa]rnuwanda alwanzata* 'bloody spells' (KUB XXIV 9 I 39) definitely is plural, and there is no reason not to take the others as such. Note that at least one and perhaps two other examples of heteroclite stems in *-ata* occur conjoined with *alwanzata* and should thus also be interpreted as plurals: KUB XXIV 9 II 10 *kī-ya alwanzata paprata* 'also these spells and impurities' and *ibid.* I 41 *alwanzata SIG7.SIG7-ta* 'spells and (cases of) jaundice' (8). The phrase *kī ḥUL-lu alwanzata šumeš tarman ḥarten* 'May you hold these evil spells fastened down' (KUB XXIV 11 II 13) is no evidence for a singular *alwanzata* because: (1) *kī* in a NH copy may be plural as well as singular; (2) Watkins (1982: 250 ff.) has shown that *idālu* is the older form of the nom.-acc. pl. nt.; (3) in the construction with *ḥar(k)-*, the past participle is fixed as nt. nom.-acc. sg. and does not agree with the direct object (Friedrich 1960: 111).

Several other examples of *r/n*-stems in final *-a*, while not assured as plurals by grammatical evidence, occur in contexts strongly favoring a plural interpretation. In KBo VII 28 Vs 48 *kušduwata* 'slandering, insults' follows an entire series of sentences of the form *takku...kušduwāit* 'If so-and-so has slandered...'. The noun thus almost certainly refers to multiple cases of slander. Similarly, in KUB XLI 7+ I 8 *paprešša-ššan* SAG.DU-*i-šši dāiš* 'He (Kumarbi) put the impurities in his head' follows a series of acts of purification. Again we would expect *paprešša* to refer to the collected impurities resulting from these ablutions. In KBo XVI 78 IV 19, [3] *UZUḥappešša* GUD 'three limbs of a cow' obviously is plural in sense and may easily be plural in form as well (9). The word *luweššar* occurs in stereotyped contexts, and its precise meaning has yet to be established. We do know that it refers to material obtained from trees or woody plants and burned for incense (see CHD 3/1.73 f.). Note, however, that beside several uncharacterized examples of *luwešša*, we find *GIŠERIN.ḪI.A luwešša* (KBo XXIII 42 I 11), where the determinative *ḪI.A* suggests that again the heteroclite form without *-r* is plural (10).

In the case of nouns in *-ātar* we are dealing with abstracts, for which in many contexts either a collective plural or generic singular would be suitable. Nevertheless, note that the contexts in the following examples favor a plural interpretation: UDU.HI.A-*aš miyata* 'abundance of sheep' (*KUB* XXXIII 12 IV 19), *ḥalkiyas GIŠGEŠTIN-aš ŠA GUD UDU DUMU.LÚ.ULÚ LU-ya miyāta* 'abundance of grain, wine, cattle, sheep and men' (*KUB* XXIV 1 III 11-12). Once again the spelling *miyātar* in the parallel *KUB* XXIV 2 Rs 16 may easily be a substitution by a NH scribe of his own nom.-acc. pl. for the archaic *miyāta* (which, no longer being understood, might appear to him as a defective spelling). The nouns *iyātar* 'mobile wealth' and **tamētar* 'immobile wealth' (see Watkins 1979: 280 ff.) by their very meaning lend themselves to a collective usage, and hence it is not surprising that these very nouns occur especially frequently without *-r* (11). In most contexts, of course, a generic singular would serve as well, but note *KBo* XII 42 Rs 4, where they occur together in a 'taxonomy of wealth' (see Watkins, loc. cit.) preceding exclusively plurals, and also *Bo* 2727 I 4 (Neu 1982: 212, n.30) *LIM* UDU.HI.A *iyata* 'a thousand sheep (as) mobile wealth' (12).

We have thus far examined forms in *-a* from fifteen heteroclite stems. Three of these (*partāwa*, *ḥattata*, *alwanzata*) must be taken in at least some occurrences as nom.-acc. collective plurals. The remaining dozen occur in contexts which to varying degrees suggest, if not demand, a plural interpretation. Three of these involve numerals higher than one (*wagešša*, *ḥappešša*, and *ḥanešša*).

As one would expect, some examples occur in broken or otherwise totally ambiguous contexts: for *ḥattešša* 'pits', *duddumiešša* 'mercy' and *pattiyata* '?' I refer the reader to Neu's discussion. The alleged examples *ḥuppa* 'bowl' and *šarlamīšša* 'exaltation' (?) do not belong here, for reasons cited by Neu (1982: 219 & 210 respectively). The cases of *išḥuzziyašša* 'girdle, waistband' (13) and *šimmanata* 'form, facial features' (?) (14) are both quite dubious. If these two really represent *r/n*-stems without final *-r*, then they support the plural interpretation.

The noun *išḥiešša* has been analyzed as **išḥ(i)eššar* and interpreted as 'lordship' by Güterbock (1958: 239), but as 'binding';

obligation' by Neu (1982: 208), following Friedrich and others. The latter sense is easier to explain formally. While there are denominative nouns in *-eššar*, they seem to be collective in meaning (e.g. *lala(k)weššar* 'ant-hill, colony' beside *lala(k)weša-* 'ant'). An abstract *išheššar* 'lordship' < *išha-* 'lord' is thus problematic. On the other hand, *išhi-eššar* 'binding' < *išhi-* 'bind' is straightforward. The verb *išhi-* and its other derivative *išhiul-*, also 'binding', are used in Hittite to express the imposition by the king of duties or obligations, both on foreign vassals ('treaties' for us) and on internal officials ('protocols' or 'instructions'). The verb is also used for the imposing of restitution: see *KBo VI 2 IV 42 ff.* (Laws) and *KUB XIV 8 Rs 35* (Plague Prayer). The meaning 'obligation, duty' does not initially seem particularly fitting for *išhiešša* in its three occurrences, because the reference is either to a god or to a king. However, we know that the Hittites viewed the authority of the king as deriving from a direct commission by the gods (see especially *IBoT I 30*, *CTH 821*). It is likely that their view of divine government was analogous. That the king or even a god would have 'duties' is thus reasonable. If one renders *išhiešša* as 'mandate' (whose original sense, of course, is 'order, assignment, commission'), the passages sound more natural to modern ears: *KUB XXXI 127 I 19* *daššu iš[hi]šša tuk-pat piyan* 'A mighty mandate has been given to you' (the Sun-god); *KUB XXX 10 Vs 7* *nu-mu-šša[ln laman-mit]] išhiešša-mitt-a zik-pat DINGIR-YA < antuwahhaš anda netta >* (15) 'It was you, my god, who guided my name and mandate among men'; *KBo XXI 22 Rs 45* *dīšKUR-ni-aš AMA-ŠU [laba]rni-ma-aš išhiešša-ššit* 'For the Storm-god she is his mother, but for the labarna she is (the source of) his mandate'. For our present problem, *išhiešša* is ambiguous. Either a singular or collective plural would be suitable (*daššu* above is not evidence for a singular, as per (2) above regarding *alwanzata*; nor is *piyan*, since the participle as predicate with *ēš-* is often singular with a neuter plural subject; see Friedrich 1960: 118).

The example *išpāta* to *išpātar* 'spit' (or similar) is also indeterminate as to number: *KUB IX 28 I 15* *išpāta* *KUBABBAR TUR išparran ħarzi* 'He holds (a) small silver spit/spits stretched out'.

It is clear from the parallel passage *KUB XXXI 127+ II 21*

(spelling *iyawar*) that the form *iyauwa* of KUB XXX 10 Vs 3 and 8 is the verbal noun of *iya-* 'go, proceed'. The precise import of 'going, proceeding' in this context is not yet evident: see CHD 3/2.165 (with references to other translations). I also see no good argument for or against *iyauwa* as a collective plural.

In KUB VII 1 I 25-26 (NH ms. of MH or OH text) we find in adjacent lines *ḫarnammar* and *ḫarnamma* 'leavening (agent), yeast'. The passage is discussed at some length by Neu (1982: 217 f.), who concludes that it is impossible to find a rationale for the occurrence of the form with and without *-r* in such close proximity. However, for the reasons which he cites, I follow him in believing that the alternation is due to the NH copyist, and that the archetype probably had *ḫarnamma* in both instances. Once again we would be facing the (inconsistent) replacement of an older form in *-a* which was no longer understood by one in *-ar*. The context gives no basis for deciding whether the example is singular or plural.

There are three examples of *r/n*-stems in final *-a* which appear to argue against a plural interpretation. In KUB I 16 I 35 in a broken context we find *našma kušdu[wat]a kuitk[li našma ḫarnam]ma (?) kuitki* 'or some slander or some [revolt]'. The restoration of *ḫarnamma* is uncertain, but there seems no doubt that *kušduwata* is modified by *kuitki*, which is formally nom.-acc. sg. neuter (16). KBo III 21 II 8 shows ^{dÉ}.A-aš-kan *ḫuwanḫuišni kuit ḫatrēšša anda kitta* 'the message which lies in the wave/flood of Ea'. Here *ḫatrēšša* (i.e. *ḫa-at-ri-i-e-eš-ša*) is modified by *kuit*, again nom.-acc. sg. neuter. Finally, in the hymn to the Sun-god KUB XXXI 135 Vs 11-13 (MH ms.) we have *šuppalaṇn-a ḫannešša iššit kuit[ēš] ŪL memiškan[(zi)] apatt-a ḫannattari idālawasš-a ḫuwappaš antuḫša[(š ḫa)]nnešša zik-pat dUTU-uš ḫannatta* 'Also the case of the animals who do not speak - also that you judge. It is you, the Sun-god, who judge also the case of the evil and wicked man/men'. Note that *ḫannešša* is resumed by *apat*, nom.-acc. sg. neuter. The same manuscript has *ḫanneššar* in Vs 10, but this in itself is hardly significant in a copy of an older archetype, as we have seen (note the similar cooccurrence of older *ḫannatta* and *ḫannattari* in successive sentences).

All three instances of forms in *-a* with singular modifiers are found in later copies of OH texts. Since the spellings in *-a* are an archaic feature, it is quite possible that they would be used incorrectly in later copies (17). Compare the misuse of the possessive pronouns in *-e/it* with cases other than the nt. nom.-acc. sg./pl.: see Otten (1973: 55) and Melchert (1977: 259 ff.). Direct evidence that the scribe of *KBo* III 21 had problems in following the OH archetype is furnished by the aberrant spelling *ḥa-at-ri-l-e-eš-ša*. Since the noun was certainly /hatressar/ from *ḥatrā(i)-* 'write' with no medial yod, the spelling with *-i-* in *KBo* III 21 must be erroneous.

I am fully conscious that this argument may be applied in reverse. The three sure examples of *r/n*-stems in *-a* with plural modifiers cited above also all occur in later copies of OH texts. The evidence for the association of heteroclitc forms in *-a* with plural number is, like that for their being archaisms, largely circumstantial, but I believe that it is strong. Note first of all that the examples in OH manuscripts assure us that the *-a* forms themselves are real, not a creation of NH copyists.

Furthermore, one distributional fact is very hard to explain if *-a* is merely a free variant of *-ar*: there are no examples of *-a* spellings precisely for that set of stems which have plurals in accented *-ār* (*uttar*, *wātar*, *ḥūtar*, *ḥaršar*). Since the first two of these are very frequently attested, this absence is particularly suspicious. Neu (1982: 222) in fact attributes the absence of any *-a* spellings in these two words to their very frequency, which he supposes would cause a stronger normalization of the spellings. This argument runs entirely counter to what we know about the relationship of archaism and frequency of use in language. It is well known that irregular forms survive particularly well precisely in words of very frequent use (the verb 'be' is a prime example) (18). This applies to archaic spellings as well, as spelling reformers have discovered ('medieval' has generally been adopted for 'mediaeval', but 'thru' for 'through' or 'tuff' for 'tough' has met with much less success).

The fact remains that the appearance of *-a* beside *-ar* is limited to stems with complex suffixes in *-ar*: *-eššar*, *-ātar*, *-āwar*, *-mar* and verbal nouns in *-war*. Note that all of these suffixes are at least

moderately productive in Hittite, versus simple *-ar* in *uttar*, *wātar*, *hūtar* and *haršar* (19). A fixed accent on a non-final syllable is likely for all the complex-suffix nouns (20). We may account straightforwardly for both the highly restricted distribution of the forms without final *-r* and their association with the plural in one of two ways.

First, we could add a further restriction to Eichner's original formulation (cf. above): word-final *-r* is lost only after unaccented long vowel. Thus while singular *-ar* remains, unaccented collective plural $*\bar{a}r > *\bar{a}$, which then becomes *-a* by the same rule as $-a < *\bar{a} < *-eh_2$ or independently. We need no massive analogy to explain the final *-r* of singulars in *-ar* or *-ur*: the preservation of *-r* here is regular. The loss only after long vowel would not be unnatural. Essentially, at some point Hittite no longer tolerated in an unaccented final syllable the extra mora created by a sequence $-\bar{V}C\#$. In the case of *-r*, this was solved by deletion of the consonant; with other consonants, by shortening the vowel (see note 1).

There is an alternative analysis. We could retain Eichner's original formulation of loss of final *-r* after any unaccented vowel and order this loss **before** the change of final $*-r$ to *-ar* and final $*-Cwr$ to *-Cur*. By this account singulars in *-ar* and *-ur* are regular because at the time of the conditioned loss of final consonantal *-r* they still ended in syllabic $-r$. In this case, the loss of final *-r* in the collective plurals would be due not to the preceding long vowel but merely to the position of *-r* in an unaccented syllable. At present I see no way to choose between these two alternatives, there being no sure examples of Hittite reflexes of an original sequence $*-\bar{V}r\#$ (but see below). Note that by either explanation one must assume that *-r* is more susceptible of loss than other consonants in the same environment. In view of its instability in medial position (see Neu 1982: 221, n.78), this is not surprising.

If the *-a* forms represent the OH collective plural of complex stems in *r/n*, as I claim, then we should not find any nom.-acc. pl. in *-ar* in OH manuscripts. So far as I have been able to determine, there are in fact no examples of *-ar* in OH which must be interpreted as plurals. Naturally, the nature of the corpus is such

that there are several ambiguous cases. I must note explicitly that this does include three instances of *-ar* after a numeral: 2 NINDA_{wageššar} 10-*li* (KBo XX 3 II 13), 50 NINDA_{wageššar} ZÍZ-aš (KBo XIII 175 Rs 2) and 1 ME GIŠ_{gipeššar} A.ŠÀ (KBo VI 2 I 8). As per note 6, these examples may be grammatical singulars.

We may thus explain the distribution of *-a* vs. *-ar* in nouns by either of two reasonable conditioned sound changes. This explanation at the same time accounts for the consistent final *-r* of nouns in *-ur* (21). There is no need to appeal to massive analogy. The exceptional treatment in *pēru-* 'rock' (never *-ur*!) calls for a different explanation. Given the attractive equation with Grk. *peîrar* and Skt. *párus-* (see Eichner 1973: 75 with refs.), I see no objection to assuming with him a dissimilation (22).

This exhausts the problem of final *-r* in nouns. For pret. act. 3rd pl. in *-ēr* see note 2 above. However, Neu (1982: 222 ff.) alleges two other cases of loss of final *-r* after *-a-*. One of these is the 'quotative' particle *-wa/-war*, which appears as *-war-* before vowels, as *-wa-* before consonants and in final position. Note first of all that again the distribution of final *-r* differs in this case from that in nouns: in the speech particle we never find final *-ar*. This may be explained in one of two ways. First, in assuming that final *-wa* reflects **-war*, Neu accepts the traditional derivation of *-wa/-war* from a form of the verb *wer(iya)-* 'speak, call out' (see e.g. Oettinger 1979: 344, who takes *-war* as 'he said' < aor. **werh₁-t*). No one, however, has given even a clue as to how a finite accented verb developed in Hittite into an uninflected enclitic particle *-war* (23). If one nevertheless accepts this development (and assumes a prior loss of **h₁* and **t*), the consistent lack of absolute final *-r* may be attributed to the fact that the quotative particle is always unaccented. Note that this account of *-wa#* < **werh₁* *jt* does assume the second explanation for loss of *-r* given above: final *-r* is lost after short as well as long unaccented vowel before **-r₂* > *-ar*.

There is an alternative explanation for Hitt. *-wa/-war*. Joseph (1981) and Joseph-Schourop (1982) have presented several typological parallels supporting the earlier suggestion of Przyluski that Hitt. *-wa/-war* is related to the postposition *iwar* 'as, like' and ultimately

Skt. *iva* 'idem'. Functionally, the two opposing etymologies seem equally plausible – typological parallels being available for each. Formally, however, that relating *-wa/-war* to *iva* and *ivar* has the advantage of accounting directly for the enclitic position of the particle. It also permits two different explanations for the lack of final *-r* in *-wa#*. First, the vowel of *ivar* was almost certainly short (cf. *iva*). As already noted, the quotative particle is always unaccented. Thus unaccented **-war#* could have regularly become *-wa#* in the same way as described above for *-wa#* < **werh₁t*.

However, one may also compare with Joseph the alternation *-wa/-war* to that in *iva* vs. *ivar*. As he admits, the latter alternation is itself ill-understood, but we may now at least point to another similar alternation within Anatolian: cf. Pal. (and Hitt.) *-kku* 'and' < **-kWe* with Pal. *-kuar* 'even' < **kWe* + *-r* (see Melchert 1984b: 23 f.). There is thus evidence in Anatolian for the same form with and without 'adverbial' *-r*. Therefore there is a good possibility that the alternation *-wa/-war* has nothing to do with phonological loss of final **-r*: the first variant has no *-r* because it never had one (like Skt. *iva*) (24).

Neu also claims that Hittite medio-passive forms in *-a* reflect **-ar* with loss of final *-r* after *-a-*. Note once again that the distribution here differs from that in the nouns. One never finds final **-ar* in the verb. Neu (1968: 140 ff.) may well be right in relating the medio-passive endings in *-r* to the old perfect third plural ending, but his arguments specifically for 3rd pl. med. *-anta* < **-antar* depend largely on the alleged parallel of alternating *-ar/-a* in heteroclite nouns. Likewise, his arguments (1968: 31 ff.) against the proposals of Wagner and Meid for a particle *-r(i)* involve only their attempt to account for the distribution of medio-passive forms with and without *-ri* in Hittite. He in no way proves that Hittite medio-passive endings in *-a* must continue **-ar*. Since Neu himself has shown that within the history of Hittite endings in *-ari* replace those in *-a*, nothing stands in the way of the assumption of Watkins (1969: 79) and others that the Hittite endings in *-a* reflect directly PIE **-o*. Again, these endings do not show final *-r* because they never had one.

The appearance of endings in *-ar* and *-ari* in Palaic and Luvian

can be accounted for in more than one way. First, given our very rudimentary knowledge of the 'laws of finals' in these languages, a conditioned loss of final *-i* in *-ri* cannot be excluded. Our inability to state the actual conditioning, however, makes this account unattractive. An alternative is implied by Watkins (1969: 78): the actual supplementary marker of the middle is simply *-r* (its original function may be left open here). The final *-i* of *-ri* is merely the familiar 'hic et nunc' particle distinguishing the primary from secondary endings (within Hittite compare present active *-weni*, *-teni* vs. preterite *-wen*, *-ten*). Therefore the remodeling of the middle endings in Anatolian may have taken place in two steps: first, *-a* + *-r*, then *-ar* + *-i*. In Hittite, we find only the starting and end points of the process: original *-a* < **-o* and *-ari* with both the new middle marker and the particle *-i*. In Luvian we find the middle stage *-ar* and the final result *-ari*. Palaic appears to show all three stages (*hānta*, *kīlar*, *šītūwar*, *hāri*) (25).

For Luvian there is a third possibility. At present we do not control the relative chronology of CLuvian manuscripts. It is therefore possible, as C. Watkins has pointed out to me, that *-ar* in CLuvian results from a general apocope of *-ari* within the historical period. The apparent random distribution in the texts of the alternates *-ar* and *-ari* would be illusory. Advances in dating CLuvian manuscripts may be able to settle this question. Whatever the correct explanation for *-ar* vs. *-ari* in Luvian and Palaic, there is no positive evidence that Hittite middle endings in *-a* ever had a final *-r*.

To summarize then: a reexamination of spellings in *-a* of Hittite nouns in *-ar* has shown that they are not only archaisms, but also show a marked association with (collective) plural number. Furthermore, all examples are limited to heteroclite nouns formed by productive complex suffixes where the accent is almost certainly on a non-final syllable. We may account for this distribution by assuming that forms in *-a* reflect old plurals in **-ōr* versus those in **-ōr* (> *-ār*) in the small unproductive set of *uttar*, *wātar*, *hūtar* and *haršar* (and perhaps the plurale tantum *tahtumār*). With our present knowledge, the conditioned loss of final *-r* in plurals in **-ōr* may be attributed to its position in an unaccented syllable or specifically to its position after a long vowel in an unaccented syllable. The exceptional

pēru- < **pérw₆* may be taken with Eichner as the result of a dissimilation. The appearance of *wa** beside *-war-* in the quotative particle could be due to loss of final *-r* after an unaccented short vowel. However, it is also possible that *-wa* continues an old form without *-r*. The loss of **-r* in medio-passive *-a* beside *-ar/* is quite unproven. The much discussed alternation or free variation of final *-ar* and *-a* disappears.

NOTES

- (1) Support for Eichner's interpretation of *-ār* as accented /-ā́r/ is provided by the fact that Hittite appears to have shortened original long vowels in unaccented closed final syllables: *tēkan* 'earth' = /degan/ < **dhéghōm*, probably also gen. pl. *-an* < **-ōm*. The spelling *pa-da-a-an* 'of/for the feet' in an OH ms. KBo XX 8 Vs 19 may continue directly the gen. pl. of the root noun with accented **-ōm*: cf. Skt. *padām*. In the case of the gen. pl., of course, it has been argued that the ending was **-ōm*, in which case *-an* would be regular, while the plene spelling in *padān* would mark the accent.

As C. Watkins has reminded me, the contrast between *tēkan* < **dhéghōm* and *widār* < **wedōr* supports the shift of accent in the latter, but raises the question of the conditioning for the shift. The preserved long diphthong in the corresponding collective types *ḫaštāi* 'bone(s)' < **h₂ést(h₂)ōi*, *luttāi* 'window' < **léu(h_x)tōi* 'open space', and *ḫarganāu* 'palm' < **h₃régnōu* 'surface' (see Weitenberg 1984: 223) suggests that they also may reflect a secondarily accented **-ōi/-ōu* in Hittite. So also the animate stems in *-āiš* and *-āuš*. Gertz (1982: 294 ff.) tries to solve the problem for *widār* by assuming an original **udōr*. However, she then has no explanation for the *i* of *widār*, which may easily reflect **ě*, despite her claim to the contrary (see Melchert 1984a: 107 & 112). The root *e*-grade in the 'amphikinetic' type seems assured. A shift of the accent to the final syllable in the nom.-acc. after the oblique cases seems possible (**-ōr* after gen. **-n-és* etc.), but this fails to explain why *tēkan* does not appear as **tigān* (/digā́n/) after *taknāš* (/dagnā́s/). Compare perhaps in Greek *peithō* (< **-ōi*) vs. *hērōs*

($\langle *-\bar{o}us \rangle$).

- (2) Neu implies that the consistent $-r$ in forms in $-er$ and $-ir$ also poses problems for Eichner's analysis. However, the nouns $k\bar{r}$ 'heart' and $p\bar{r}$ 'house' (probably to be read as $/k\bar{e}r/$ and $/p\bar{e}r/$) are monosyllables where the preceding vowel is accented. The noun $\bar{h}a\bar{s}dw\bar{e}r$ 'twigs, branches' appears to be a hysterokinetic noun in $*-w\bar{e}r$, again with an accented vowel before the $-r$. Furthermore, in all these cases the $-r$ runs throughout the paradigm, so that restoration of final $-r$ in the nom.-acc. after the oblique cases would be expected. As for the pret. 3rd pl. active ending $-\bar{e}r$, I follow Oettinger (1979: 114) and others in comparing $-\bar{e}r$ to Latin $-\bar{e}re$: see my discussion in Melchert (1984a: 117 f.). In this case, then, we are not dealing with original $-r$ at all.
- (3) E.g., the prayer of Mursili II to Telipinu (*KUB* XXIV 1 and parallels) and the various omen texts (see Neu 1982: 213-215).
- (4) As per Neu, the r/n -stem is assured by the NH parallel *KBo* XI 41 I 10-11, which shows [2 $\bar{h}an$]eššar marnuwan and [2 $\bar{h}an$]ešnaš.
- (5) For the interpretation as $L\bar{U}\check{S}U.GI-eššar$ see Otten (1973: 27) and Archi (1979: 45), who takes the apodosis as a threat: 'There will be no old age here (for you)'.
- (6) See e.g. 9 *NINDA* $\bar{h}ališ$ 30[-iš] (*KBo* XX 7+ Rs 7; OH ms.). Naturally one also finds grammatical plurals: 3 *NINDA* $\bar{h}aršaeš$ (*KBo* XVII 1 IV 23; OH ms.).
- (7) See e.g. *Hatt.* IV 52 f. *uppeššar* $\bar{H}.A$ -ma-mu *kue uppiškanzi* 'the presents which they used to send me (NB nom.-acc. pl. *kue* and the iterative) or *KBo* XII 38 II 13-14 (Tuthaliya IV) *nu-kan QATAMMA ašanta L\bar{U}-natar* $\bar{H}.A$ *a[nda]n gulšun* 'I accordingly inscribed true manly deeds'.
- (8) Neu (1982: 217) follows Friedrich (1957: 28) in interpreting *SIG7.SIG7-ta* as an abstract 'jaundice' in asyndeton with *alwanzata*. It seems to me also possible to take *SIG7.SIG7-ta* as the adjective $\bar{h}ahlawant-$. In that case, $*\bar{h}ahlawanta$ 'yellow spells, jaundice-spells' would parallel *išharnuwanda alwanzata* rather than *alwanzata paprata*. Adjectives in $-want-$ may follow their noun: see *CHD* 3/1.62 on *l\bar{e}lwant-*.
- (9) For reading the incomplete initial sign as the numeral 'three' see the immediate context, which is a list of items, many of which

are specified in quantity.

- (10) One of the meanings suggested in the *CHD* article is 'shavings' (of wood, preeminently cedar), which would be suitable for use as incense. This points to a possible etymology of *luwessar*, which would be the abstract *'cutting' to the verbal root **leuh_x*- 'cut (off)' (Skt. *lunāti* 'cuts off' etc.). While this proposal is too uncertain to count as an argument for a collective interpretation of *luwešša*, it is consonant with it.
- (11) In fact, thus far one finds only *tameta* without *-r*. The final *-r* is assured by the derivatives *tam(m)etarwant-* and *dammetarwatar*.
- (12) The occurrence in the lexical text *KBo* I 45 Rs¹ 15, where *damēda* imprecisely translates the Akkadian adjective *duššū* 'abundant' tells us nothing about the number of *tameta*.
- (13) The form *išhuzziyašša* occurs in the Laws, *KBo* VI 26+ II 19 f.: *išhuzziyašša ŪL kuiški ēpzi*. This is translated by Friedrich (1959: 79) as 'auch wird an den Gürtel niemand greifen', interpreting *išhuzziyašša* as *išhuzziyaš* (gen. sg.) + *-a* 'also, even'. Neu (1982: 208 f.) rejects this on the grounds that *ēp-* 'seize' can take only an accusative object. However, the entire point of the prohibition here is that no one is even (*-a*) to touch the belt of the children of a woman who has become a slave by marrying a herdsman. The sense 'touch' is precisely where one would expect a partitive genitive: cf. Homeric *lambánō* plus genitive and see Delbrück (1893: 320 & 328). There is at least one other previously unrecognized example of a partitive genitive with a verb in Hittite: *KUB* XVII 5 I 11 *n-ašta DUGpalhan hūmandan ek[uer]* 'They (Illuyanka and his sons) drank (some) of/from all the basins'. The form *palhan* here is not an aberrant *a*-stem anim. acc. sg., but the regular OH gen. pl. of the *i*-stem *palhi-*. Note further the unique use of *-ašta* with *eku-* 'drink', reinforcing the partitive meaning. I therefore find the interpretation of *išhuzziyašša* as a partitive genitive quite plausible. In any case, I take *išhuzziyašša* 'belts, waistbands' as referring to the children (DUMU.MEŠ is the last noun preceding *išhuzziyašša*), so that a plural is indicated by either formal interpretation. The other example of *išhuzziyašša* is in a list of objects in a broken context, where again either a collective plural of a noun in *-aššar* or a genitive plus *-a* 'and' is possible (the genitive could modify a missing following noun).

- (14) Neu (1982: 216) interprets *šimmanata* (= Akk. *bunānū*) in the lexical text *KBo* I 44 + XIII 1 IV 32 as a form of *šamanatar* 'foundation'. While I do not doubt an etymological connection, both the difference in vocalism and the apparent difference in meaning make it quite uncertain that we are dealing with two forms of the same word (Akk. *bunānū* is a plurale tantum meaning 'form, facial features'; see von Soden (1965: 138). Hittite does have nouns in *-ata*: *kušata-* 'bride-price' (gen. sg./pl. *kušataš*) and *NINDA_{wagata-}* 'piece of bread' (both *a*-stems, pace Eichner (1973: 98) and Neu (1970: 56) respectively). Thus *šimmanata* could be an *a*-stem, separate from but related to *šamanatar*, meaning 'form, shape', as the Akkadian suggests. Note that in either case the Akkadian equivalent (plurale tantum) supports a collective plural in Hittite.
- (15) See the parallel passage *KUB* XXXI 127+ II 17-18 for the restoration. The text in Kantuzzili looks like a complete nominal sentence, but this is already contradicted by the *-ššan*. Oettinger (1979: 405) does not list *netta* as pret. 2nd sg. of *nāi-* 'turn, guide', but it is in fact the expected regular result of **nólh₁-th₂e* (cf. 1st sg. *nehhun* < **nólh₁-h₂e+*). The *āi* vocalism of the later *nāitta* is analogical after the pres. 3rd sg. *nāi*: see my discussion in Melchert (1984a: 65 ff.). The archaic *netta* would be yet another sign of the OH origin of this composition (see also Neu 1982: 219).
- (16) The other occurrences in this text, *KUB* I 16 I 51 and 55 *kušduwāta lē (lē) handān-pat ēšdu*, are not evidence for a singular, since, as noted above, the participle as a predicative with *ēš-* is usually singular, even with a neuter plural subject. The reason for this is not entirely clear: perhaps it is merely attraction of the predicative adjective to the singular verb.
- (17) This applies even to MH copies of OH texts. E.g., *KBo* VI 3, a MH ms. of the Laws, Table I, already shows certain unreal forms versus the OH manuscript *KBo* VI 2. See Melchert 1984a: 106, n. 63.
- (18) This may be because irregular forms are learned individually by each new generation by imitation, rather than by general rule. If this is true, then irregularities which are heard frequently would have a much better chance of survival than those of rarer use, which would tend to be eliminated by rule generalization.

- (19) In *uttar* and *ḡuitar*, an analysis with suffix *-tar* is possible, but simple *-tar* is also unproductive in Hittite. There is one other apparent plural in *-ār*: *taḡ(at)tumār* (a material used for incense). See on this word Neu (1970: 69-70) and Gertz (1982: 29 & 160). For the reasons given by Neu, the word is probably plurale tantum. Despite its superficial resemblance to *ḡalḡaltumar* 'corner', *taḡ(at)tumār* with its cluster *-ḡt-* has little chance of being an inherited abstract in *-mar*, and there is thus no reason to expect it to behave like that class. The plural in *-ār* may be modeled simply on the others in *-ār*. That such analogical spread of *-ār* took place is shown by the form *DUGḡ[Lu]ppāri* ḡI.A 'dishes' (Gertz 1982: 157), although *ḡuppar-* is usually an animate *r*-stem!
- (20) For the suffix *-eššar* as originating in derivatives of adjectives in **-ēs-* see Melchert 1984a: 90; for *-ātar* as an extension of stems in **-eh₂* (cf. Luv. *-aḡ-it-*) see among others Eichner 1973: 80; in verbal nouns in *-war* (with generalization of the postvocalic reflex of **w_ṛ*; see Schindler 1975: 8) the accent surely follows that of the verb stem; as for nouns in *-mar*, there are several reasons to suppose that the nom.-acc. inflection in *-r* in these nouns is non-original and modeled after that of the verbal nouns in *-war* (see my discussion Melchert 1983: 20 ff.). In Melchert 1984a: 63, following a suggestion of J. Schindler, I compared Hittite nouns in *-āwar* with Lat. *cadāuer* 'corpse', assuming a preform **-ā-wer*. In so doing, I overlooked the fact that tautosyllabic Lat. *-wer* may reflect *-wor* < **w_ṛ*: cf. *uersus* < *uorsus* < **w_ṛt-tos*. Thus *-āwar* could also continue **-ā-w_ṛ*. Since both *-ātar* and *-āwar* are extensions of stems in **-eh₂*, a fixed non-final accent is likely for both types.
- (21) We would expect the original collective plural of nouns in *-ur* (< **-Cw_ṛ*) to have been **-wōr*. A trace of this may be attested in the hapax *pahḡuwar* in *KUB* VII 60 II 11 (NH ms. of an undatable text). The form *pahḡuwar* could represent /pahhuwār/ with secondary accent on the final syllable after *pahḡuenaš* (cf. *widār* above). The lack of scriptio plena in this one example is not an argument against a reading /-wār/: cf. nom.-acc. pl. *ḡar-ša-ar(-ra)* in *KBo* XVII 4 I 18 (OH ms.) vs. the duplicate *ḡar-ša-a-ar(-ra)*. On the other hand, nothing in the context argues decisively for a plural, and in view of the widespread

syncope of *-(u)wa-* to *-u-*, a false resolution of *-u-* to *-uwa-* in a NH copy is hard to exclude. The authenticity of *pahhuwar* is thus debatable.

- (22) The noun *kurur* 'enmity' is not a counterargument. Whatever the prehistory of this noun, it is attested as a pure *r*-stem, and the final *-r* of the nom.-acc. may easily have been maintained/restored after the oblique cases. In the latter, the different syllabification would have led to much less pressure for dissimilation: /ku-rur/ after /ku-ru-ras/, /ku-ru-ri/ etc.
- (23) An appeal to Lat. *inquit* or similar parallels does not go beyond the typological argument that such a development is possible. Independent evidence for occurrence of the verb in enclitic position in Hittite is still lacking.
- (24) The existence of enclitic *-kuar* in Palaic and the coexistence in CLuvian of enclitic *-tar* (locative particle) with consistent *-r* and quotative *-wa* always without *-r* complicates but does not settle the issue of morphological alternation or phonological loss in Hitt. *-wa/-war-*. One could assume a Common Anatolian loss of **-r* in final **-war#*, with generalization of the variant *-wa* in Luvian. The addition of 'adverbial' *-r* in *-kuar* and *-tar* would have been after this loss. However, one could also suppose the existence of forms with and without *-r* in all three cases, with a different distribution of the variants.
- (25) However, the striking parallelism between Pal. 3rd sg. *ḫāri*, 3rd pl. *ḫanta* and consistent Hitt. *āri*, *ānta* suggests that the exclusive appearance of the full form in the 3rd sg. of this verb is motivated by the desire to avoid a monosyllabic **ḫā* or **ḫār*. Therefore Pal. *ḫāri* may not be an accurate reflection of the overall distribution in Palaic. That is, instead of the apparent free variation of *-a*, *-ar* and *-ari*, Palaic in general may have had only *-a* and *-ar*. For Pal. 2nd pl. mid. *šītūwar* (cf. CLuv. *dāduwar*) see Melchert 1984b: 25 ff.

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THE ETYMOLOGIES OF TADMOR AND PALMYRA

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1. Introduction

Palmam qui meruit ferat: if there is a palm to be bestowed in honor of the toponym whose etymon has most resisted study, Palmyra/Tadmor merits it and has long since borne it away. The facts in the case are simple (1). The city has two names (2). Tadmor is the earlier attested, and it is the name used in Semitic language sources. Palmyra is the later attested, and it is the name used in classical sources.

Thus far the facts. Tradition serves them up with some observations. The oasis is full of date palms (twenty varieties are reported); the name Tadmor is similar to the Semitic words for date palm, *tāmār* and the like; and the name Palmyra is similar to the Latin word *palma* 'palm (of the hand [Greek *palamē*], hence) palm tree (Greek *phoiniks*)'. Thus the "Semitic" name is derived from the words for palm, and the "classical" name is a calque of the "Semitic" name. The observations are straightforward, but the etymologies do not go through: there is no way of accounting for the *d* in Tadmor if it is to be derived from *tāmār* (3). If *tāmār* does not yield Tadmor, then the best reason for Tadmor's yielding Palmyra is lost, though it could still be argued that Tadmor had been given a folk-etymology in *tāmār* which accounts for the "classical" name. Such a folk-etymological source for Palmyra would still leave the shape of the word, especially the *-ra* ending, unexplained (4). The usual account of the two names of the site is thus full of problems.

The facts of the case are simple, I have said, but the context, in northern Syria, is not: "The toponymy of Northern Syria contains several linguistic strata: Amorite-Canaanite, Akkadian, Hurrian, Hittite-Luwian, Aramean, Greek, Arabic, and Turkish" (Astour 1981a: 11). Even the terms for major areas are of disputed origin: Aram has no etymology and Carleton Hodge has recently suggested that it may be an Indo-European term (he compares Sanskrit *arma* 'ruins', with which compare Heb. *ha-Cai* 'the Ruin'; Hodge 1981: 237); Syria (Greek *Surla*) itself, most often derived from Assyria, may rather be borrowed from an Egyptian form of Huru (Tvedtnes 1981), though the lenition of *h* to *s* is unusual.

Whether or not Syria is related to Huru, there is a considerable Hurrian residue in Syrian toponymy, and I wish to suggest that Tadmor and Palmyra are names of Hurrian origin. The suggestion has various elements. 1°. Tadmor and Palmyra are both "native" names of the city (5), antedating the late first-millennium B.C.E. attestations of Palmyra. This feature of the suggestion does not stipulate that the names are of equal antiquity, but only that both arose in the two millennia of Tadmor's pre-classical history (6). I shall return to the question of multiple names for a single city below. 2°. Tadmor is made up of Hurrian *tad* 'to love' and a formant *mVr*, probably *mar*. 3°. Palmyra is made up of Hurrian *pal* 'to know' and the same *mVr* formant. 4°. The formations of the names are similar. 5°. The *mVr* formant is attested in other toponyms likely on other grounds to be Hurrian; it usually occurs in initial position in compound names. Before I proceed with the suggestion, I should note that points 2 and 5 could be coupled with the folk-etymology source for Palmyra alluded to earlier; this would constitute a weak form of the argument I shall be presenting; I will not pay special attention to it below.

I shall begin my discussion with a brief consideration of the Hurrian sphere. After reviewing the suggestion at hand in some detail, I shall conclude with a few remarks on cities with multiple names.

2. Could the Hurrian sphere have extended to Tadmor?

Tadmor makes a curiously oblique debut on the historical scene. The city is attested in an Old Assyrian text, but that witness and

later testimony find little pre-Hellenistic reflection at the site (7). Indeed pre-Hellenistic finds are controversial, and none is attributed to the historical period. It is thus only an inference that the city was, in the second and early first millennia, at the site where we later find it.

If a Hurrian etymology for the city names is to be considered, it must be shown that the site might have fallen within the Hurrian sphere (8). That sphere is enormous, covering much of the region east of the Tigris and much of northern Mesopotamia and Syria, extending in the Middle and Late Bronze ages to Cilicia and north in Anatolia and south along the Syrian littoral. The southwestern edge of the Hurrian area is associated in the Syrian hinterland with the kingdom of Mitanni; Tadmor lies nearly 150 kilometers due south of the stretch of the Euphrates that extends from Emar/Meskene to the juncture of the Balikh. Similarly, the oasis is 150 kilometers east-southeast of Qaṭna and about the same distance west of Mari, both sites at which the Hurrian presence in the Old Babylonian period is documented.

Tadmor then falls on the edge of what we are crudely terming the Hurrian world. Excluding Tadmor from that world would rest on an argument from silence, however, and there is no direct evidence against associating the earliest historical use of the site with the Hurrians.

A recent proposal by E. Gaál concerning the long-standing problem of the ancient names of Damascus and the Damascene suggests that that city was within the Hurrian sphere by the time of the Twelfth Dynasty (Gaál 1978) (9). This proposal is, however, based on a dubious understanding of the various writings of the Nuzi toponym Anše and must be rejected.

In fact the isolation of Tadmor makes it difficult to know how it would be counted and referred to. Consider the status of the oasis as part of the Roman sphere as a useful analogy. The city was reckoned as among Pompey's additions to the territory of the Republic in the sixties, but it was not until seven or eight decades later, under the early Principate, that we have evidence of direct

Roman involvement (10). Imperial Rome did not make its contribution to the naming of Palmyra until Hadrian's visit in 129 C.E., when the city was titled *Hadriana Palmyra*. If such ambiguity involves the Tadmor of buildings and (after 44 B.C.E.) texts, how much more uncertainty is to be expected in connection with the Tadmor of nearly two thousand years earlier?

3. The Proposal

The dense verdure of popular etymologies for Tadmor and Palmyra based on Latin *palma* and West Semitic *tāmār* 'palm' has not lately led students of the binome astray (11). Jean Starcky, the master of Palmyrene studies, confesses that he once linked Palmyra and *palma* "mais nous y renonçons", and, he continues, "Ecartons également tout rapport entre *Tadmor* et *tamar*" (Starcky 1960: 1084). The popular etymologies, once qualified as such, have not, however, elicited scientific explanations for the names (12).

Tadmor, the "Semitic" form of the name, is known from the early second millennium B.C.E., and Palmyra, the "classical" form, from the early first millennium C.E. (13). This discrepancy in attestation has led scholars to attempt to derive Palmyra from Tadmor (14). This is not an unreasonable effort, but it has not been notably fruitful; I propose to take the names together in reconsidering them. They manifestly belong together on formal grounds; each is composed of a closed "stem" syllable, *pal/tad*, followed by a "formant" in *mVr*. The vowel of the second syllable varies, though it is probably short (15). The other features of the names are remarkably uniform, given the diversity of witnesses (16).

The names *pal + mVR* and *tad + mVr* may be composed of a Hurrian verb plus the *mar* formant found in several place names from the second millennium (17). The verb *pal-* 'to know' and *tad-* 'to love' are among the best attested words in the Hurrian lexicon. *pal-* (= Akk. *idū*) is used in the Dušratta Letter from Amarna, a Mari Hurrian text, an Akkadian-Hurrian bilingual from Ugarit, and a variety of Boğazköy texts (18). *tad-* (= Akk. *rāmu*) occurs in the Dušratta Letter, a Ras Shamra Hurrian letter, and Boğazköy texts, and in personal names; the derivatives *tadaraški* 'love' and *tadugari*

'friendship' are also attested (19).

The *mVr* element has not been recognized in Hurrian toponyms, but there is some evidence for it in both initial and final positions in the names of cities under Hurrian influence (20).

A. *-mar*

1. Emar (Meskene); RGTC 6 140; Laroche 1980: 80; a city close to Mitanni (or does *é-mar* reflect *he-mar*, cf. *é-gal*, as Michalowski suggests?).
2. Kamari; RGTC 6 168; a city of Mitanni (21).
3. Kutmar; RGTC 6 231, cf. 479-80; a city associated with Harran and Wašukanl (22).
4. Namar (earlier Nawar); RGTC 1 127, 2 138-39; NPN 237, 238, 188, cf. 191; Laroche 1980: 180; Hallo 1978; a city of Subartu; east of the Tigris, near the Diyāla and the Lower Zāb.
5. Zirimara; RGTC 6 559; associated with Hurrians.
6. Zumara; RGTC 6 517; associated with Hurrians.

B. *-mur*

7. Šamura; RGTC 6 546; a spring associated with Hurrians.
8. Zalamura; RGTC 6 488, 11-12; a divine mountain associated with Hurrians.

C. *mar-*

- 9, 10. Marata, Marikatum; Sasson 1979: 38; towns associated with Hurrian-named people.
11. Mardaman (alphabetic *mrdml*); RGTC 2 118; Astour 1970; Laroche 1980: 167-68; a Hurrian city famous for medicine; perhaps modern Mardin.

The first group of these toponyms suggests that there was a Hurrian toponymic formant in *-mar*. Since neither name in the second group is that of a city, it is possible that the *-mur* names are a distinct phenomenon.

The *mar-* names raise the issue of the commutability of elements in Hurrian names. In considering this question, we must turn, by force of necessity, to the largest and best-known corpus of such names, the Nuzi personal names. Most of these are composed of two elements, and most of the elements are either initial or final, but a number may occur in either position. The most striking is the geographical name Arrapḫa, which figures in the names Arrapḫatal, Ḫutarrapḫe, and Kiparraḫe (NPN 205). Other commutable elements may be listed. I followed Purves's analysis of the elements (NPN 198-279); the sampling is basic. I list only the relevant elements (simplifying the NPN forms somewhat by writing *i* for *i*), not all elements derived from a stem. (Single-element names are not considered.) Although it would have been possible to add about twenty glosses from Laroche (1980), I have not done so in order not to confuse his analysis with Purves's; I have indicated those cases in which their glosses conflict. There are seventy-eight stems which yield apparently commutable elements, 27 of them (35%) of the shape CVC, the shape of *mar*.

1. VC elements [4]

- a. VC initial, VC + V initial, VC + V final
ur: *ur-*, *ura-*, *-ura*
- b. VC + V initial, VC + V final
as: *asa-*, *-asa*
- c. other
ap: *ap-*, *apen-*, *-ap*, *-apl*, *-apu*
en 'god': *en-*, *enna-*, *-enna* (pl.), *-eni*, *-enni*

2. VCC elements [9]

- a. VCC initial, VCC + V final
arš: *arš-*, *-arša*
- b. VCC + V initial, VCC + V final
anz 'to ask': *anza-*, *-anza*, *-anzu*
ašt 'woman': *ašta-*, *aštu-*, *ašte*, cf. *aštua-*, *aštun-*
Int: *Inta-*, *-Inta*
urḫ 'true': *urḫa-*, *urḫi-*, *-urḫe*

c. other

all: *alli-*, *allai-*, *allie-*, *allu-*, *-alla*, *-allai*, *-alli*

arn: *arn-*, *arnu-*, *-arni*

erh: *erhan-*, *-erha(n)*

3. CVV(V) elements [6]

a. CVV initial, CVV final

nl: *nai-*, *-nai*

tai: *tai-*, *-tai*

b. CVV initial, CVV + V final

hai 'to give': *hai-*, *-haia*; Laroche: 'prendre'

hui: *hui-*, *-hũa*

c. CVV + V initial, CVV + V final

kew: *kewi-*, *-kewi*

d. other

šaiu: *šaium-*, *-šaiu*

4. CVC elements [27]

a. CVC initial, CVC final

šuh: *šuh-*, *-šuh*, cf. *šuhhe*

b. CVC initial, CVC + V final

hut 'to fight': *hut-*, *-huta*

kal: *kal-*, *-kali*

kin: *kin-*, *-kina*

kuš: *kuš-*, *-kušē*

mat: *mat-*, *-matl*

nan: *nan-*, *-nani*

pal: *pal-*, *-pali*

pap: *pap-*, *-papa*

par: *par-*, *-parl*

puš: *puš-*, *-puša*

tiš: *tiš-*, *-tiše*

waš: *waš-*, *-waše*

c. CVC initial, CVC + V initial, CVC + V final

hup: *hup-*, *hupl-*, *-hupl*

kar: *kar-*, *kari-*, *-kari*

kip: *kip-*, *kipa-*, *kipi-*, *-kipa*

muš: *muš-*, *muša-*, *-muša*, *-muše*

nin: *nin-*, *ninu-*, *-nini*, *-ninu*

šar: *šar-*, *šaru-*, *-šarl*, *-šaru*

tun: *tun-*, *tuni-*, *-tuni*

tur: *tur-*, *turi-*, *-tura*, *-turi*, *-turu*, cf. *-turae*

d. CVC initial, CVC + C initial, CVC final

šur: *šur-*, *šurl-*, *-šur*

e. CVC + V initial, CVC + V final

ħal: *ħala-*, *ħalu-*, *-ħalu*

kul: *kula-*, *-kuli*

kut: *kuti-*, *-kutu*

f. other

šen: *šenna-*, *-šenni*

šin: *šini-*, *-šini*

5. CVCC elements [10]

a. CVCC initial, CVCC + V final

šatn: *šatn-*, *-šatna*

b. CVCC initial, CVCC + V initial, CVCC + V final

milk (Semitic loan): *mlk-*, *mlkl-*, *-mlkl*, *-mlku*

purn 'client': *purn-*, *purna-*, *purni-*, *-purni*; Laroche: "variante de *pur(u)li* 'maison, temple'"

šukr: *šukr-*, *šukri-*, *-šukru*

tarm: *tarm-*, *tarmi-*, *-tarmi*

waħr: *waħr-*, *waħra-*, *waħri-*, *-waħri*

c. CVCC + V initial, CVCC + V final

kurm: *kurmi-*, *-kurmi*

šeħl: *šeħli-*, *-šeħli*

talm: *talmu-*, *-talma*

d. other

kurw: *kurw-*, *-kuruwe*

6. (C)VCV(C) elements [16]

a. (C)VCV(C) initial, (C)VCV(C) final

atal: *atal-*, *-atal*

kewar: *kewar-*, *-kewar*

kušuḡ DN: *kušuḡ-*, *-kušuḡ*

nawar DN/GN: *nawar-*, *-nawar* (the presumed *-m-* form of the stem occurs only in the shape *-namari*)

šawa: *šawa-*, *-šawa*

šeriš DN: *šeriš-*, *-šeriš*

šuḫur: *šuḫur-*, *-šuḫur*

tešup DN: *tešup-*, *-tešup*

ukur DN (loan): *ukur-*, *-ukur*

- b. (C)VVCVC initial, (C)VVCVC + C final

aštar (Semitic loan): *aštar-*, *-aštari*

šalip: *šalip-*, *-šalip(e)*; see Purves apud NPN 188, n.21

turar: *turar-*, *-turali*

- c. CVCVC initial, CVCVC + V initial, CVCVC + V final

nirar (Semitic loan?): *nirar-*, *nirari-*, *-nirari*

šeḫal: *šeḫal-*, *šeḫali-*, *-šeḫala*

- d. CVCVC + V Initial, CVCVC + V final

šimik DN?: *šimika-*, *-šimika*, *-šimiki*; Laroche: Šimigi, the sun-god

- e. other

ḫepat DN: *ḫepet-*, *-ḫepa*

7. Other bisyllabic elements [6]

- a. (C)VCCV initial, (C)VCCV final

erwi 'king': *erwi-*, *-erwi*, cf. *erwin-*

matka: *matka-*, *-matka*

menni: *menni-*, *-menni*

tanni: *tanni-*, *-tanni*

tilla DN: *tilla-*, *-tilla*

- b. VCCVCC initial, VCCVCC + V final

iššuhḫr: *iššuhḫr-*, *-iššuhḫri*

This body of evidence strongly suggests that many Hurrian name elements can appear in compound names in either initial or final position, though the personal onomasticon is distinct from the geographical onomasticon, to be sure (23). Thus the *mar* element, final or initial, may be attested in nine names associated with Hurrian populations, most of those names referring to cities north and northeast of Tadmor.

4. Cities with multiple Names

We have seen that there is reason to believe that the names Tadmor and Palmyra are later reflexes of comparable Hurrian names. The names, on my suggestion, are derived from the same language (-group) (24), are similar in sense, and belong to the same chronological horizon - a large one, encompassing nearly two thousand years. Such names, it might be objected, are too similar to each other, but there are analogies.

A rough typology of multiple city names will be useful (25). I will consider a variety of examples, some ancient, some modern, in relation to three factors: 1° language - are the names in the same or closely-related languages *or* in different languages?, 2° sense - are the names similar in sense *or* distinct?, and 3° time - are the names used simultaneously or within the same chronological horizon (I have in mind the sort of horizon created by literary texts) *or* are they used in different epochs? It is easy to see that the typology could be elaborated, but we will content ourselves with these three factors.

The best known and most obvious cases involve cities with names in different languages and having different senses, whether the names succeed one another (Grk Constantinople replaced by Turkish Istanbul) or cyclically (Sem Samaria, Grk Sebaste; Sem Shahbā, Grk Philippiopolis; Sem Rabbat Ammon/Ammān, Grk Philadelphia). The languages and times of use may differ but the sense be preserved, as in Sem Carthage and Latin Neapolis/Naples or Anat (Qiryat) Arba and Arb al-Khaflī 'the Friend (Hebron)'. The source language alone may differ: Anat Arba and Mamre are contemporary with Heb Hebron, and Sem has-Sela^c and Reqem with Grk Petra.

Another set of well-known cases includes cities with names in the same or closely-related tongues which differ in sense and are used at different times: Anat Mamre and (Qiryat) Arba, Russian St. Petersburg and Leningrad, Chinese Peking (Pei-ching 'Northern Capital') and Peping (Pei-p'ing 'Northern Pacification'), or Nanking (Nan-ching 'Southern Capital'), Chien-k'ang ('Establishment of Prosperity'), and Ginling (Chin-ling 'Golden Hill'). City names from one

or similar languages used at different times may have the same sense: Heb Hebron and Arb al-Khalīl 'the Friend' or Heb has-Sela^c and Reqem (cf. Heb Ra^cma, a personal name used in Gen 10:7, 1 Chron 1:9) 'The Rock'. Such names used at the same time may have different senses: Arb Medina and Yathrib, Heb Jerusalem and Arb al-Quds, Heb Gal^cēd and ham-Miṣpa. The final line in our typology includes names from similar languages, of similar sense, and of the same time: Anat (Qiryat) Arba and Anat Mamre, and Arm Yegar Sahaduta and Heb Gal^cēd. This last is the pattern of Tadmor and Palmyra, according to the proposal we have been considering.

The popular etymologies for Palmyra/Tadmor fail, and some Hurrian alternatives have been proposed. The linguistic problems of the traditional explanations can be avoided, but historical questions arise in the course of the detour. I have tried to deal with these here, but it is difficult to put the case for the Hurrian etymologies of Tadmor and Palmyra strongly. The popular etymologies seem destined to dominate: *palma palmam ferat*.

NOTES

- (1) For comments on an earlier draft I owe thanks to Yoël L. Arbeitman, David Graf, Li Chi, John Lundquist, Piotr Michalowski, Wayne Pittard, W.H. Shea and Jean Starcky. None is responsible for my treatment.

The best treatment of the facts about Palmyra is Jean Starcky's article (1960); on the name, cf. Stark (1971: 116) and Altheim and Stiehl (1973: 240-41); Drijvers (1977: 837-872) and Rey-Coquais (1978) review the historical background.

I use English forms of toponyms wherever they serve to make the point. Note the abbreviations: Akk(adian), Anat(olian), Ar(a)b(ic), Ar(a)m(aic), Gr(ee)k, Heb(rew), Hurr(ian), Sem(itic): C(onsonant), V(owel).

- (2) In what follows I will not concern myself directly with the possibility that two (or more) names for a city may have slightly different referents, as in Damascus/the Damascene or, more familiarly, Detroit/Metro[politan] Detroit, London/the Home

Counties, Washington/the District of Columbia, Ciudad Méjico/Distrito Federal, referring to city/region.

- (3) Homorganic epenthesis seems generally to put an intrusive element *after* a radical element, as in well-known examples like Homeric Greek *aneros* but Classical Greek *andros*, Latin *cineris* but French *cendre*, Latin *humilis* but French *humble* (in all these cases, syncope of a vowel presumably preceded the epenthesis). I owe these examples and the reminder of their relevance to Arbeitman.

I can only mention here Michel Gawlikowski's proposal (1974) to derive Tadmor from the root **dmr* 'to guard', yielding Tadmor, 'The Fortress', cf. Hebrew *mišmar* and the Canaanite/Aramaic pair Hasor/Hatra. The root is known from Amorite names at Mari (e.g., Zimri-Lim); the various representations of the proto-Semitic **d* (yielding ultimately Hebrew *z*, Middle Aramaic *d*; but Mari writes *z* in *zimri*-names and *d* in Tadmor) hardly provide sure grounds to challenge Gawlikowski. His canvassing of the implications of the *d* representation leads him into a rich discussion of the Semitic-linguistic profile of Tadmor, and notably into a review of Millik's supposed Neo-Punic text at Palmyra; this Gawlikowski reclaims for Aramaic (but '*nwky*' and '*nḥnw*' remain!). His proposal does not deal with the Tadmor/Palmyra variation.

- (4) Stade and Schwally refer to Latin *palmula*, which would presumably yield Palmyra by dissimilation of the liquids, but in what language? Why *palmula* (more often *palmus* 'palm (of the hand)' than *palma*)? See Starcky (1960: 1088).
- (5) Or the city and the region. See note 2.
- (6) The earliest attestation of the name Tadmor is in the gentilic of one Puzur-Ištar, the bearer of an Akkadian (most likely Assyrian) name. See note 13.
- (7) It is likely that Palmyra is one of those sites at which one major phase buries or disguises traces of earlier occupation. Certain awkward features of the city design make it clear that the major structures now visible were sited as replacements for older, presumably more modest structures; see Browning (1979). It is important to note also that much of the city remains unexcavated.

- (8) In general chronological terms there is no problem: Hurrian names are attested in Old Akkadian and Ur III texts; see, e.g., Purves apud NPN 185. In general, see Astour (1978) and, on the northern character of the Mittanian expansion, Astour (1981b: 9-10).
- (9) Gaál's proposal involves a Nuzi place which he claims is written syllabically *Api*/*Apinaš* and logographically with *ANŠE*, showing that Hurrian *Api(na)* means 'asses'; this explains the use of *šá ANŠE-šú* for Damascus, which is also called *Api* (Execration Texts, cf. Boghazköy Abina, Amarna Up/bi). The proposal can be faulted on a number of grounds, as Wayne Pitard notes (personal communication). "First, the argument from the three Nuzi references is extremely weak. The first tablet and the information Gaál has gathered about the people mentioned on it show only that these people may have lived around Lumpti and that Lumpti is said in texts to be on the road to *Apina* and on the road to *ANŠE*. This is hardly compelling evidence for equating *Apina* and *ANŠE*. The second tablet is equally vague... It is the third tablet that I find particularly difficult for Gaál's thesis. He is alleging that the Nuzi scribes are using *ANŠE* as a logogram on the first two tablets, to be pronounced in Hurrian as *Apina*. But in HSS XIV 542, he indicates that the town name is in fact written out syllabically *URU an.še*. This seems to me to indicate strongly that the town name was pronounced *Anše*, and that *ANŠE* is not used as a logogram at all in the other texts. Even ignoring this, the tablet only indicates that *Apina* and *ANŠE* were located in the same *dimtu*. A second problem with proposing that the land around Damascus had a Hurrian name in the Middle Bronze Age is the fact that what little evidence we have about the area from the period indicates a Semitic background. In our only epigraphic references to the area, the Saqqarah Execration Texts, the area is called *ipwm*, clearly a Semitic form. It is divided into northern and southern parts, each apparently under the control of a prince. And we have the name of the prince of the northern part, *Aḥu-Kabkabu*, again clearly Semitic. I think this means that there is absolutely no evidence on which to base a claim that the area of Damascus was under Hurrian control before the Late Bronze Age. Evidence for Hurrian influence then comes from the names of the two known kings of *Apu/Opu* during this period -

Ariwana... and Zalaia". For further details, see Pitard (1987).

- (10) The period is of not only historical but also artistic importance, since it is the first era of major monumental building at the site, and the character of Roman influence is crucial in assessing the work. On the art and architecture, see the discussions of Colledge (1976) and Browning (1979); for the history, see Starcky (1960: 1079-80) and Rey-Coquais (1978: 51 and references).
- (11) But see, e.g., Segal (1981), and Drijvers (1977), who retain the traditional explanation for Palmyra.
- (12) There may be a trace of another popular etymology in the Vaticanus spelling *thermai* (= Baden), referring to the spring Efqa (Starcky 1960: 1070).

There is a Syriac etymology for Tadmor, referring to *dmr* 'to wonder', *tadmurtā* 'miracle', thus *tadmūra* 'object of wonder', most recently affirmed by Altheim and Stiehl (1973: 241), but rejected by Starcky (1960: 1084) and Gawlikowski (1974).

- (13) The references to the Old Assyrian and Mari texts are given in Starcky (1960: 1078) and Stark (1971: 116), and in Teixidor (1977: 100-4). The first Iron Age reference is from Tiglath-pileser I (ANET 275). On the earliest stages of archeology at the site, see Teixidor (1977: 104, n. 4) and Gawlikowski (1974). The gap between the Mari and Tiglath-pileser attestations can now be filled: a text from thirteenth-century Emar/Meskene refers to Tadmīr (Astour 1981b: 28, n. 159). This allusion makes even less likely Albright's dubious connection of Tadmor with Ugaritic *dmrn*; see Starcky (1960: 1084) for references and discussion. In 1 Kgs 9: 18, as Starcky shows, we must read the Ketib, Tamar, against the Tadmor of the Qere, the Versions and the garbled reformulations in 2 Chr 8: 4 (1960: 1066-76), though the tradition of Solomon at Palmyra has a long and complex history (Starcky 1960: 1076-78). The earliest occurrences of the Palmyra form of the name are in Pliny the Elder and Josephus; "il y a lieu de la tenir pour antérieure à la conquête romaine", Starcky allows, though he does not mean as much prior as I am suggesting.

These half-dozen occurrences exhaust the early history of the site. The name *dmr* is not attested in Nabatean, contra Dussaud's reading of a basalt relief of Allat/Athena, in which Starcky reads *hṛb/n* rather than *dmr* (Starcky et al. 1978:

- 43-44). On the Aśoka text from Laḡmān which refers to *tdmr*, see Altheim and Stiehl (1973: 235-42). On the title *rš tdmwr//eksarchon Palmyrēnōn*, used of Septimius ʿairan, son of Septimius Odainat, see Stiehl (1970).
- (14) For the efforts, see Starcky (1960: 1087-88), notably J.T. Milik's suggestions, which curiously involve reference to Hurrian's first-millennium cousin, Urartean.
- (15) See Starcky (1960: 1084-87) and Stark.
On the quality of the vowel, o/u/ü, compare Akk *murru*, Arm *mūra'*, *murra'*, el-Amarna Canaanite *mu-ur-ra*, Heb *mor*, *mōr*, Grk *murra* (Sappho, sixth century), cited in Brown (1981: 396 and n.69), with reference to other evidence for early Semitic-to-Greek loans showing *upsilon* with an *u* (rather than *ü*) value. But the Mari and Meskene texts show *i* in the second syllable (cf. Astour 1981b: 28).
- (16) There are some variants, all in Jewish literary traditions, some linguistic (reflecting the Greek intolerance for *dm* clusters in Tadmor forms or metathesis of the liquids in Palmyra forms, Starcky 1960: 1087) and some textual (reflecting confusion of *d* and *r* in some Semitic scripts of the late first millennium B.C.E. and later, notably Rabbinic *trmwd*, Starcky, *ibid.*). For details, see Starcky (1960: 1087, explanations; 1067-70, 1076-78, forms).
- (17) Pace Starcky, who remarks "les noms hourrites ne fournissent pas d'analogie" (1960: 1087).
- (18) See Laroche (1980: 194). The semantics of the proposed etymologies hardly needs comment: a variety of toponyms reflect social notions - Philadelphia, Salem, al-Quds; the covenantal background of the vocabulary of both friendship and knowledge is well-known. Since the meaning of the *-mar* element is unknown, it is impossible to say what the names as a whole mean. As Starcky reminds me, abstractions are not common in toponyms, e.g., al-Quds may better be rendered 'sanctuary' than 'holiness'.
- (19) See Laroche (1980: 248-49, 21, names; 26, derivatives).
- (20) There is an abundance of toponyms and the like in *mVr*. I exclude first the most famous: Mardu/Amurru (e.g., RGTC 1 115-16, 2 118-26, 6 14-15) and Mari (e.g., RGTC 1 117-18, 2 128-29), the etymologies of which have been discussed; the lands of M/Warū (on the Diyāla, Astour 1981a: 23), Mira (In Caria, RGTC 6 269-71), and Marḡaši (north-northeast of Elam, RGTC 1

116-17, 2 127-28); and Ningirin's cult city Muru, south of Badtibira (RGTC 1 123, 2 84, cf. 134).

Next I exclude third-millennium southern Mesopotamian sites: Imarum (RGTC 1 78), Mar(a)da (RGTC 1 114-15, cf. 116, 2 117-18), Marridan, Marrut (RGTC 1 118) and Nušušmar (RGTC 2 151). Similarly, names from the Ebla/Abū Šalābīkh atlas (Pettinato 1978) are excluded: (a) initial *mar*: Mari (r I 4, v XVII 22), Murdanak (r V 1), Marabiak (r V 16), Marizu (r VIII 7); (b) initial *mur*: Muriqu (v X 4); (c) final *mar*: Imar (r VIII 3, v I 11, v XVI 14), Namar (r XI 7), cf. Namarat (r XI 8); (d) final *mur*: Amuri (r XV 1'), Šumuru (r XV 2'), Igmuru (r IX 1), Ĥimuru (r IX 2); Gizimuru (r IX 3); Zumur (v I 1).

I also exclude names attested in Anatolian sources with either no Hurrian link or with unclear morphology: Amarik (Hurrian; RGTC 6 13), Kizmara (RGTC 6 211), Kummara (RGTC 6 535), Mammara (RGTC 6 538), Maraša (RGTC 6 260-61), land Marišta, city Marašantija, river Maraššanda (RGTC 6 261-63, 538-39; the last is associated with the Muranta and TUL₂-mar rivers, RGTC 6 540, 554), Marištaḫa (RGTC 6 263), Markana (RGTC 6 263), Maršuwa (RGTC 6 263), Martuwa (RGTC 6 264), Marwišna (RGTC 6 264), Mirinzawa (RGTC 6 271), Muraši (RGTC 6 275), Murmurika (RGTC 6 276), Tamarmara (RGTC 6 391), and Zikmar (RGTC 6 501).

I have also excluded some other toponyms: (a) Late Bronze-age Syrian names: Mara'il (Astour 1979: 23), Marduše (ibid., pp. 20-21), Murša (ibid., p. 19), and Zimar(r)a (ibid., pp. 16-18); (b) a Nuzi name: Murkušannina (Astour 1981a: 24); (c) a first-millennium name: Marqasi (modern Maraş), conquered by Esarhaddon.

- (21) The Kamari of Mitanni (Kamari I) is distinct from the southern Mesopotamian Kamari (RGTC 1 89, 2 89-90, 272; cf. Kimari, RGTC 2 99) (Kamari II) and from the Nuzi Kamari (NPN 222) (Kamari III), though if Kamari I has, as we are suggesting, a Hurrian name, then that name is the same of Kamari III. It remains possible that Kamari II and Kamari III are the same place.
- (22) J.-G. Février connected Kutmar with the etymological problem of Tadmor but in quite a different way; see Starcky (1960: 1087).

- (23) It may be worth noting that the Celtic element *den/dun/don* 'fortress', so common in European toponyms, can appear fore (Dunkirk, Dunbar, Dungeness) or aft (Leyden, London, Verdun). See Crowley (1981: 80) and references.
- (24) The records of Hurrian do not suggest linguistic uniformity; the linguistic divergences among major sources are reviewed by Diakonoff (1981).
- (25) In what follows I choose examples which for the most part are well known, but I also draw on several name equivalences which may need some explanation. 1° I follow the biblical story of the naming of Mišpa, Gen 31: 47-53; 2° I follow Y. Arbeitman's reconstruction (1981) of the "semantic equivalence" of the three names of Hebron given in Gen 23: 2, 19: Sem Hebron 'of the friend (*hbr*)', Anat (Qiryat) Arba from Anat *ar* 'friend' + *ap'a*, a demonstrative, and Anat Mamre from Anat *miumar* 'benignity', and (following Wilhelm Borée) of the equivalence of the Arabic name al-Khalīl 'the Friend'. It is important to note that the name-equivalence given in Genesis 23 and 31 (on the latter, see Arbeitman 1981: 998-1000) have no chronological markers; such phrases are often so marked ('X, which was formerly Y'), but they are *not* marked here. 3° The names of the Nabatean metropolis, Petra/has-Sela^c/Reqem, are reviewed by Altheim and Stiehl (1973: 233-35).

I omit all cuneiform evidence because the writing system presents such obstacles, though I note that Edzard and Farber(-Flügge) suggest that Sumerian Urusaḡrig was used alongside Akk *Āl-Šarrāki* (RGTC 2 232-34). I also omit cases where two terms have a slightly different referent (see note 2 above), e.g., Damascus/Api, or where the language of one name is (especially) controverted, e.g., Jebus.

The examples here should refute the *special* emphasis in Strabo's claim that "changes in name, especially in the names of barbarians, are numerous" (*Geography* 16.4.27).

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' SHOULDER' AND 'CORNER' IN HITTITE

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Terms for body parts in Hittite come in several type-varieties. There are the blatant Indo-European matches, such as *kard-* 'heart', *ēšhar* 'blood', *hastai-* 'bone', *genu-* 'knee', *pata-* 'foot', *kessar(a)-* 'hand', *arki-* 'testicle', *arra-* 'arse'. Others are only moderately more difficult to bring into line, e.g. *harsar* 'head' (: Ved. *śīrṣán-*, Hom. *κεφαλή*), *sankuwai-* 'fingernail' (s-movable + **ongh-w-* seen in Lat. *unguis*), *zamangur* 'beard' (Skt. *śmāśru-*), *a(y)lss-* 'mouth' (Lat. *ōs*). Still others have more restricted isoglossal equivalents, e.g. *lesi-* or *lissi-* 'liver' (Arm. *leard*) or *iskis-* '(lower) back, lumbar region' (Gk. *ἰσχίον*). Some terms have changed "locus" and in consequence dislocated others, as when *par(a)sna-* 'loins' corresponds to Lat. *perna* 'haunch' and Skt. *pārṣṇi-* 'heel', or *anassa-* '(upper) back' (?) may match Lat. *umerus* and Skt. *ámsa-* 'shoulder', or *paltana-* '(upper) arm' has as cognates OCS *plešte* and Milr. *leithe* 'shoulder'. Others have undergone a metonymous shift (*pesna-* 'man, male' beside Lat. *pēnis* < **pesn-*; cf. Hitt. *pes-* 'to rub') or differing semantic specialization starting from the underlying verbal root (*istaman[a]-* 'ear' vs. Gk. *στόμα(τ)-* 'mouth'). A predilection for *i-*stem formations is evident in a number of terms, besides *arki-* (cf. Gk. *ὄρχις*) and *lesi-* also e.g. *sakul-* 'eye', *aull-* 'spleen', *meni-* 'face', *puri-* 'lip', *taggan-* 'breast, chest'. The whole subject needs a new monograph, in the distant wake of such tentative preliminaries as Sedat Alp's 1957.

A further group of body-words originates in babble-talk, with the onomatopoeic and reduplicative proclivities of such utterance: *lala-* 'tongue', *lalu-* 'penis', *laplipa-* 'eyelash', *titita-* 'nose', *tetana-*

'hair', *titan-* 'tit'. Here it is easy to claim "Elementarverwandschaft" and leave it at that, but more nuanced inspection is needed. Some forms are only by chance of "reduplicative" appearance, such as *kalulupa-* 'finger', which is cognate with Gk. δάκτυλος and involves the numeral 'ten' (cf. J. Puhvel, 1981 [originally 1976]). Others have more than "elementary" cognates or parallels elsewhere or show clear derivation from verbal roots. Thus *hūwabhurti-*, *huhhurti-*, or *hurhurta-* 'windpipe' has a very specific match in Arm. *xaxurt*⁶ of the same meaning. *pappassala-* 'esophagus' is clearly derived from *pas-* 'to swallow'. The word *hah(ha)ri-* 'lungs, diaphragm' is typologically reminiscent of the Sanskrit and Pāli terms for 'lung', *phupphusa-* and *papphāsa-*, which are from verbs similar to Gk. φῦσσω 'blow, puff' and Russian *pýxat* 'pant, puff'. The Hittite for 'blow', *parai-*, has a reduplicated variant *parip(a)rai-*; hence some of the reduplications may originate secondarily in the underlying verbs.

It is therefore possible to go beyond the "Lallwort" explanation, to account for reduplication as etymologically non-crucial, and to find proper Indo-European matches for words such as *gakkartan(n)i-* 'shoulderblade' (OHG *herti* 'shoulderblade'; cf. M. Poetto, 1979: 206).

A similar approach may be taken to the obscure body part *halhaldana-*, upon which the Sea placed a container in *KUB XXXVI 44* l 7-8 (*nu-za arunas* DUG.HAB.HAB [...] [...] *halhaldāni-ssi dais* 'placed on his *h.*'). Elsewhere there is the variant form (acc. sg.) *halhalzanan*, in the sequence 'bone(s) (= stature?), *h.*, eyebrows, eyelashes' (*KUB XXIV 12* III 5-6; similarly [*hal*] *halzanan* Ibid. II 31-32), and a possible instr. sg. [*hal*] *halzanit* in *KUB VII 55* Vs. 6-7 (ŠA ŠAH *pankunit euwas* [*hal*] *halzanit tuikkus war[-* 'of a barley-with-milk[-fed] pig [they?] burn limbs along with *h.*'). Luwian has acc. sg. *halzānin* (*KUB XXXV 48* II 16) and *halhalzanin* (*KUB XXXV 12* III 2; *XXXV 45* II 23; *XXXV 33* III 4-5) or *ha*] *halzānin* (*XXXV 73*, 10), always preceded immediately by 'bone(s)'.

halhaldana- is clearly the oldest form, with *z* in *halhalzana-* showing a Hittite affrication of the dental. In this case Luwian also has *z*, rather than the expected **halhaltana-*. At the same time Luwian exhibits the unreduplicated variant *halzānin* (unless it be due to scribal haplography of the *hal* sign), and Hittite shows a

dissimilatory [*halh*] *anzanan*. The term may thus be Luwoid to a point, but with Hittite phonetic adjustments which have reverberated back onto Luwian itself. As a body part on which a vessel is carried, and which is mentioned in the same breath with limbs and bones, *halhaldana-* is most probably 'shoulder'. We might note from above that both inherited 'shoulder' words, *anassa-* and *paltana-*, have somewhat shifted meanings ('upper back' and 'upper arm' respectively). Hence, besides *gakkartan(n)i-* 'shoulderblade', *halhaldana-* may be the Hittite 'shoulder' word proper, with the same suffixal segment as *paltana-*. When Ullikummi is affixed ANA ^D*Upelluri* ZAG-*ni* UZUZAG.LU-*ni* 'onto Upelluri's right shoulder' (H.G. Güterbock, 1951: 156), the sumerogram may be read *kunni halhaltani* rather than *kunni paltani*. (*hal*)*haltana-* is reminiscent of words such as Avest. *arəŋna-* and Skt. *aratnī-* 'elbow', thus perhaps pointing to a proto-form **Helt(no)-*.

This explanation of *halhaldana-* also solves the mystery of *halhaltumar(i)-* 'corner'. Rather than some deverbative reduplicative root etymology *hal-hal-t-umar* 'the place where something bends', from a **hal-* extracted from *haliya-* 'bend, kneel' (H.C. Melchert, 1983: 13-14), *halhaltumar-* is an offshoot of (*hal*)*halt(ana)-* 'shoulder', with a denominative abstract-forming suffix *-umar* < **-uwar* < **-(u)wṛ* (cf. e.g. *ārrumas* < *ārruwas* < **arr-uwas*, and the denominates *miumar*, *hīlammar*). Like Hitt. *halhaldana-*: Luw. *halhalzani-*, *halhaltumar(i)-* bears mitigated marks of Luwoid character (paralysis of *r/n* heterodisis [gen. pl. *halhaltumaras*], trend to secondary *l*-stem derivation [nom. pl. c. *halhaltumariēs*]). Much as Gk. γωνία 'corner, angle' is palpably derived with an abstract suffix from γόvu, or OHG *ancha* 'nape, shank', *anchal* 'heel, knuckle, ankle' are cognate with Lat. *angulus*, OCS *pglŭ*, Arm. *ankiun* 'angle, corner, nook', *halhaltumar-* is an offshoot of the Anatolian term for 'shoulder'. While Greek picked the bent knee, Anatolian chose square shoulders as the image of angularity. The typical 4 *halhaltumari* are not merely the mundane corners of a house or a hearth, they also denote the 'four corners of the universe', i.e. cardinal points in terms of movements of the sun and the winds. The cosmic giant Upelluri reminisced to Ea how unbeknownst to him heaven and earth were once built and cut apart on him, unlike the

acute shoulder-pain which Ullikummi's grafting is causing him (*kuitki* UZUZAG.LU-an GIG-zi = *kuitki halhalzanan istarakzi* 'something ails the shoulder'; cf. H.G. Güterbock, 1952: 28); we are not far from the rectangular shoulders of Atlas sustaining the four corners of the earth and firmament.

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ZU HETHITISCH *lāman* 'NAME' UND *lammar* 'STUNDE'

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0.1. Schon in der Frühzeit der Hethitologie wurden einige Wörter bekannt, die sich von gleichbedeutenden Wörtern anderer indogermanischer Sprachen durch den Ersatz eines zu erwartenden *n* durch *l* unterscheiden; darunter war heth. *lāman* 'Name' gegenüber lat. *nomen* etc. das auffälligste Beispiel. Man erklärte es durch Annahme einer Dissimilation der beiden dentalen Nasale, wobei der labiale Nasal vermutlich mitwirkte (Hrozný 1931: 316 f.).

0.2. G. Neumann schlug 1955: 171 für heth. *lammar* 'Stunde' (*r/n*-Stamm) eine Etymologie unter Vergleich mit altlat. *numerō* 'sogleich, in diesem Augenblick' (*s*-Stamm) vor, wobei er ebenfalls Dissimilation ausgehend von den obliquen Formen voraussetzte. Dagegen glaubte H. Kronasser 1966: 59 ff. für Vorderasien (sowie im Uralischen) die Tendenz zu einer Lautalternation *n/l* feststellen zu können; für Einzelheiten sei hier auf Kronassers sehr ausführliche Darlegungen verwiesen. Seine Theorie konnte sich gegenüber der herrschenden Meinung nicht durchsetzen.

1. Als Ausgangspunkt für die Erörterung der anstehenden Probleme ist das indogermanische Wort für 'Name' wegen seiner variierenden Entsprechungen (bes. griech. ὄνομα) wenig geeignet (1)), so dass man heth. *lammar* erneut überprüfen sollte. G. Neumanns Etymologie fand allgemeinen Beifall, doch blieben immerhin einige Bedenken. Semantisch erklärt sie nur einen erstarrten Spezialgebrauch dieses Wortes, eben das momentane 'sofort'.

1.1. J. Friedrichs Ausführungen 1930: 92 f. zeigen, dass die Grundbedeutung sich auf einen Zeitabschnitt wie *ITU-mi* 'Monat' bezieht. Die Wendung *lammar lammar* 'Stunde für Stunde' (nach Friedrich schon halb adverbial gebraucht) lässt sich kaum aus *'sofort-sofort' ableiten; an der von Friedrich angegebenen Stelle KUB XXI 27 III 46 f. kann es nur heissen, dass man die Göttin 'beständig' oder 'immer wieder' sieht. - Bei den bekannten Stellen aus den Staatsverträgen handelt es sich jeweils um militärische Hilfe; an 13 von 18 Stellen werden 'Truppen und Wagenkämpfer' ausdrücklich angefordert, und zwar gewöhnlich unter persönlicher Führung des Vertragspartners. Im Kupanta-*ḫ*KAL-Vertrag (§ 19 D 3 ff.) wird sogar konzidiert, dass irgendwelche Umstände das persönliche Eingreifen verzögern können; die Truppen sollen dann unter einem Befehlshaber in Marsch gesetzt werden. - Man wird daher wohl besser für *lammar* auf die Übersetzung 'sofort' verzichten und etwa 'unverzüglich' sagen, so dass zumindest der notwendige Zeitaufwand berücksichtigt wird.

1.2. Für die Frage nach dem Bedeutungsgehalt des Nomens *lammar* ist es wichtig zu wissen, welche Assoziationen die Hethiter mit ihren Zeitvorstellungen verbanden. Bei Zeitangaben innerhalb des Tagesverlaufes beschränken sich die hethitischen Texte meistens auf Nennung der Haupttageszeiten. Besonders häufig ist *lukkatta* 'es wird hell', namentlich nach Erwähnung der Nacht im vorhergehenden Textabschnitt. Mitunter wird hinzugefügt *karuariyar* 'in (aller) Frühe'. Gelegentlich wird stattdessen gesagt *mahḫan-ma* ^dUTU-uš *uizzi* 'sobald die Sonne kommt'. - Der Abend wird durch *nekuz meḫur* 'Abendzeit' angegeben, gelegentlich dafür verbal *nekuzzi* 'es wird Abend'. Selten steht dafür die Wendung *mahḫan-ma* UD-az *ḫaḫnuzzi* 'sobald sich der Tag wendet'. - Weniger oft wird der Mittag genannt: *mahḫan-ma* UD-az *takšan tiezzi* 'sobald der Tag in die Fuge tritt'. Unscharf sagt Anitta (17, 19) *ḫantaiši meḫuni* 'während der Mittagshitze' in einer abgerundeten Zeitangabe.

1.2.1. Ausser diesen der Anschauung unmittelbar zugängigen Angaben über die jeweilige Stellung der Sonne bei den Haupttageszeiten gibt es einige spezielle Wendungen, die mit unserer Angabe der Uhrzeit vergleichbar sind; sie sind auf das System der Haupttageszeiten aufgebaut und geben den jeweiligen Abstand der Sonne von den

Fixpunkten in 'Ellen' (heth. *gipeššar*, akkad. *AMMATU*) bzw. in *uakšur* (Bruchteilen der Elle) an. Ein Beispiel aus den "Pferdetexten" möge dafür genügen: *maḥḥan-ma-kan ANA UDKAM 2 gipeššar ašzi* 'sobald dem Tag (noch) 2 Ellen bleiben'. Für weitere Belege von Zeitangaben mit ihren Einzelheiten sowie für Berechnungsweise vgl. Kammenhuber 1961: 269-272 (mit Literatur). Während die drei Nachtwachen nach mesopotamischer Gewohnheit durchgezählt werden, ist die Zählung der Stunden anscheinend bei den Hethitern nicht belegt. Der terminus *lammar* wird demnach kaum für einen bestimmten Zeitabschnitt gebraucht worden sein.

1.3. Eine hieroglyphenluwische Entsprechung für das Wort findet sich in der Einleitungsformel der Inschrift von Karahöyük-Elbistan, die angibt, 1. welcher Gottheit das Monument geweiht ist, 2. Name und Titel des Stifters, und 3. den Zeitpunkt der Errichtung. Der nur hier belegte Terminus *la-mi-ni-ä*, für den es schon mehrere Deutungsversuche gibt, gewinnt durch H. Nowickis Übersetzung (1981: 254) 'zum Zeitpunkt' eine sinnvolle Stellung im Textzusammenhang. Allerdings liegt hier eine Verallgemeinerung vor gegenüber der Grundbedeutung 'Zeitpunkt im Tagesverlauf'.

1.4. Da die Angabe der Stellung der Sonne für die Kennzeichnung der Tageszeit für die Hethiter massgeblich war, liegt es nahe, auch für den Terminus *lammar* etymologisch eine Lagebezeichnung zu suchen, wie sie etwa im Deutschen bei 'Stunde' (von 'stehen') vorliegt. Eine entsprechende Anschlussmöglichkeit bietet tochar. A *lame* 'Stelle, Platz', neben dem ein Verb tochar. A *lām-*, *lam-*, *lyām-*, tochar. B *lām-*, *lām-*, *lyām-*, *lyām-* 'sitzen' (Thomas 1964: 149, 250), "être assis, se trouver" (van Windekens 1976: 258) steht, das als Suppletivverb zu AB *šām-* 'sitzen' dient, und das H. Pedersen (1941: 190) auf eine (bis dahin nicht anerkannte) indogermanische Wurzel **lem-* zurückführt. Auf dieser Wurzel beruht letztlich heth. *lammar* als altertümliche *r/n*-Ableitung; es bietet also eine klare Parallele zu deutsch 'Stunde'.

Exkurs 1 : Zur Problematik des Terminus 'Wurzel'

1.4.0.1. Der Terminus "Wurzel" wird im folgenden nur als Bezeichnung für den als solcher erkennbaren bedeutungstragenden

Bestandteil anscheinend zusammengehöriger Wörter einer Sprachperiode gebraucht. Die Wurzel besitzt keine eigene Existenz; ob sie eine solche in einer früheren Periode besass, könnte nur die systematische Erforschung dieser Periode ergeben. Der gelegentlich vorgetragene Ansatz einer "Wurzelperiode" beruht auf rein theoretischen Erwägungen. – Als "Ableitung" von einer Wurzel ist die Neubildung eines Wortes in Anlehnung an ein vorhandenes Wort bzw. an eine Gruppe solcher Wörter durch morphologische und semantische Veränderungen zu verstehen; dabei ist auch an Rückbildung einfacherer Wörter aus komplizierteren zu denken.

1.4.0.2. Die Bedeutung (2) der Wurzeln erschliesst man durch einen Vergleich der entsprechenden einzelsprachlichen Wörter, was vielfach zu sehr abstrakten Bedeutungsansätzen führt. Zweifel können sich ergeben bei grossem semantischen Abstand. Es können Wörter verschollen sein, die eine überraschende Bedeutungsentwicklung vermittelt haben, so dass der Terminus nicht mehr deskriptiv wirkt, sondern als etikettierend (3) zu betrachten ist. Andererseits kann es sich um zufälligen Gleichklang verschiedener Wurzeln handeln. Diese Möglichkeiten sind auch bei der Wurzel **lem-* zu erwägen; s. § 1.4.1.f.

1.4.0.3. Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung bleibt in der weiteren Entwicklung gewöhnlich erhalten, soweit es sich um Wörter aus dem unmittelbaren Lebensbereich (dem "häuslichen Bereich") handelt. Die Zustände sind weitgehend identisch und wiederholen sich im Zeitverlauf, so dass die Sprecher eine gemeinsame Vorstellungswelt haben. Hier ergeben sich intersubjektiv nahezu identische Bedeutungen. – Leichter entstehen Bedeutungsänderungen auf den Gebieten des weiteren und fernerer Bereiches, an denen unter Umständen nur ein Teil der Sprecher Anteil hat; hier kommt es zur Bildung von Fachausdrücken oder gar einer Fachsprache, die bei andern Partnern Anlass zu unscharfer Verwendung der Termini geben kann. – Noch leichter treten Bedeutungsänderungen ein bei Termini einer mehr theoretischen Sprachschicht, bei der die unmittelbare Anschaulichkeit fehlt und mehrere Vorstellungen möglich sind. Man greift hier vielfach zu einer Übertragung von Ausdrücken aus der konkreten Schicht des nahen Bereiches; gern benutzt werden räumliche Vorstellungen wie stehen, liegen, sitzen oder setzen.

1.4.1. A.J. van Windekens versucht a.a.O. tochar. *lām-* auf eine Wurzel **lembh-* etc. zurückzuführen, wozu allerdings das Tocharische kaum einen Anlass bietet. Der Vorschlag ist vermutlich beeinflusst von dem Umstand, dass man herkömmlicher Weise eine idg. Wurzel **lem-* 'brechen' annimmt, die im Slavischen und Baltischen gut bezeugt ist, der man aber auch manche Wörter zuordnet, die erhebliche semantische Schwierigkeiten machen. Zu diesem **lem-* stellt van Windekens (69) tochar. A *lyām* 'See' unter Vergleich mit lit. *lomà* 'fosse, trou, creux': doch geben Niedermann-Senn (1933, II 48) die Bedeutungen "1. vertiefte Stelle auf einem Acker, 2. = *lóbās* ('Hohlweg'), 3. Niederung" an; zu *lomà* 3 führen sie noch ein *lōmas* 'Niederung' an. – M. Vasmer (1955, II 56) s.v. *lóm* 'Bruch, Bruchstück, Windbruch, Brechelsen', dial. 'Sumpf' Pskov, Twef (Pr.) versucht vorsichtig, die Ableitungen der Wurzel **lem-* 'brechen' von den Landschaftstermini lit. *lomà* etc. zu trennen, nämlich lett. *lāma* 'Pfütze, Grube', bulg. *lam* 'Loch, Grube, Graben', die er zu lat. *lāma* 'Lache, Morast, Sumpf' stellt. Eine Trennung von *lom-* 'Bruch' (m.) und *lom-* 'Sumpf' lehnt er allerdings ab unter Hinweis auf nhd. Bruch; er übersieht dabei, dass es sich bei dem nhd. Beleg faktisch um zwei Wörter handelt, die nach Aussprache, Geschlecht und Ursprung verschieden sind (*Bruch* (n.) 'Sumpf' < ahd. *bruoh*, cf. ae. *broc*, ne. *brook* 'Bach'). – Auf weitere Beispiele von Bezeichnungen für tiefliegende Geländeformen sowie dafür entsprechende Eigennamen wie *lacus Lemannus* muss hier verzichtet werden; der Anschluss von tochar. *lyām* an dieser Gruppe von Ableitungen aus einer Wurzel **lem-* ist ausreichend wahrscheinlich.

Exkurs 2 : Die Grundbedeutung der Wurzel **lem-*.

1.4.1.1. Die Unterscheidung von **lem-* "in (niedriger) Lage befindlich" und **lem-* "brechen" ist rein methodisch und bedarf der Überprüfung. Das reiche, von Pokorny und Vasmer zusammengestellte Material – das sich noch erweitern lässt – fügt sich nicht ohne weiteres in eine Zweiergliederung, weil nicht selten Merkmale beider Deutungen zusammen auftreten; gelegentlich erscheinen darüber hinaus sogar nicht zu erwartende Merkmale. Hier können nur wenige Beispiele vorgetragen werden:

- 1) Vasmer a.a.O. 30 stellt russ. dialektisches *leméxa* "Sandbank"

(Archangelsk) zu *lomīt'* "brechen" unter Hinweis auf den steilen Abbruch der Längsseiten der Sandbank. Doch ist es eine gewöhnliche Erscheinung, dass fließendes Wasser bei weichem Boden leicht eine steile Böschung verursacht. Eher ist der Eindruck der langen flachen Ablagerung für die Benennung massgebend gewesen; das Wort ist daher besser an die Geländebezeichnungen anzuschliessen.

2) Auch russ. *lémex*, *lémeš* "Pflugschar, Pflugeisen" mit seinen zahlreichen slavischen Entsprechungen schliesst Vasmer 29 an *lomīt'* "brechen" an. Es handelt sich um den tiefliegenden und in der Tiefe wirkenden Bestandteil des Pfluges, der zum Aufbrechen der Erde dient. Die Bewertung der beiden Merkmale ("Lage" bzw. "brechen") im technischen Bereich bleibt subjektiv. Dazu kommt, dass das Bulgarische neben der Bezeichnung *leměž* auch ein *lámež* (mit Dehnstufe) besitzt. Diese Dehnstufe liegt auch in russ. *lam* "Bruch, Reisholz" (dialektisch) vor. Das Baltische hilft hier kaum weiter; lit. *lúomas* "Streifen, Bruchstück" lässt sich mit beiden Bedeutungen vereinbaren; lett. *luõms* "die zum Passieren dienende Stelle im Zaune eines Rossgartens" ist auch kaum entscheidend. Schliesslich ist auch das dem russ. *lémex/lémeš* am nächsten stehende lit. *lėmežis*, dial. *lamežis* in seiner Bedeutung nicht gesichert; Vasmer betrachtet sie als gleich der des russischen Wortes, während Senn-Salys s.v. sie als "Holzgestell zur Aufnahme der Pflugschar" angibt.

3) Als vermutlich zu russ. *lomīt'* gehörig betrachtet Vasmer 56 auch albanisch geg. *lēmë*, tosk. *lāmë* "Tenne, Ölmühle". Als Bedeutung gblt Stuart E. Mann 1948: 251 an: "wine-press (obs.); threshing floor, v barn floor; sown field; market place; area, work-yard; sphere (of action), field, domain, scope"; er verweist dazu auf alban. *fushë* [p.119: "plain, open field, meadow"]. Ausserdem bringt er zwei Wendungen: *lāmat e syut* "loose skin of lower eyelid" und *i dale lug'e lāmë* "penniless, >broke< ("abgebrannt"). Als eigenes Lemma führt er noch *lamije* "region" an. Fast immer ist eine räumliche Deutung möglich; "Tenne" und "Arbeitsplatz" vermitteln zu technischen Ausdrücken wie "ölmühle" und "Weinkeller".

4) Unter den Bedeutungen, die Vasmer für russ. *lom* angibt, ist "Windbruch" die einzige, die sich auf einen Naturvorgang bezieht, der allerdings jeweils für eine Landbevölkerung in alter Zeit äusserst

eindrucksvoll ist. Ein Teil des Waldes, den man als unvergänglich betrachtet hatte, war in eine Wüstenei verwandelt; Reisig und abgebrochene Äste bedeckten den Boden, und schwächere Bäume waren umgelegt. Hier war eine Ableitung von der Wurzel **lem-* "sich in (niedriger) Lage befinden" eine naheliegende Bezeichnung. – Erst das Eingreifen des Menschen gab Anlass zu einer reichen Terminologie. Schon für das "Hinausgehen in den **lomo-*" wird man einen Ausdruck geschaffen haben, vermutlich eine Vorstufe von **lomiti*. Das Einsammeln des Reisigs (ukr. *lim*, gen. *lómu*) ergab "Lasten", cf. aksl. *lomiti* *se* "sich abmühen"; russ. *lom* bzw. Ableitungen dazu wie *lomovój* ("zum Brechen dienend; mühselig, schwer; Lastträger") erscheinen häufig in Wendungen mit "Last", z.B. *lóšad' xódit v lomú* "Das Pferd zieht Lasten"; vgl. ferner lett. *limt* "unter schwerer Last zusammensinken". – Bei grösseren Stücken war ein "Zerbrechen" erforderlich, was zu einem Bedeutungswandel von *lomiti* zu "zerbrechen" führte. – Oft war die Benutzung von Hilfsmitteln erforderlich, die nach dem technisch gewordenen Verb benannt wurden (bulg. *lom* "Spitzhacke, Haxe"; mir. *laine*, *láime* "Axt"). – Die Entwicklung vollzog sich wohl zeitlich und örtlich in vielen Einzelakten, worauf die zahlreichen Homonyme deuten; einigen Einfluss wird auch die Benutzung der Terminologie bei Rodungsarbeiten ausgeübt haben. Insgesamt lassen sich wohl in der Entwicklung verschiedene Richtungen erkennen, wenn auch nicht immer unterscheiden; vgl. dazu noch die folgenden Bemerkungen zu deutsch *lahm*.

5) Bei deutsch *lahm*, ahd. *lam*, engl. *lame*, nimmt man gern eine Grundbedeutung "gebrochen" an wegen der bedeutungsverwandten Wörter "Gebrechen" und "gebrechlich"; aber diese Vergleichswörter sind keine unmittelbaren Ableitungen von "brechen", sondern gehören zu dem unpersönlichen Verb "es gebricht (an etwas)" = "es fehlt (etwas)". *Lahm* (ohne Zusatz) wird in früher Zeit nur in Bezug auf Beine und Füße gebraucht, aber auch für Langsamkeit beim Gehen ohne Körperschaden (Trübners Deutsches Wörterbuch, Bd. 4, 1943, p.342 f.). Eine solche langsame Bewegung kann die verschiedensten Gründe haben – vom Gehen unter einer Last (cf. lett. *limt* "unter schwerer Last zusammensinken") bis zum kultischen Schreiten. – Die zugehörige Dehnstufe liegt vor in ahd. *-luomi* "matt, nachgiebig, mild"; dazu gehört mhd. *luomen*, *lüemen* "ermatten". Die jüngere Neubildung

nhd. *lümmeln* "lungern" (to loll about) lässt den Zusammenhang kaum noch erkennen; bei nhd. *Lümmel* "ungezogener Mensch" (seit 16. Jahrh.) ist von der Kraftlosigkeit und Langsamkeit nichts mehr zu spüren. – Die e-Stufe erscheint in gr. hom. $\nu\omega\lambda\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$ (-έως) "unermüdlich" (Persson 1891: 129). – Ohne Bezug auf einen Menschen steht die Wurzel **lem-* in lit. *lamiñti* "ein Pferd zähmen"; es handelt sich darum, das Pferd von seiner Wildheit abzubringen und zu einer langsameren Gangart zu gewöhnen (4). – Einen Beleg aus der Pflanzenwelt liefert das Slavische; das Merkmal "matt/kraftlos" diente zu einer deskriptiven Benennung der Waldrebe (Clematis): serbokroat. *lām*, cf. ukrain. *lomýnis*. Ohne Stütze müsste die Clematis am Boden kriechen; damit ist auch das Merkmal "(niedrige) Lage" gegeben. – Schliesslich sei in diesem Zusammenhang mit aller gebotenen Reserve verwiesen auf kafir. Waigali *leměřā-sto-* (Z), *lāmestok* (W), *lā mu** - (LSI) "small", *lamustah* (L) "slender", das bis jetzt ohne etymologischen Anschluss blieb; vgl. Morgenstierne 1954: 272. Die Merkmale "klein" und "schwach" sind oft assoziativ verbunden.

1.4.1.2. Die verwirrende Mannigfaltigkeit der Bedeutungen der Ableitungen von der Wurzel **lem-* lässt sich bei der Analyse auf eine Reihe von Schwerpunkten der Entwicklung vertellen, die zwar letztlich auf eine Grundbedeutung "Lage" zurückgehen, dieses jedoch infolge einer Merkmalverschiebung nicht immer erkennen lassen. Als Beispiel sei auf das eben besprochene "lahm" verwiesen mit der Merkmalskette: liegen – liegen aus Kraftlosigkeit – kraftlos / matt / müde – langsam – langsam wegen eines Körperschadens – Körperschaden (bzw. die Nebenlinie: ... matt, aber nicht kraftlos – untätig – lungern – "Lümmel"). – Die Entwicklungslinien sind nicht in allen Sprachzweigen des Indogermanischen gleich stark ausgeprägt (oder auch: bewahrt); z.T. liegt das an regionalen Verhältnissen. So ist die Bedeutung "brechen" besonders weitgehend ausgebaut im Bereich des Baltischen und Slavischen, also in Gebieten, wo sich riesige Waldflächen bis in die Gegenwart gehalten haben (westlichster Urwald ist die Bialowiezer Heide im polnisch-weissrussischen Grenzgebiet). Dass diese Entwicklung bis in die Grundsprache zurückreicht, dürfte mir. *laimē* "Axt" (s.o.) bezeugen. Allerdings braucht nicht jede überlieferte Ableitung von **lem-* auch der Lautgestalt nach auf eine grundsprachliche Form zurückzugehen; mit Umgestaltungen und Neubildungen ist zu rechnen, namentlich beim

Ablaut, der offensichtlich nicht an bestimmte Entwicklungslinien gebunden war. Wesentliches Ergebnis bleibt demgegenüber die Feststellung, dass man "brechen" nicht unbedingt als Ausgangspunkt der gesamten Entwicklung ansetzen muss, sondern eine räumliche Auffassung der Grundbedeutung vertreten kann. – Möglicherweise gehört Pokornys 2 *lem-* auch in diesen Bereich, wenn man von einer ursprünglichen Bedeutungssphäre "tiefe Lage, Abgrund" ausgehen darf; doch reicht das Material kaum zu einer aussichtsreichen Diskussion.

1.4.2. Aus der Verwendung der Wurzel **lem-* zur Bezeichnung von Geländeformen in niedriger Lage ergibt sich für diese Wurzel eine Spezialbedeutung (5), die auch bei der Verwendung des tocharischen Verbs *läm-* als Suppletivverb zu *šäm-* 'sitzen' in Erscheinung tritt. Für die Deutung von heth. *lammar* als Bezeichnung für den Stand der Sonne ergeben sich daraus keine Schwierigkeiten, da der niedrige Stand der Sonne am Morgen und am Abend für den Beginn und das Ende allgemeiner Tätigkeit als Zeitpunkt festlag. Eine Übertragung auf 'den richtigen Zeitpunkt' machte kaum Schwierigkeiten.

2. Heth. *lammar* 'Stunde' ist nicht die einzige Ableitung der Wurzel **lem-* im Anatolischen. Im Fernhandel wurde dem Überbringer von Waren ein *lalamiš* mitgegeben, das eine nachträgliche Kontrolle ermöglichte. Für Veränderungen des Warenbestandes mussten gesiegelte Unterlagen beigebracht werden. Sachlich sind die Vorgänge durchaus klar; Meinungsverschiedenheiten bestehen über die Übersetzung des Terminus und besonders über seine Etymologie; cf. R. Werner 1967: 75.

2.1. Das Wort erscheint gelegentlich mit Glossenkeil und gilt als luwisch; wegen seines Ausgangs auf *-miš* hält man es für ein luwisches Partizip. Es kann jedoch auch ein redupliziertes Wurzelnomen wie heth. *memal* und *ḫaḫḫal* vorliegen, das mit dem luwisch beliebten *-i-* erweitert wäre. Als Grundbedeutung ergäbe sich eine Entsprechung zu nhd. "(abgezählter) Bestand" ("inventory").

2.2. In ähnlicher Verwendung findet sich die Wurzel **lem-* auch im Lydischen als *lëms*, das Meriggi (1935: 106, 108) als 'Urkunde' deutet (zustimmend R. Gusmanl 1960: 160: "nicht unwahrscheinlich").

Während mit luwisch *lamiš* Angaben über einen Warenbestand 'niedergelegt' werden, handelt es sich bei lyd. *lěms* um eine 'Niederlegung' von Bestimmungen: Eine solche Verwendung in abstrakter Bedeutung ist auch bei einigen baltischen Verben festzustellen wie lit. *lėmti* 'es fügen, vorausbestimmen', lett. *lemt* 'bestimmen, urteilen' und lit. *lamiñti*, kausativ. *lāmdyti* 'ausbilden, trainieren', sowie auch beim Nomen lit. *lúomas* 'Art, Gattung' (Pokorny 1959: 674). Auch sonst erscheint räumliche Auffassung bei der Schaffung von Rechtssätzen, vgl. gr. *θεμίζω, νομοθέτης* (zu idg. **dhē-*), ne. *law*, ae. *lagu* (zu **leg-*); vgl. auch nhd. die "Gesetzesvorlage" im Parlament.

3. Der Form nach ein luwisches Partizip zu **lem-* ist das Glossenkeilwort *lammamiš* (Laroche 1959: 62), das KUB XII 1 IV 26 als Bezeichnung für einen Gegenstand aus Gold (ohne weitere Angaben) in einer Aufzählung von Kultgeräten belegt ist. Der Etymologie nach könnte man an eine Unterlage für einen andern Gegenstand denken, etwa ein 'Gestell' oder einen 'Sockel' ("setting").

4. Morphologisch (6) wie semantisch unverständlich ist luw. *lam-ma-úr* KBo IV 11, 48 aus einem Ištanuwa-Ritual. Ob es zu der hier behandelten Wortfamilie gehört, muss dahingestellt bleiben.

5. Morphologisch bestehen kaum Bedenken, heth. *lāman* 'Name' als *n*-Stamm zur Wurzel **lem-* aufzufassen. Semantisch ergäbe sich daraus, dass die Namengebung als eine Art Stellenzuweisung innerhalb eines bestimmten Personenkreises ("assignment of status or position") betrachtet wurde, zumindest von den frühen Benutzern dieses Systems. Dieser Gedanke mag Manchen befremden; doch ist ein derartiges Verfahren bei den Römern durch Vornamen wie Quintus und Sextus reichlich bezeugt. – Bis in die neueste Zeit ergibt sich eine solche Zuordnung auch bei dem Patenschaftsverhältnis im christlichen Abendland, das allerdings in der modernen Massengesellschaft kaum noch eine Rolle spielt, abgesehen von etwaigen Geschenken zu besonderen Feiertagen. Früher konnte der junge Namensträger auf den Beistand seines Paten rechnen, wenn

eine Notsituation eintrat. - Schliesslich weist die Völkerkunde genug Beispiele auf für die Verknüpfung der Namengebung mit der Aufnahme in die Gemeinschaft. Für die prähistorische Periode bleibt man allerdings auf Analogieschlüsse angewiesen.

5.1. Weder Luwisch noch Palaisch ist eine Entsprechung oder eine Ableitung zu heth. *lāman* 'Name' bekannt. Als hieroglyphenluwische Ableitung führt Meriggi (1962: 78; 1966: 61) *la-ma-ni-sā-ti* (in alter Umschrift: *la-ma-na-s³-ti*) XI 4 A Satz 5/6 an. Die Bedeutung dieses nur an einer Stelle belegten Wortes ist nicht genau feststellbar. Meriggi 1962 übersetzt: "wird immer wieder (?) nennen"; d.h. etwa "mahnen?", während er 1966 eher an "zählen" zu denken scheint (vgl. Fussnote 1 zu § 112 mit Hinweis auf franz. *numéroter* und *nombre*). Er verweist aber auch auf die Bedenken, die sich aus der Existenz eines eigenen Wortes für 'Name' (s.u. den Exkurs) im Hieroglyphenluwischen ergeben. Man wird guttun, dieses Wort nicht in unmittelbare Beziehung zu *lāman* 'Name' zu setzen, sondern eine der Grundbedeutungen der Wurzel **lem-* näher stehende Übersetzung zu wählen, wie Meriggi es mit seinem Vorschlag 'zählen' versucht.

5.2. H. Kronasser 1966: 59 ff. führt die idg. Entsprechung von lat. *nōmen* als eins der wenigen Wörter an, die eine Vertretung im uralischen Wortschatz besitzen (finn. *nimi*, lapp. *nāmâ*, samojed. *nim*); er verweist dabei auf abweichende Formen im Mordwinischen (*lem*) und Tscheremissischen (*lēm* und *lüm*) (7) sowie auf vereinzelte weitere Fälle, in denen ein *l-* statt eines zu erwartenden *n-* steht. Die "vereinzelte weitere(n) Fälle" wird man den Spezialisten überlassen müssen. Anscheinend besass das Uralische zu der idg. Wurzel **lem-* eine Entsprechung **lam-* (vgl. Collinder 1965: 119); ob einige anklingende Wörter für See - Moor - Pfütze, die Collinder 1955: 30 gesondert anführt, hier anzuschliessen sind, ist noch ungeklärt.

6. Als letzte uns bekannte Bildung mit der Wurzel **lem-* sei das mediale hethitische Verb 'sich vermischen' angeführt, das nur KUB XLI 23 II belegt ist: [18] *mar-nu-ya-an ma-a-an šl-e-eš-šar-ra* [19] *an-ku la-am-ta-ti iš-ta-za-na-aš-mi-iš ka-za-az-mi-iš-ša* [20] *l-iš ki-ša-at* "wie marnuyan und Bier sich völlig vermengt (?) haben (und) ihre Seele und ihr Herz eins geworden ist..." (ähnlich ebd. 22)

(E. Neu 1968: 106). Der Sinn des Satzes und damit der Bedeutungsansatz für das Verb dürfte durch den Nachsatz ausreichend gesichert sein. N. Oettinger 1979: 526 möchte unter Ablehnung früherer etymologischer Vorschläge (IEW 674, Walde-Pokorny II 433 f.) das Wort an die indogermanische Wurzel **nem-* 'zuteilen' anschliessen und den Lautunterschied durch Dissimilation erklären. Wieweit sich der Ansatz einer Injunktivform **nm-énto* [sic! bei Oettinger fehlt das Symbol „unter beiden Nasalen“] rechtfertigen lässt, muss dahingestellt bleiben. Der Bedeutungsansatz "sie teilen sich einander zu (reziprok)" ist kaum weniger abstrakt als der von Oettinger abgelehnte Anschluss an lit. *lėmti* 'es fügen, vorausbestimmen', denn zu diesem Aktiv liesse sich ein Medium mit der Bedeutung 'sich zueinander fügen' konstruieren. Für das nur in abstrakter Verwendung bekannte litauische Verb muss man eine konkrete Ausgangsform ansetzen wie bei nhd. *fügen*: ahd. *fuogen* 'passend gestalten, verbinden'. Ein Anschluss des litauischen Verbs an die Wurzel **lem-* liegt nahe, zumal das Litauische auch sonst Ableitungen von dieser Wurzel zu Lagebezeichnungen verwendet, wie oben gezeigt wurde. Für heth. *lamtati* wäre eine Beschreibung 'sie nahmen zueinander eine Lage ein' eine durchaus anschauliche Wiedergabe. Ob diese Grundbedeutung im vorliegenden Text noch gilt, oder ob eine Spezialbedeutung 'sich vermischen' angenommen werden muss, kann nur weiteres Material entscheiden.

7. An die Verbalform *lamtati* schliesst Oettinger 525 Fn.15 heth. DUG *lammaja-* (n.) an, das er etymologisch als 'Mischgefäss (?)' deutet. Abgesehen von der Unsicherheit in der Bedeutung des Verbs bleibt zu beachten, dass das Anatolische sehr verschiedenartige Ableitungen von idg. **lem-* aufweist. Diese Wurzel vertritt in einem gewissen Umfang idg. **stā-*, das hethitisch kaum bezeugt ist, während es z.B. im Lateinischen sehr zahlreiche Ableitungen geliefert hat. Das Verb *lamtati* ist athematisch, während DUG *lammaja-* wie *lammamāš* eine *a*-Erweiterung aufweist. Vermutlich muss man mit mehreren Verben von der Wurzel **lem-* rechnen.

8. Abschliessend kann man feststellen: 1. der Ansatz einer indogermanischen Wurzel **lem-* als Lagebezeichnung (mit der Variante

'niedrige Lage') hat sich bewährt; 2. diese Wurzel ist im Anatolischen ausreichend bezeugt; 3. die bisher beigebrachten Beispiele für eine Dissimilation *n/l* oder gar einen *n/l*-Wechsel entfallen.

Exkurs 3

Auch die hieroglyphenluwische Bezeichnung für 'Namen', früher als *á-ti-ma-ī* gelesen (Meriggi 1962: 43), jetzt als *atimaⁿza* bzw. *ataman-*, sucht man mit einer indogermanischen Bezeichnung zu identifizieren. So verweist Oettinger 1979: 457 auf heth. *lāman* unter Ansatz eines idg. **h₁néh₃-mⁿ*. Der Vergleich mit heth. *lāman* kann als traditionell gelten (vgl. noch Meriggi 1980: 262 und 270). Die Diskussion über dieses Problem hat bisher nicht zu einem klaren Ergebnis geführt. Einen besonderen Fortschritt bedeutet es, dass Hawkins, Morpurgo-Davies und Neumann 1974: 34 das *-za* des Nom.-Akk. Sg. als Partikel erklärten, so dass der in den übrigen Flexionsformen erscheinende *n*-Stamm auch für den Nom.-Akk. Sg. gilt. – Leider ist auch die Lautung des Wortes ungesichert. Die zweite Silbe wird mit dem Zeichen Laroche (1960) 172 bzw. seltener L. 319 geschrieben, die als *tī* bzw. *tí* umschrieben werden. Der anlautende Konsonant gilt als Dental, der vielleicht eine besondere Aussprache hatte; Oettinger 457 m. Fn. 137 betrachtet ihn als ein durch Dissimilation entstandenes urluwisches *d*. Ob der Vokal als *i* oder *a* anzusetzen sei, ist strittig. Ausführlich behandelten Hawkins und Morpurgo-Davies (1975: 130–2) das Problem ohne Entscheidung. An dem Anlautvokal des Wortes beziehungsweise dem Laryngal *h₁-* nahm niemand Anstoß; erst A. Bammesberger 1984: 141 m. Anm.1 bezweifelt den Ansatz sowohl des anlautenden wie des inlautenden Laryngals; cf. oben Anm. 1.

Wenn auch in den meisten indogermanischen Sprachen für 'Name' eine Entsprechung zu lat. *nōmen* vorliegt, so braucht man sie doch nicht als in allen indogermanischen Sprachen ursprünglich vorhanden zu betrachten, denn es kann sehr wohl sein, dass es in der Frühzeit mehrere Arten von Namen gegeben hat. Dass sich Herrscher bei der Übernahme der Regierung einen neuen Namen zulegten, wie z.B. im Hethiterreich, ist ein Grenzfall. Bei vielen Naturvölkern – als ein solches kann man ja wohl die frühen Indogermanen ansehen – gab es einen Wechsel des Namens, etwa mit

dem Alter, dem Erreichen der Pubertät oder bei wichtigen Ereignissen (Thurnwald 1927: 433). Nicht immer wird es für diese neuen Namen eigene Bezeichnungen gegeben haben; bekannt ist aber das römische Namenssystem mit praenomen, nomen, cognomen und agnomen, wobei nomen auch als allgemeiner Terminus Verwendung fand. – Im alten Ägypten hatte man nur einen Namen, aber die Koseform desselben wurde als 'kleiner' oder 'schöner Name' bezeichnet, der volltönende Name als 'grosser Name' (Roeder 1927: 444). – Die Titulatur der ägyptischen Könige umfasst fünf Namen mit eigenen Bezeichnungen; wurde abgekürzt nur ein Name angeführt, so benutzte man im Alten Reich den ersten, den 'Horus-Namen', in späteren Perioden den vierten, den Vornamen oder *nswt-bjtj*-Namen. Erst die Griechen bevorzugten den fünften Namen, den Geburtsnamen des Pharao (Brunner 1967: 49). – Allerdings können auch andere kulturgeschichtliche Umstände ein Nebeneinander mehrerer Bezeichnungen für den 'Namen' veranlassen. So steht im Türkischen neben der einheimischen Bezeichnung *at* das arabische Lehnwort *isim*. – Im indogermanischen Bereich ist auf das Ostbaltische zu verweisen, wo das anscheinend gemeinindogermanische Wort durch lit. *vaĩdas*, lett. *vārd̃s* verdrängt wurde (Buck 1949: 1263 [Nr. 18.28]). Ausserdem haben wir oben heth. *ĩaman* als eigene Bildung feststellen können, und so wird es erlaubt sein, auch für das hieroglyphenluwische Wort eine neue Etymologie zu suchen.

Eine naheliegende Erklärung bietet die indogermanische Wurzel 2 **ad-* 'festsetzen, ordnen' (Pokorny 1959: 3), die u.a. in umbr. *arsmor* (**admon*) 'Ritus' sowie *armamu* 'ordinamini' und air. *ad* (n.) 'Gesetz', Pl. *ada* 'feierlicher Brauch' vorliegt. Für ein Verbalnomen auf *-*men* ergäbe sich etwa die Bedeutung 'Name als Ergebnis einer feierlichen Handlung'. Ob man sich dieser Grundbedeutung noch bewusst war, ist zweifelhaft. Zwar wird das Wort sehr häufig für Herrschernamen gebraucht; bei der Verwendung für Götternamen (Karatepe Satz 75) müsste man eine Übertragung annehmen, und bei der Benennung der Stadt *Azatiwataya* durch ihren Erbauer (Karatepe Satz 39) müsste man den feierlichen Akt vermuten. Ganz problematisch bleibt aber die Satzfolge Karatepe 59-61 (Nominalsätze) mit [61] *!CAPUT-ti-ja-za= ... á-tf-ma-za*, das man als 'and to him (there is) a manly name' wiedergibt; cf. die ausführlichen Erörterungen von Hawkins und Morpurgo-Davies (JRAS 1975:

125-127). Unklar bleibt (neben syntaktischen Fragen) die Rolle des Mannes mit dem 'männlichen Namen' und damit auch dieser Terminus, zu dem die Verfasser 127 noch auf *tá-ti-ja-za ... á-ti-ma-za* 'väterlicher Name' (Boybeypinari IV 3 B) verweisen. Anscheinend gab es ein kompliziertes Namensystem, bei dem *atiman* als Oberbegriff diente und die Differenzierung durch Adjektiva erfolgte. Wie so oft, müssen wir auch hier auf weiteres Material hoffen.

ANMERKUNGEN

- (1) Die Ansätze für eine Rekonstruktion der indogermanischen Grundform des Wortes für 'Name' gehen weit auseinander. Oettinger 1979 bietet S. 457 **h₂néh₃-m₂*, S. 526 **h₂nóh₃-m₂*, S. 366 **h₂néh₃-men-s* (Gen.); Bammesberger 1984, der sich keineswegs als Gegner der Laryngaltheorie betrachtet, bezweifelt (S. 141 m. Anm.1) den anlautenden wie den inlautenden Laryngal und führt das Wort auf einfaches idg. **nem-* zurück, für das verschiedene Bedeutungen erschliessbar seien. 'Name' sei etwa als 'Zuweisung' aufzufassen. Weder Oettinger noch Bammesberger berücksichtigen dabei die tocharische Weiterentwicklung des Wortes. Inzwischen hat aber van Windekens 1976: 327 f. auf die Annahme eines etwaigen uralischen Einflusses verzichtet. Seine Entscheidung lässt sich archäologisch stützen. H.W. Haussig 1983: 12 f. hat gezeigt, dass es eine von der Donmündung ausgehende Nordroute der Seidenstrasse gab, deren frühe Stufen schon in der Mitte des 2. vorchristlichen Jahrtausends bestanden haben müssen. Es ist eine naheliegende Annahme, dass die Richtung der tocharischen Wanderungen durch Handelsbeziehungen beeinflusst wurde. - Van Windekens setzt im Anschluss an Krause-Thomas 1960: 57 für tochar. A *ñom*, tochar. B *ñem* eine Grundform mit *-ē-* an, die auf ein frühindogermanisches Paradigma **nēm-ŋ/*nomn-* führt, vergleichbar mit dem bisher isoliert stehenden heth. *tekan/takn-* 'Erde'. H. Eichner (1972: 86 Anm.12) bemerkte zu Szemerényis (1964: 244) Ansatz einer Grundform **nōm₂*, sie sei möglich, habe aber eine für das Neutrum ziemlich auffällige Ablautstufe. Die auf Grund des tocharischen Materials angesetzte Grundform

dürfte diesen Anforderungen genügen, bietet allerdings Schwierigkeiten für die laryngalistische Erklärung. Vermutlich führte die Angleichung des Nom.-Akk. an die übrigen Kasus zu einer Störung des Systems (wie auch bei den Entsprechungen zu heth. *tekan*), woraus sich neue Unregelmässigkeiten ergeben könnten.

- (2) Man beachtet vielfach nicht, dass die Wörter ausser ihrer etymologischen Abstammung auch ein 'Eigenleben' haben und daher auch isoliert eine Bedeutung besitzen, die nicht synsemantisch ist, also nicht nur auf dem Satzzusammenhang beruht. Besonders stabil ist der Bedeutungsgehalt eines Wortes, wenn er auf einer Ur-Zuordnung beruht, d.h. wenn sein Bekanntwerden mit Erlebnisgehalten verbunden ist, was besonders in der jugendlichen Periode der Spracherlernung zutrifft. - Den Terminus 'Ur-Zuordnung' schuf E. Morgenroth 1934: 10, ohne ihn ausführlich zu erörtern, da es ihm vor allem um "Die Sprache als Instrument der Logik" ging. Eine Ur-Zuordnung schreibt er nur den Bezeichnungen für Personen und Gegenstände zu. Damit steuert er seinen Hauptgegenstand, die Begriffe an. Eine Ur-Zuordnung lässt sich aber auch bei andern Wortarten beobachten. Z.B. wird das nhd. Adjektiv 'gefährlich' schon in früher Jugend in Situationen erlebt und hat dadurch eine ursprüngliche Bedeutung, während das Abstraktum 'Gefahr' eine Rückbildung darstellt und nur etymologisch verstanden wird, d.h. durch Anschluss an das Adjektiv 'gefährlich', das nun zu einem Sekundär-Etymon geworden ist. Historisch gesehen ist die 'Ur-Zuordnung' ein stärkeres Moment als der etymologische Anschluss; 'gefährlich' und 'Gefahr' lassen den etymologischen Ursprung 'fahren' nicht mehr bewusst werden. - Zum Verständnis von Etymologie und Wortgeschichte vgl. noch J. Untermann 1975: 93-116.

Die Wortbedeutung hat keine scharfe Grenze; die Unschärfe ist ein unverzichtbares Grundprinzip natürlicher Sprache; nur sie ermöglicht eine unbegrenzte Konversation auf jedem gewünschten Gebiete. Unschärfe der Wortbedeutung zeigt sich vielfach im Satzzusammenhang, wobei sich dann die sogenannte synsemantische Bedeutung ergibt. Dabei handelt es sich jedoch vielfach nur um eine Variante der eigentlichen Bedeutung. Unter besonderen Umständen kann es allerdings zu einer Verfestigung

des Gebrauches kommen, die entweder zu einer Sonderbedeutung führt (wenn der etymologische Zusammenhang bewusst bleibt) oder zu einem Bedeutungswandel.

- (3) Zu den termini 'deskriptiv' und 'etikettierend' (providing with a label) vgl. H. Seiler 1975: 2-57. Sie sind rein zeichentheoretisch aufzufassen, während Morgenroths 'Ur-Zuordnung' (Opposition: 'Kennzeichnung') sich auf den Erwerb der jeweiligen Bedeutung durch den Sprecher-Nachwuchs bezieht. Auch manche deskriptive Bezeichnungen für Gegenstände der näheren Umgebung werden vielfach durch Ur-Zuordnung erlernt und erst später etymologisch verstanden, etwa *Hantuch* für *Hand-tuch* (towel).
- (4) Denkbar wäre auch ein Anschluss an Geländebezeichnungen, wenn man aus dem spärlichen Material eine indogermanische Benennung für "Pferdekoppel" erschliessen dürfte. Lamberz 1954: 103 verzeichnet zu alban. *lâmë* die Wendungen *hjedhe lamet* 'aus der Hürde entlassen; vom Weideplatz' und *neper lama* 'auf dem Anger, auf der Weide (der jungen Pferde) vor dem Hause'; damit zu vergleichen ist lett. *luõms* 'die zum Passieren dienende Stelle im Zaune eines Rossgartens' [cf. 1.4.1.(2)].
- (5) Als Bedeutungskorrelat zu **lem-* 'sich in niedriger Lage befinden' sei hier idg. **lobh-* 'in höherer Lage befindlich' angeführt, das in gr. *lóphos* 'Nacken, Helmbusch, Hügel', russ. *lob*, *lba* 'Stirn', dial. 'Landzunge, steiles Ufer (Pr.)', tochar. A *lap* 'Schädel, Koppf' vorliegt (Vasmer 1955: 50); dazu das Glossekenkelwort *lapana-* 'Sommerweide, Alm' mit mehreren Ableitungen. Vgl. ferner Idg. **legb-*, das nach Pokorny 1959: 653 ursprünglich nur punktuell aoristisch war ('(sich) legen'), später aber durativ 'liegen' bedeutet; auf eine noch ältere Bedeutung führt das Hethitische: *lag-* (trans.) 'etwas neigen, beugen; (Zähne) schief schlagen'; (Medium:) 'sich neigen; wanken', vgl. B. Čop 1979: 22. Die drei Wurzeln sind anscheinend mit verschiedenen Wurzeldeterminativen gebildet und entsprechen nicht der Formel CVC der gängigen Wurzeltheorie. – Eine indogermanische Wurzel **la-* 'liegen' hatte schon Prellwitz 1895: 167 ff. angesetzt, was wenig Beifall fand.
- (6) Man könnte die Endung *-ur* mit dem *-_Aur* hethitischer Verbalsubstantiva gleichsetzen unter Annahme eines analogen Ablautes, doch ist die *r/n*-Heteroklisie luwisch nicht bezeugt. Allerdings könnte man die Bewahrung des *-r* auf frühzeitige

Grammatikalisierung der Form zurückführen, die eine Isolierung bewirkte. Doch das sind zuviel Voraussetzungen.

- (7) Das Tscheremissische (heute Marijisch genannt) und das Mordwinische bilden als Wolgafinnisch eine eigene Gruppe des Uralischen; dieser Umstand könnte für die Beurteilung des Problems wichtig werden.

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FIGUR 1.

WURZELN FÜR LAGEBEZEICHNUNGEN DER STRUKTUR *le-* + *-X-*

/lem- "sich in niedriger Lage befinden"

/lehb-* "sich in höherer Lage befinden" (/obh-* "in höherer Lage
befindlich")

/legh- "neigen (trans.), beugen, sich neigen" > "(sich) legen" >
"liegen"

FIGUR II.

WURZEL : √¹ *lem-* (**lām-*; **lēm-* / *lom-* / *lem-*)
 BEDEUTUNG : *(niedrige)Lage
 BEDEUTUNGSVARIANTEN :

"HÄUSLICHER BEREICH"

toch. A *lame* 'Stelle,
 Platz'
 toch. AB *lām-* 'sitzen'
 alb. *lāmë* 'Tenne, Arbeits-
 platz, Erdboden'
 alb. *lāmnues* 'thresher'
 kafir. Pras. **-lerno* 'to
 winnow'
 alb. *lāmë* 'wine-press'

"WEITERE UMGEBUNG"

heth. *lammar* 'Stunde'
 (= 'Stand der Sonne')
 h.-luw. *la-mi-ni-a* 'zum
 Zeitpunkt'
 heth. Gl. *lalamiš* 'Be-
 stand'
 heth. l. *lamammiš* 'Stän-
 der' ('setting')
 lat. *lamina* 'Platte, Brett'
 etc.

<----- "GELÄNDEFORM"

"TROCKEN"

alb. *lāmë* 'sown
 field'
 alb. *lamije* 'region'

"ÜBERTRAGENE BEDEUTUNG"

lit. *lėmti* 'es fügen, vorausbestimmen'
 lett. *lēmt* 'bestimmen, urteilen'
 lit. *lamihti* 'ausbilden, trainieren'
 lit. *lāmdyti* (Kausativ) 'ausbilden, trainieren'
 lit. *lúomas* 'Art, Gattung'
 lyd. *lěms* 'Urkunde' (= 'Niederlegung von
 Bestimmungen')
 heth. *lāman* 'Name' (= 'Zuweisung der Stellung,
 des Standes, der Lage')
 h.-luw. *la-ma-ni-sā-ti* 'zählen'
 heth. *lamtati* 'sich zu einander fügen, zu ein-
 ander eine Lage einnehmen, sich mischen'
 heth. DUG *lamnaja-* 'Mischgefäß (?)'

"GERÄTE"

ae. *gelōma* 'Gerät,
 Werkzeug'
 bulg. *lom* 'Spitz-
 hacke, Haue'
 mir. *laime*, *lāime*
 'Axt'
 r. dial. *lemegá*
 'Leiterwagen'
 r. *lémex*, *lemeš*
 'Pflugschar'
 lit. *lemežis*
 'Pflugschar'

"WINDBRUCH (WALD)"

- r. *lóm* 'Windbruch'
 r. dlal. *lam* 'Bruch,
 Reisig'

*"ARBEITEN"

- r. *lomīt* 'brechen'
 lit. *līm̃ti* 'zerbrechen'
 lit. *lām̃dyti* 'frangere ita, ut
 partes non separantur' (Senn-
 Salys: 'zerknittern')

"FEUCHT/TEICH/SEE"

- r. *lóm* 'Bruch'
 r. *leméxa* 'Sandbank'
 alb. *llomishtë* 'mudbank'
 r. *lomy* (pl.) 'über-
 schwemmte Wiese'
 lat. *lāma* 'See, Morast,
 Sumpf'
 lett. *lāma* 'Pfütze,
 Grube'
 toch. A *lyām* 'See'
 kelt.-lat. *Lemanus*
 (Name eines Sees)

"ERMÜDEN"

- r. *lom* 'Last'
 mhd. *lam* 'lahm'
 ahd. *-luomi* 'matt'
 lett. *līm̃t* 'unter schwerer
 Last zusammenbrechen'
 gr. *νωλεμές* 'unablässig'

sekundär :

- serbokr. *lōm* 'Waldrebe'
 (Clematis)
 kafir. Waig. *lāmu** - 'klein'

BCILL 42 : LINGUISTIC HAPPENING, 283-303

INDO-EUROPEAN CONSONANTS IN ANATOLIAN

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Despite some innovations, Anatolian (Hittite-Luwian) languages are, in many respects, the most archaic languages in the Indo-European linguistic family. These languages have preserved some of IE laryngeals, and it is not excluded, that the system of stops in these languages (as well as in Armenian, Germanic and "Pelasgian") is, in principle, more archaic than in other IE languages. On the other hand, Anatolian languages have simplified the original vowel system of IE (*a, *e, *o, *i, *u) since both IE *a and *o merged in *a in Anatolian.

In traditional reconstruction, the P(oto-)IE system of stops had the shape $T - D - Dh$ (voiceless - voiced - voiced aspirated stops) but such system fails to appear in the languages of the world. There are several alternatives, but only two of them seem plausible: either $T - Th - D - Dh$ (as in Indo-Iranian) or $Th - T - D$ (as in Armenian). The supporters of the new glottalic theory propose $T[h] - T' - D[h]$ but there are, at least, two major obstacles to this system: 1) The borrowings (to and from PIE) show that T' of the donor languages was rendered in PIE not by " T' " but by " $D[h]$ " or, more seldom, by " $T[h]$ "; D was rendered by " $D[h]$ "; on the other hand, PIE " T' " was rendered as D when borrowed into other languages, and not by T' (1). 2) The Nostratic theory which has proved to be quite plausible shows that Nostr. $T' - T - D$ were preserved in Afro-Asiatic (including Semitic) and Kartvelian but turned into " $T[h] - T' - D[h]$ ", accordingly, in PIE: this would rather presuppose a system $Th - T - D$, exactly as in East Nostratic (2), or $\underline{T} - T - D$, but not $T[h] - T' - D[h]$.

F. Kortlandt, one of the glottalicists, writes 1985: 184: "Jens Rasmussen has proposed to derive traditional *t*, *d*, *dh* from earlier *T*, *t*, *d*... The same reconstruction is implied in Illič-Svityč's Nostratic dictionary (1971: 147). It is based on the false assumption that glottalic or emphatic stops are stronger than others". It is simply amazing how modern theoreticians manage to discard a *limine* Illič-Svityč's brilliant study not even trying to understand on what principles I.-S. has built it. The most superficial leafing through I.-S.'s book would immediately reveal these principles: I.-S. has discovered sound correspondences between IE, Kartv., Afro-As. and other languages not on the basis of some a priori rule (possible but not obligatory) but on the basis of concrete linguistic data. His correspondences are highly accurate, both phonetically and semantically: there is no doubt that both Kartv. and Afro-As. glottal stops correspond to IE voiceless (and not voiced) stops, hence, for example, sets like these ones: IE **kleu-* 'hear': Kartv. **q'ur-* 'ear, hear': Afro-As. **k'(w)l* 'hear': Alt. **k^hul-* 'ear', Ural. *kūle-* 'hear'; IE **ker-* (in compounds) 'hoarfrost, snow-crust, ice': Afro-As. **k'r-* 'hoarfrost, ice, cold': Alt. **k^hir(a)* 'hoarfrost, first snow': Ural. **kirV* 'snow-crust', etc. etc. Nostr. reconstruction of the initial consonant is ***q'* in the first example (archaic **q'* preserved by Kartvellan) and ***q'/**k'* in the second one (the lack of a Kartvelian cognate does not allow a more precise reconstruction). Accordingly, IE voiced stops (in traditional transcription) correspond to Kartv. and Afro-As. voiceless ones (< Nostr. ***T*-type); IE voiced aspirated stops correspond to Kartv. and Afro-As. voiced ones (< Nostr. ***D*). We have, in symbolic representation:

	Nostr.	IE	Kartv.	Afro-As.	Altaic (anlaut)
1.	<i>**T'</i>	> <i>*T</i>	<i>*T'</i>	<i>*T'</i>	<i>*T^h-</i>
2.	<i>**T</i>	> <i>*D</i>	<i>*T</i>	<i>*T</i>	<i>*T-</i>
3.	<i>**D</i>	> <i>*Dh</i>	<i>*D</i>	<i>*D</i>	<i>*D-</i>

It is quite reasonable, therefore, to assume Rasmussen's idea about IE triad: 1) strong stops for IE **T*; 2) lenes for **D*; 3) voiced for **Dh*: cf. the situation in Altaic where aspirated stops replaced Nostr. glottalized ones, but **T-* and **D-* remained intact. As it is well known, *glottalized stops do not lose glottalization overnight*; Semitic glottalized stops show a slow weakening in some languages - from

strong glottalization to half-glottalization (with the glottis only slightly opened) to loss of it. We might deal with half-glottalization, or with its transformation into some marked feature (fortis; length; aspiration or the like) in the case of IE voiceless stops. Neither IE **p* **t* **k* nor IE **b* **d* **g* (in trad. transcr.) were glottalized: Semitic glottalized stops were never rendered by IE voiced stops in borrowings – the “glottalized” ones in the glottalic theory. This indicates that the voiced aspirated stops were, in fact, plain voiced ones: cf. also regular rendering of Sem. voiced stops by IE voiced aspirated stops, and not by voiced ones (see Illič-Svityč 1964, *passim*). This indicates that IE “voiced stops” (in traditional interpretation) were, actually, voiceless: they were “on the way” to becoming voiced stops since sometimes Sem. voiced stops and voiceless fricatives were rendered by them in borrowings. So they were apparently lax consonants. Regular voiced stops (may be on the way to becoming breathy voiced) were traditional **bh* **dh* **gh* :

Nostr. ***T'* > IE **T* (tense) [traditionally **T*]
 ***T* > IE **T* (lax) [traditionally **D*]
 ***D* > IE **D* (→ [*ḏ*]?) [traditionally **Dh*]

The system reflects dynamism of phonetic evolution: there was a tendency of weakening in all points: **T* to **T*; **T* to **D*; **D* to **ḏ* (breathy voice ?) and further to fricatives. But only in Indo-Iranian, where **Th* appeared as a new phoneme, has the triad **T* **D* **ḏ*, indeed, materialized: It was not so in other languages: they have avoided the “undesirable” **T* **D* **ḏ* (or **T* **D* **Dh*, for that matter). The triad was reinforced in Armenian, Germanic and Anatolian; in Greek and Italic the underlying **T* and **T* have weakened into **T* **D*, hence the emphasis on the breathy pronunciation of **ḏ*: its transformation into *Th* avoided the emergence of **Dh* alongside with **T* **D* (two voiced consonants are acceptable in the system T-D₁-D₂ only if one of them is an implosive). In Slavic and Baltic where a system **T* **D* **ḏ* was close to realization, both voiced stops merged (not before **D* has lengthened preceding vowels).

This might be a rough approximation, but it seems to be much closer to the facts than the “glottalic” theory.

1. IE STOPS IN ANATOLIAN LANGUAGES

As it was stated a few years ago (Oettinger 1979: 551-556), the PIE voiceless stops appear almost always as voiceless in the anlaut of Hittite words, when judging on the basis of Hittite texts. As for the PIE series *D* and *Dh* (in traditional terms), they appear in Hittite anlaut mostly as *D-*, but rather frequently also as *T-*. It is known that, intervocallically, PIE *T*-consonants regularly appear in Hittite words as *-TT-* (more seldom *-DD-*), whereas PIE *D-* and *Dh*-consonants appear usually as *-D-* or *-T-*. All this might indicate that the Proto-Anatolian (and PIE?) system of stops contained the opposition Fortes (first series of stops: *T*): Lenes (second and third series of stops, with some additional opposition between them). In all known cognates from Late Anatolian (alphabetically written) languages, the PIE voiceless dental stops (i.e., **t*) are represented by *t*, *-t-*. In Carian, the corresponding letter is Theta (not Tau) which indicates the pronunciation [tʰ] (not [t]); note that both PIE **k* and **X* (stable laryngeal; see below) are rendered in Carian texts by Khi which presupposes the processes (a) **k* > **kh* > [x] and (b) merger of the reflexes of PIE **k* and **X* (note also, that PIE **X* was rendered by *x* in Lycian and Milyan whereas **k* stayed as *k*). PIE **p*, **b*, **bh* merged into *p* (in initial position) in Lycian/Milyan (3), in Carian, **p* was preserved only in some old inscriptions; in Lydian, **p* became *f* before Anat. **a*; **p* > *b* before **ē* can be identified in Lyd. *bira-* 'house'. In Lycian/Milyan, PIE **-p-* (Hitt. *-pp-*) usually stayed as *-p-*. As for the gutturals, **k*, **g*, **gh* merged into *k* in Lydian (where the labiovelars merged into *q* [kʷ] before non-labial vowels (as in Carian). Initial **k*, **g*, **gh* became *k-* in Lyc./Mil. PIE **k* stayed as *k* in Lyc./Mil. inlaut whereas **g* became [ɣ] (*luga-* 'destroy'). PIE **gh* disappeared in Luw., Lyc., Mil. and some other languages (4).

Intervocallically, PIE *T*-consonants were opposed to PIE *D-* and *Dh*-consonants in several Anat. languages:

<i>*-t-</i>	>	Hitt. <i>-tt-</i>	Lyd. <i>-t-</i>	Mil. and Lyc. <i>-t-</i>
<i>*-d-</i>	>	<i>-t/d-</i>	<i>-d-</i>	<i>-d-</i>
<i>*-dh-</i>	>	<i>-t/d-</i>	<i>-[θ]-</i>	<i>-d-</i>
<i>*-p-</i>	>	<i>-pp-</i>	<i>-f-</i>	<i>-p-</i>
<i>*-b-</i> , <i>*-bh-</i>	>	<i>-p-</i>	<i>-f-</i>	<i>-b-</i>
<i>*-k-</i>	>	<i>-kk-</i>	<i>-k-</i>	<i>-k-</i>
<i>*-g-</i>	>	<i>-k/g-</i>	<i>-k-</i>	<i>-g-</i>

We notice here one case (Lyd. *-d-* versus *-[θ]-*, letter <c>) where Lydian distinguishes between PIE **d* (*D-series*) and **dh* (*Dh-series*). An example is Lyd. *v/c-* 'build': Lyc. *wed-* (in *wed-ri* 'town'): Hitt. *wete-* < PIE **wedh-*. As for **d*, cf. probably Lyd. *sadmē-* ('σῆμα') < PIE **sed-* 'sit' (Gusmani 1982: 87).

It is important to underline that the distribution Lyd. <c> < PIE **dh* versus Lyd. *d* < PIE **d* is valid for the anlaut as well, cf. Lyd. *ca/e-*, *cuve-* 'build, dedicate': Mil. and Lyc. *ta/e-*, *tuwe-*: Hitt. *tāi-/te-/tiya-* and Luw. *tuwa-* < PIE **dheH-* 'put' (5); Lyd. *da-*: Lyc. *dde-* < PIE **do* 'to', etc. In Lycian and Milyan, we find, in the anlaut, *t* < **dh*, versus *dd* (Lyc.), *d* (Mil.) (6) < **d*; in Hittite, old texts show *tāi* for **dheH-* but *dāi* for **doH-* (Hitt. 'take': PIE 'give'; the latter maybe also in Lyd., Car. and Mil. *da-*). Other roots confirm, in part, this distribution, cf. Lyc. *ti-dei-mi* 'son' (< **dhi-dhei-*); Mil. *te-tbe-* 'to damage': Hitt. *tepawēḫ-* 'humiliate' < PIE **dhebh-*, **dhebh-eu-* 'to damage, cheat' (cf. Lyc. verbal noun *tabāna*, etc.); Mil. *dezi* 'mighty' (or the like): Luw. *tašši-*, Hitt. *daššu-* 'strong', *daššiyatar* 'strength' < PIE **dens-* 'tight' (used as second component in Lyc. compounds: *pzzi-dezes*, *hāna-daza*), etc. In Hittite, older texts contain *t-* for **dh* more regularly than later ones; cf., besides *tāi* '(he) puts', *tuwarne-* 'break' (< PIE **dhwerH-*), *tēgan/takn-* (locative *tagān*) 'earth' (< PIE **dheḡh-om*); *tūriya-* 'to harness' (< PIE **dhurH-je-*).

If all this reflects a phonetic system, it might be summarized in the following way: initial position: PIE **t*, **d*, **dh*:

<i>*t</i> > Old Ht. <i>t</i> :	Lyd. <i>t</i> :	Lyc./Mil. <i>t</i> :
<i>*d</i> > <i>d</i> (mostly), <i>t</i> :	<i>d</i> :	Lyc. <i>dd</i> , Mil. <i>d</i> :
<i>*dh</i> > <i>t</i> (mostly), <i>d</i> :	[θ]:	Lyc./Mil. <i>t</i> .

We see that Anat. fortis ([*t*] or [*th*]) are reflected as *t*; Anat. lenes of the second series are reflected mostly as *d*; this might indicate that the second series was close to [*d*] phonetically: cf. *T*-consonants in some English dialects, etc. Anat. lenes of the third series were reflected either as *t* (though Hitt. texts had *d* as well), and, in Lydian, as [θ] – a voiceless fricative. This might indicate that

the correspondent proto-phoneme was a breathy consonant, of the type "weak [th]" - this weakness was expressed both in the rendering by *d* in many Hittite roots, as well as in the spirantization of this phoneme in Lydian. Cf. also the weakness of PIE **ǵh* (a third-series consonant) in South Anat. languages where it has disappeared, presumably, after becoming a fricative.

As for the PIE, we would rather prefer a system *T-T-D* (7) (than *T-D-Dh*), as the underlying system: the first-series stops were, probably, fortis in PIE which would account for the crass contrast between this series and both other series (first series - always voiceless; double writing of consonants in cuneiform texts: *-TT-* < **T'* or **Th* in different languages). The second-series consonants, as we can see in the Hittite data, were scarcely voiced consonants; additional data show that they could appear as voiceless in Lydian and Lycian as well, cf. PIE **de/om-* 'build' > Lyd. *tam-* id., Lyc. *tamad-* 'monument' (or the like): stress on short **a*? Cf. also voiceless [θ] < **d*: Lyd. *civ-* 'god', Mil. *ziw-*; Lyd. *cfiš* '2nd' (?), cf. Mil. *tbi-*. The third-series stops were probably close to breathy-voiced *ḏ*, with the not strongly pronounced feature of voice but with considerable amount of air; as stops they were weak. Such an interpretation would explain the evolution of PIE *T - T - ḏ* (= "*Dh*") not only in Anatolian but also in other IE daughter-languages.

We ignore, for the time being, the IE accent. As it was recently shown by H. Eichner (8), both underlying accent and vowel length are responsible, in several cases at least, for the rendering of PIE second-series consonants (trad. *D*) as *T* (near stress) in Hittite, and for rendering of the third-series consonants as *D* (near unstressed vowels). The lenition was, most certainly, working in the verbal forms: cf. Lyc. *-ti-* *-di*, Lyd. and Car. *-t-* *-d* (endings of the third person singular present, *mi*-conj.; unlenited versus lenited) (9). But many forms cannot be explained in this way; for instance, Hitt. *aku-* 'rock' and *ḥakkuna-* 'a vessel' are not cognates at all and have nothing to do with the above opposition.

Further research must concentrate on details. If we, indeed, assume an evolution of Anat. **tāi-/te-/tiya-/tuwa-* 'put' into Hitt. *tāi-/dāi-, te-/tiya-* > *dāi-, te-/tiya-*, we could suggest development

t- > *d-* before a long unstressed vowel. Lyd. *datro-*, if, indeed, 'daughter' (Mil. **tbatra*, Lyc. *kbatra* [kwatra], Luw. *duṭtriya-tti-*, Hier. Luw. *tuwatri-* < PIE **dhughatēr*) might indicate [dā]. Another parallel might be Lyc. *dda-* 'second' (as in *dda-qasa* *'second sibling'; see below), as in Hitt. *dā-n* (and *tā-n*) versus Lyc. *tu-* 'two', Mil. *tbi*, Lyc. *kbi* 'second', to Hitt. *duwi-* < **dw-l-* < **dwei-*; cf. Lyd. *blra-* 'house' < **pēr-* as opposed to *fa-* < **po-*, presumably with a short vowel, hence *f* (< **ph*). Long *V* after Lyd. *b* also in *buk* 'or' and *bi-* 'give' (IE **bheH-* < Nostr. ***biH-*).

II. IE *s IN ANATOLIAN

PIE *s is represented in Anatolian in two variants, as are most other consonants: fortis versus lenis, Hitt. -ss-: *s*, accordingly, in Lyc./Mil. *z* versus *h* (Lyc.), *s* (Mil.), e.g.:

Hitt. *peššiya-* 'throw': Lyc. and Mil. *pzzi-* (cf. a lenited form in Mil. *pssa-ti* < **pasa-*): Lyc. *pzzi-deze-s* (see next; -s < **-ns*);

Hitt. *dašši-* 'strong', Luw. *tašši-*; Mil. *dezi*; Lyc. (*hāna-*)*daza*, -*dezes*, Car. -*dazes*;

Hitt. *keššar* 'hand': Luw. *iššar/-*; Lyc. *izre-*;

[Lenited forms:] Mil. *masāna*; Lyc. *mahana* 'god' (Car. *mes-*); Mil. -*asi*; Lyc. -*ahi* (possess. suff.; Luw. with *šš*); Mil. *sbirte*; Lyc. *hberu-se* (Lyd. *šfarva-*, cf. German *schwören*, Engl. *swear*; note Mil., Lyc. *b* < **w* after a cons.; devoicing in Lyd. after [s]).

There is a specific treatment of PIE *s in Lyc. in connection with a neighboring **n*: here, Lyc. has *s* (Mil. *z*): -Vs: -Vz in nominal endings; *trqqas*: *trqqiz* 'Tarhunt' (note Lyc. *a* < **en*); *qas-* (and *qā-*, *qa-nuwe-*) 'punish', Hitt. *ḫanna-* < **Xen-*; *dda-qasa* '2nd sibling', to Hitt. *ḫassa-* 'sibling' < **Xens-*, Mil. *gezḫmi*, *qzze*, *epe-qzzi* < **epe-qezi* < **appa-ḫassi*, lit. 'after-born', 'Nach-komme'. The root **ḫassa-* is lenited in Lyc. *xahba*, Hitt. *ḫās-*.

It is possible that Hitt. *z-* in *zena-* 'autumn' (< PIE **seno-* 'year') and other words contain [z] assimilated after *N*, cf. Oettinger 1979: 152, fn 40); In Milyan, we find *zr-* < **s(a)r-*, as in *zrqql-* versus Hitt. *šarḫiya-* 'attack'. Hitt. *s-* can correspond to Mil. *z-*, Lyd. *s-* (zeta): *sarpa-* 'sickle, scythe' (PIE **serp-*): Mil. *zrbbla*

'incision': Lyd. *ēn-sarb-* 'engrave' (cf. *sad-mē-* < **sed-men-*).

In Carian, PIE **s* is rendered by *s*; fortis *z* (to Hitt. *-šš-*) seems to be present as well: *-kzo* [xzo] < **-hassa-* (Thebes *-gsū*, as also in *gsand-uber*: *Ksand-uber-is* < **hassanta-uppara-*); *-dze-*: Mil. *dezi*, Lyc. *-dezes*. In Lyd., *ś* indicates [s] < **s*; Lyd. *s* can indicate [ś]. In Car., there is no *z* in Thebes.

III. IE SONORANTS IN ANATOLIAN

Any type of consonants could be doubled in Hittite: *-t-* and *-tt-*, *-n-* and *-nn-* etc. were opposed as different phonemes since they could distinguish "minimal pairs". The origin of this doubling was different: doubled stops could represent PIE stops of the first series: clusters of the type *C + H* (as in *mekki* < PIE **meg-H-*); non-lenited stops. Double sonorants could represent clusters of the type *R + H*; clusters of the type *R + *j*; fortis ("non-lenited" sonorants). In late Anatolian languages, the reflexes of the above phonemes (*-RR-* in Hittite) were different. In Lydian and Carian, there were two *n*-type sonorants (Lyd. *n*, *v*; Car. *n*, *ñ*) and two *l*-type sonorants (*l*, *λ*); *n* and *l* represented Anat. **n* and **l* (with a few exceptions); *v/ñ* and *λ* represented Anat. **nn* (< **n_l*) and **ll* (< **l_l*), for example:

Lyd. *aλa-* 'other' < **alla-* < PIE **aljo-*

Car. *-λ* (possessive marker) < **lli* < **(a)l-jo-*

Car. *ēñ* 'this': Hitt. *anni-* < **an-jo-*, id.

Lyd. *(kat-)av-* 'bulld in' or the like: Hitt. *anniya-* 'make', etc. But cf. also *ani-*, with a regular *n*. One can assume that in many cases there was a "simplification" **nn* > *n*, cf., e.g., Lyd. *ēna-* 'mother': Hitt. *anna-*; Lyc. *ēni-* id.: Luw. *anni-* (note also typical Lyd.-Hitt. and Lyc.-Luw. isoglosses). Cf. also weakening (**ll* > *l*) in the frequently used Lyd. possessive suff. *-li-* (versus Car. *-λ*; see above). On the other hand, the variant *-v* of the Lyd. accusative ending *-n* shows a "reinforcement" (both variants are derived from **-Vn*). A "strong" *-v* also serves to represent the ending **-ŋ* (1st sg. past, Hitt. *-un*). - In Lyc./Mil., *ññ*, *ñm* before a vowel usually indicate *ñ*, *ñ* after a reduced vowel in sequences of the type *C^əC/C^əC* (**C^əVC-*), parallel to *ss*, *θθ*, *tt*, *dd*, *pp*, *bb*, *xx*, *qq*, etc., after *C* (*C^əC-/C^əC* < **C^əVC-*).

IV. IE LARYNGEALS IN ANATOLIAN

Anatolian data show, without doubt, that there were, at least, two laryngeals (or groups of laryngeals) in PIE:

1) an unstable laryngeal, **H*, which has disappeared in Anat. but left traces when it appeared in PIE after vowels and sonorants: they became long (**VH* > [V̄]; **RH* > [R̄]);

2) a stable laryngeal, **X*, which usually stayed in Hittite (and, in most cases, in Luw., Hier. Luw. and Pal.) as *ḫ*, i.e. [x]; in Lyc./Mil. it became *x*, *q*, *g* [ɣ]; in Car., it became *k* [x], *g* [ɣ]; in Lyd. it disappeared.

On Nostratic level (see Kaiser and Sherovoshkin 1985), there were, at least, three "laryngeals" (actually, two pharyngeals and one glottal stop **ʔ*) which became PIE **H* and later disappeared in Anatolian: there were two post-velar stops (**q*, **g*) and at least two "laryngeals" (actually, post-velar fricatives **χ* and **ɣ*; perhaps also a laryngeal **h*) which became PIE **X* > Anat. **ḫ*, i.e. *ḫ*, *ḫḫ* in Hittite, etc. I would like to strongly emphasize the fact that the PIE **H* and **X* were phonetically/phonologically different, therefore there were almost no examples where we could suppose an interchange **H*: **X*, which would yield Ø: *ḫ* in Hittite or Luwian. So, "pairs" as Hitt. *aku-/ḫakkuna-* or *aku-/ḫekur* are no pairs at all (see above). The material speaks in such cases for itself: words which, by wishful thinking, are paired, have nothing in common: they are different both phonetically and semantically. It is not excluded that PIE **H* represented a group of unstable "laryngeals" (fricative versus glottal stop, or, for that matter, voiceless fricative versus voiced one, as [ḫ]: [ḥ], or the like), and that PIE **X* also represented a group of "laryngeals" (maybe [x], preserved in Anat. and Armenian: [ɣ], preserved in Anat. but not in Armenian; see Kaiser and Shevoroshkin, op. cit.).

The distribution Hitt. *-ḫ-*: *-ḫḫ-* could, at least, in certain cases, reflect the above mentioned opposition between lenited and unlenited reflexes of **X*.

As for the distribution between Lyc./Mil. *x* and "q", the more

archaic Milyan shows that "q" appears after an (underlying) front vowel whereas x appears after a and u; note vowel harmony:

(-)qzzi/e 'sibling' < *qez-, as shown by qezñmi < *qez[ẽ]mi < *ḥašša-mmi- (to Hitt. ḥassa- 'sibling', Lyd. eša, where e- shows that [e] was present in the late South-Anat. languages early enough; the same root has x before *a: xzzāt- < *xazānt- < *ḥassant-, cf. Hitt. ḥaššant- 'son':

qñtbe < *qēṭbe, according to vowel harmony (see also next example), versus more regular xñtaba < *ḥanta-pa- 'leadership':

qētri- in Lyc. qētri-here, from the root *ḥanta- 'front' (as above):

qñtili < *qē/i(ñ)tili: Luw. ḥanti-li (adverb);

qetbe-leimi versus xttba- < *xatba- 'flight' (see next item): note the vowel harmony e-e(-e-i): a-a: cf. next example (a cognate):

qtti-de 'cut' or the like < *qeti- or *qiti-, root *ḥattāi- 'cut, hit' (cf. Hitt. ḥatta-, ḥazziya- < *ḥatt-ja- 'hit'); cf. *a-a in xttā- < *xata-;

qre-tu < *qere-, cf. the same root in xra-di < *xara- < *ḥar(ra)-;

qelenē-ti note vowel harmony), qī-qle-ni-re-di (< *qe-le-) versus xla- < *xala-;

qidri-di 'orders' (cf. Hitt. hatrāi- 'write, tell, order');

qlju (acc. sg.), qla: Luw. ḥila- 'yard', despite the -a in qla, the underlying *i is shown by cuneiform cognates;

qrbli (< *qerbeli, or the like, as shown by -i): Ht. ḥarpali-. The vowel harmony *a-a-a-a assures the initial x- in xrbblat-a;

zrqql- < *zerql-, to Hitt. šarḥiya- 'attack' (see above, to PIE *s).

Words such as qñnātba 'twelve', qñmqi etc. seem to contain underlying *e after q- as well (cf. qñti-li/qēṭ-ri < qēṭ- < *ḥant-); ã in qñnātba (Lyc. qñnākba) is a secondary assimilation after -a; where we find x- before ñ/ñ, we can reconstruct a (*a - a), not e (*e - e): Lyc. and Mil. xñna- 'grandmother': Hitt. ḥanna- id. (sequence a-a): Lyc. xñtawata, ?Mil. xñtawaza to Luw. ḥantawata-; Mil. xñtaba etc.

We have seen above that Lyc. shows a specific development a < *en (trqqas: Mil. trqqiz < *terqēnt- < *Tarḥunt-); cf. also Mil. dat. sg. trqqñti < *terqēnti). In the very infrequent cases where Mil. has q

before *a*, one can assume vowel harmony: *qajã*, *qã[n]ã*. In Lyc., *q* before *a* appears a little more frequently, also in forms where *a* is a late development caused by vowel assimilation. As for *x*, it regularly appears before *a*, *u* both in Lyc. and Mil.; *q* never appears before *u* and before *b* (< **w*): this corroborates an identification *q* = [x]: a sequence [xu] would be unusual. Note that *ku* is also rare in Lycian: often **ku* becomes *xu*, as in *xuxuni* (< **Ku-kuwa-nni-*, according to Neumann), Lyc./Mil. *xupa* 'tomb' (to PIE **keup-* as in Sanskr. *kūpa-* 'hole, cave', Old English *hof* 'house, temple', OHG *hof* 'yard', Norv. *hov* 'small hill', etc.; cf. maybe Hitt. *kup-ti-* 'Grundsteindepot'). Lyc./Mil. *x* appeared both before *a* (*xawã* 'sheep'; *laxa-* 'fight' < Anat. **lahha-*; *mrsxxa-* to Hitt. *maršahh-* 'cheat'; *zxxa-za* 'fighter/victor') and before underlying **a* (*xba-*, cf. *xaba*; *xpparãma* < **happara-mma-*, to Hitt. *happarãl-* 'give away'; *waxssa* < **waxasa*; *xra-* to Hitt. *harra-*; *xzzãtã* to Hitt. *haššant-* 'sibling', *xãna* to Anat. **hanna-*, Hitt. *hanna-* etc.). If we find *xi*, it is usually in oblique forms as *xapax-i* (from **xapaxa*) or in forms where one more *x* is present (before **a*: *xi-xba-*). An exception is Lyc. *xistte* 'mausoleum' (to Hitt. *hēsta-*, id.): **x* + **ē*.

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IE laryngeals **H*, **X* were not vowel-coloring, and Hitt.-Luw. data support this conclusion. The only exception seems to be the position of **X* (originally postvelar [x]) before and after short **e*: it is known from diachronic typology that postvelars of the type [x] are able to change a narrow [e] to a broad [ɛ] to [a]. It was Elchner who recognized this process in IE and Anatolian. Nostratic data seem to corroborate his rule (see for details my paper "On Laryngeals" in Cowgill memor. volume):

Nostr. ***Q/Xeklu* 'mount, steep bank' etc. > IE **Xeg^W*- (as in Hitt. *hekur* 'Fels[Gipfel]') > **Xag^W*- (as in Sanscr. *ágra-* 'Gipfel, Anhang', etc.):

Nostr. ***h[i]rgE* 'kill' > IE **xergh-* > **xerg-* (according to the rule "no *T/x-Dh* in one root") > **xarg-*, as in Hitt. *hark-*, Arm. *harkanem*;

Nostr. ***p'iywV* 'fire' > **peXw-* > **paXw-*, as in Hitt. *pahhur* etc.;

Nostr. ***p'IXhV* > IE **peXi-* 'graze; protect' (***h* > **h*) > **paX(h)-*, as in Hitt. *pahs-* 'protect':

Nostr. * ζ eQLu 'shine' (as in Ural. *jeLa- 'glitter', Semit. *sVxl-, or, rather, * λ Vxl-) > IE *sexwVI- (> Luw. sehuwā[ī] 'lamp') > *saxwVI- (cf. cognates under *sāwel-/sawel- 'sun' in traditional interpretation).

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Both S. Nikolaev (1986: 206 sq.) and myself ("On Laryngeals", see above) came, quite independently, to the conclusion that there was no such thing as vowel-coloring "H₃" in IE, but there was a "real" labiovelar laryngeal of the type [x^w] in IE: it is preserved in Hitt. h₃ueš- 'live', h₃uek-/h₃uk- 'slaughter', h₃urki- 'wheel', h₃urna- 'sprinkle', etc. Nikolaev writes only about one IE laryngeal (his *H^w), but we may easily identify more: in the above examples there were maybe two stable laryngeals present: *x^w, *γ^w (they can be identified in IE alongside of *x, *γ: see Kaiser and Shev. 1985). At least one unstable laryngeal of this type (*H^w, parallel to *H < Nostr. **³, **h, **⁶: see Kaiser and Shev., op. cit.) can be identified as well: cf. Nikolaev's examples *g^wēyH^wo-/g^wyēH^wo- 'live' (< Nostr. **kojHa 'fat, healthy': Illič-Svityč 1971: 299); *storH^we-/stroH^w(e)- 'spread', etc.: cf. also above, IE *dh(e)IH^w- 'put'. Note that Nikolaev's example *tōrH^we-/trōH^w(e)-, as in Vedic tūrva- 'overcome', Hitt. tarḫu- 'be able' etc. contains the IE stable laryngeal (*x^w = *x^w or *γ^w), and not *H^w (it is incorrect to cut this IE root into three parts - "*ter-h₂-u" - as Oettinger does it [pp. 222 sqq.]; cf. also numerous attempts to cut into parts the IE root *dh(e)IH^w- 'put': some scholars identify here just a "root" *dh-).

Nikolaev correctly states that the stem-auslauting "*-H^w-" (i.e., both *x^w and *H^w) could be reflected as either *-H- or *-w- in different languages: we may interpret, I think, Hitt. -ḫi (ending of the 1st Pers. Sg., pres. ḫi-conjugation) and Luw. -wi, Lyd. -v/u (ending of the 1st Pers. Sg., pres.) exactly in this way: they both contain IE *x^w which originates from a Nostr. root present in Kartv. verbal prefix of the 1st pers. *xw-, -or, rather, *hw-, according to A. Dolgopolsky 1984: 74 (< Nostr. **hojV); cf. V. Ivanov's independent identification of Hitt. -ḫi, Luw. -wi and -ḫha with Kartv. *xw- in Ivanov 1981: 48.

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Apparently there were more than one unstable laryngeal in IE (these laryngeals disappeared in all IE languages; mostly their traces can be seen in vowel and sonorant length): to the known example with $*p + *H = *b$ in the word for 'drink' (which shows a voiced unstable "laryngeal", namely, IE $*^{\circ}$ < Nostr. $**^{\circ}$, voiced pharyngeal) we may add Illič-Svityč's (1964) identification of IE $*dap-$ 'to sacrifice' as a borrowing from Semit. $*dabḥ-$ 'sacrifice'. Indeed, IE $*p < *bḥ$ shows devoicing caused by the voiceless pharyngeal [ḥ] after [b]. As for the stable laryngeals of the type $*X$, clusters of the type CX could produce aspirated consonants (cf. Sanscr. $sthā-$ < IE $*steX-$, or the like). But we have no proof that "unstable laryngeals" (= pharyngeals) could not cause aspiration as well.

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Taking in consideration Nikolaev's data (see above) we are inclined to reconstruct at least 4 (not just 2) IE laryngeals: unstable $*H$ (non-initial length in Anat. and other languages); $*H^w$ (> [u/w] in most languages); stable $*X$ (Anat. $*ḥ >$ Hitt. $*ḥ >$ Hitt. $ḥ/ḥḥ$); $*X^w$ (Anat. $*ḥ^w >$ Hitt. $ḥu-$ before e/i and, in some cases, $ḥuw-$ before $-a-$; cf. $*k^w >$ Hitt. $ku-$ before e/i but $kuw-$ before $-a-$). We don't take into consideration weakening $ḥ >$ zero in some cases.

But it is not excluded that there were more laryngeals in early PIE: at most 9: $*^{\circ}$, $*ḥ$, $*ḥ^w$, $*^{\circ}$, $*^{\circ w}$; $*x$, $*x^w$, $*γ$, $*γ^w$; though I do not think PIE had that many. In any case, one has to remember that there were 8 Nostr. consonants which resulted in IE laryngeals: $**^{\circ}$, $**ḥ$, $**^{\circ}$, $**x$, $**γ$, $**q$, $**g$. We also must keep in mind that four Nostr. guttural stops ($**q'/**k'$, $**k$, $**g$) resulted in a very large number of PIE stops namely, 9: $*k$, $*g$, $*gh$ before $**a$; $*k̥$, $*g̥$, $*g̥h$ before $**ā/**ē/**i$; $*k^w$, $*g^w$, $*g^wh$ before underlying labial vowels.

POSTSCRIPT

[To Section I]. 1. Voiceless $-t-$ in Mil. $te-tbe-$ does not refute the theory about IE $*dh >$ Mil./Lyc. d in non-initial position. The group

tb seems to indicate devoicing of **d*, **dh* before *b* (= [f] rather than [w] in this position?): cf. also Mil. *sbirte* (not *zb-*): Lyd. *šfar-va-* (< IE **swer-*; Lyd. *šf* = a voiceless cluster). Cf., in this respect, Mil. *tbi-* versus Lyd. *cfi-*, apparently < **dwi-*. So we can notice that the IE triad **t* - **d* - **dh* was re-Interpreted in Mil./Lyc. in the following way:

IE	Mil. Anlaut	Inlaut	Lyc. Anlaut	Inlaut
<i>*t</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>
<i>*d</i>	<i>d-</i>	<i>-d-</i>	<i>dd-</i>	<i>-d-</i>
<i>*dh</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>-d-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>-d-</i>

Having only *t* and *d* (Lyc. *dd-* < **d-*, cf. Mil.) instead of the IE and Anat. triad, Lyc./Mil. still enables us to reconstruct the underlying triad: whereas **dh* appears as *t* in the anlaut (alongside with *t* < **t*), this same **dh* appears as *d* in the inlaut (alongside with *d* < **d*).

2. Massive findings of Car. inscriptions in 1985 enable us to include Car. data into comparative studies of Anatolian languages. These findings corroborate the interpretation of Car. letter *+*, *X* as a labiovelar (*q* in transcription: cf. Lyd. *q* < **k^w/g^{wh}*; letter *+*): its phonetic value must have been [x^w], and not [k^w]: cf. *k* [x] < **k*, **X* (Hitt. *k*, *ḫ/ḫḫ*). Car. *-qe* corresponds to Lyd. *-k*, Mil. *-ke* (delabialized from Anat. **-kuwa*, a word connector: 'and', etc.); cf. Car. D./L. Pl. *laqr-n-s* (Adjective) from *laqr-* 'stone': Mil. *lak^wr-* 'Steinplatte': Lyd. *laqri-sa* 'wall'; Car. derivatives from South Anat. *kuwa-* 'fear, stand in awe': *-qal(a)-* < **kuwaya-*, *-qseni* < **kuwasani-*, *-geda* < **kuwayata-*, *-qe/q/qe* < **kuwa-kuwa*: all in names with a divine name as a first component.

[To section II]. When discussing Car. *z* < **ss* we must keep in mind the fact that *z* appears only in the *z*-dialect: in this dialect, the letter/sound *τ* does not appear; accordingly, in the *τ*-dialect, the letter/sound *z* is lacking. Accordingly, derivatives from the forms in *-z* (e.g., from the frequent name *υλoζ/Λoζ*) lose this *-z* in the *τ*-dialect. In this latter, nominal stem *τakae* (*-ae* < **-aya-*, Luwian-type stem) corresponds to Hitt. *zāḫḫ-* 'hit', *zāḫḫiya-* 'overcome in fight'; note Car. *a* from Anat. **ā* (both stressed and unstressed); short stressed **a* yields *o* in Car. (= stressed Omega in

Greek versions of Car. words and names): cf. Car. verbal stems *slmo-* (Mil. *slāmá-ti*, with *a* < **ā* before *t*), *albo-* (Mil. *albá-ti**, cf. *albá-xa*), *nako-* [naxó-] (Hitt. *nāḫḫ-* 'sich fürchten'; Car. *nakok* [naxo-x] means 'I stood in awe', or the like), *srUo-* (Lyd. *srfa-šti-* 'right'), Lyd. (< Car.) *Kastōlos* (gloss): Hitt. *ḫastāli-*, Car. *-k/gzo*: Hitt. *ḫaššá-* 'offspring'. Car. *e* < unstressed short **a*.

The Car. nominal suffix *-t* corresponds to the alternation *sampi: tt:ss* in the Car. nominal suffix present in Greek versions (cf. Lyd. *-t-*; *-tt-*, the latter in Gr. versions; apparently < IE **-tjo-*; cf. Car. *sDuar*: Lyd. *Saduāttēs*). As for the *z*-dialect, we find here *-z* which corresponds to Lyc. *-za* (nomina agentis; *-la* in Mil. and Lyd.): Car. *u/Ulo-z*: Lyc. **wala-za* (to **wala/i-* 'laudare'), cf. *wasaza* etc.; cf. Car. *boño-z*, *lūlo-z* and a variety of Car. proper names with a divine name as first and *-u/Uloz* (*'laudator') as second component. There is a striking parallelism in using Car. *-z*-forms and Lyc. *-za*-forms in epitaphs.

Note that Car. *gsand-* (Thebes) corresponds Hitt. *ḫassant-* and Mil. *xzzāt-* exactly (Car. *-s-* represents here the *τ*-dialect; cf. *-kzo*, *-gzo* in the *z*-dialect: *-z-* fits here Hitt. *-šš-* of *ḫaššá-* in exactly the same way in which Thebes *gsand-* fits Hitt. *ḫaššant-*, etc.).

[To Section III]. Newly found Car. inscriptions enable us to identify a nominal stem *m(a)vm-/mava-/mavē-* with its variant which has the rear sign *ḫ*, apparently letter *ḫ* (cf. Lyc./Mil. *X ḫ*: Car. *X* is *q*, see above, - hence additional markers of the *ḫ*-letter): *m(a)vḫ-*. This seems quite reasonable: *mava-* shows [ã] (an alternate of *m*, *ḫ*) which has no graphic expression for nasalization: cf. Car. *meseve* = Lyc. *mēsewe* (Car. has no special letter for [ẽ]); Car. *-bleon*: *blñon*, a proper name (note *e*: *ñ*).

[To Section IV]. There was a weakening of laryngeals in the South Anat. languages: the data from Luw. are known; cf. **k* > [x]-shift in Lyc./Mil. in certain positions, e.g. after [s]: the new *x* "replaced" here the vanished laryngeal (Mil. *masxxḫ*: Hitt. *maskan* 'gift', etc.; *sḫma-*: *išḫamina-* 'cord', *išḫiya-* 'bind, tie together'; Lyc. *siḫēni* 'ist auferlegt, ruht': *išḫiya-* 'auferlegt sein'; to the stative meaning of Lyc. *siḫēni*, cf. Mil. *stt[ã]ni* - the subject is *trqiz*

'Tarhunt', the statue, - cf., in the same sense, Lyc. *stta-ti* and Mil. *kiki-ti*, this latter to Hitt. *ki-* 'liegen, gelegt sein'). We can identify weakening *sx > s in Carian as well: (Greek version of a Car. name) *Sesōlē̄s*: South Anat. *šešhā-III-, to Luw. šī/ašha- 'to rule' (name of the type *Oussōllos*: Lyc. name *wazāla*: Mil. *wazā-la; *Kasbōllis* < *haspā-III-, etc.). Note the correspondence sampi (Greek versions of Car. names) = τ (Car. τ-dialect) = z (z-dialect), e.g. in the name *OaTaTis* (Greek version; Car. τ-dialect): -vassis (-ss- for z?): Lyc. *wazija*; suff. -Ti-, Lyd. -ta-= Lyc. -zi: Hitt. -zziya-.

Both Lyc./Mil. and Car. have a non-lenited reflex of the stable laryngeal (Lyc./Mil. -xa: Car. -k [x]: ending of the 1st Pers. Sg., past) as well as lenited (-ga [ɣa]: -g [ɣ], as above): cf. Car. *kekui* [xexui] (-i < *-iya- indicates provenance): Hitt. *Ḫaḫḫu-*, a region in the West; Car. *lélēki* (ē= Hētha, ḫēth, an archaic letter), Vocative (-i < South Anat. *-iya-) from a divine name corresponding to Anat. Vocative *Lūlaḫhiya*, with vowel assimilation: *u - e > é - é before -i in Car. (cf. é - i in the name *ūēm* < *Uwami; Car. ū < *uwa/w); Car. (In Greek version) *Makos*: Lyc. *Maxa*; Car. *Kutbelēmis*: Mil. *qetbeleimi* (epithet of the Storm god; q < *x before e); *Kokōs* (ō indicates Car. o < *ā): Lyc. *xuxa* 'grandfather' (Hitt. *ḫuḫḫa-*) (cf. Car. *kugvna* < ?*ḫuḫ(h)a-wanna-, Lyc. *xuga* = *xuxa*); *Kolōldos* (*xuloλ) < *ḫulā-III- (cf. Hitt. *ḫulla/i-* '[nieder]schlagen', *ḫulḫuli-* 'Faustkampf', etc.?); *Piksōdaros*: Lyc. *Piksedaros*, to Mil. *pixasa* (D. Pl.) 'shiny' (= gods; to *pixa-*, Luw. *piḫa-* 'brilliance'); as for -daros, cf. Car. name *av-der* (< *Awa, a divine name).

The laryngeal regularly appears as g (?[ɣ]) in Thebes, in initial position (words; stems): cf. *gsanduber*: Lyc. *Ksanduber-*; -gsū < *-ḫasšūwa, Hitt. -ḫšū in proper names, etc. Otherwise g is rare: verb *mīḡa*: Hitt. *manlyahḫai-* 'administer, oversee' (voicing x > g before ñ in Carian?); *sfae-gzo* < ?*swāya-ḫassā (cf. Vocative of a divine name *ms-kzo*); In Gr. version: *Sangōdos* to Hitt. *sanḫ-* '(ver)suchen, erstreben', Lyc. *hāxxa-* (h < *s) (voiced consonant after d also in Thebes *nda-*: Lyc. *ñta/e-* < *anda- 'in'); *ḡegb-s* (D. Pl., epithet/name of some gods? Appears in a standard dedicative inscription: *name* + *ḡegb-s* + *wrote* + *dedication* + *who* + *two verbs* in -k [x], 1st Pers. Sg. past); Lyc. *zag/xaba-* (a divine name? Appears in the derivative *Zagaba-he*, etc.). Cf. also Car. k: Lyc. g.

Car. (in Gr. version) *Paktúēs* (and "Lyd." *Pak/gtuēs*): Lyc. *pagda*, Pisid. *Pagada*; Car. *Pikrēs* (but also *Pígrēs*): Lyc. *Pigra-*, *pigre*. Lyc. *g* for **x* appears even more seldom than Car. *g* for *x*: cf. Lyc. *garāi*, apparently 'eagle', to Hitt. *ḫaran-* (cf. name *xa/erēi*): Car. (name in Gr. version) *Karreis* (= *Xēra-*?). Identification of underlying laryngeals is dubious only in the case of *Pak/gt-*, Lyc. *pagd-*: Lycian does not show *-x-*; as for *g*, it can represent both **g* (as in Mil. *luga-* 'destroy') and **x*, as in most above examples. Less clear, but possible (phonetically exact), cases are Car. *Kbōdēs* (*ō* < **á*): Mil. *xbadi-*; Car. *Kōbēs*: Mil. *xaba*, etc. It seems that the preferred appearance of *g* (< **x*) is after a vowel (cf. also Car. *Ida-gugēs*, versus Lyc. *xux/ga*; cf. Car. *sfae-gzo* as opposed to *ms-kzo*); Car. was more inclined to "voice" the initial **x* than was Lycian.

Mostly Car. and Lyc. laryngeals were rendered by Greek Kappa in Greek versions (more seldomly by Gamma and Khi).



When reconstructing Anatolian and PIE consonants we use, first of all, data of IE languages; a better understanding of the situation is provided by Nostr. linguistics: PIE was one of several daughter-languages of Nostratic. General guidance is provided by both synchronic and diachronic typology, but it is methodically wrong to reconstruct by building entirely on typology (Eichner's excellent results are due to his deep knowledge of IE, first of all, of Anat. languages; as he told me recently, the phonetic structure of Russian was a basis from which he came to understanding Lydian phonetics: *e* and *o* are always stressed; *a*, *i*, *u* can be both stressed and unstressed, - but the actual results are built on Lydian data only, and fully corroborated by these data).

I want to underline the fact, that recent reconstructions of archaic stages of PIE and/or of Anatolian (M. Peters, H. Eichner, S. Nikolaev) seem to be corroborated not only by IE data but also by Nostratic data, - though the above scholars apparently did not even think about Nostratic when working on their reconstructions. If we attempt a general oversight, we notice immediately that both Nostratic

and archaic PIE emerge as having very similar structures: Nostr. had roots of the type CVCV, CVCCV, CV (= actually Nostr. words): in many cases, Peters and Nikolaev reconstruct similar PIE roots as being most archaic when compared with other variants of these roots: *HuC-, *HiC- (Peters), CVCCV, as in *serH^{we}- 'to flow', etc. (Nikolaev); note that Nikolaev's reconstructions of the type *H^wVrg- (better *X^wVrg-) for Hitt. *hurki*- 'wheel' could be replaced by *Xurg- (cf. Peters' HuC-type) which will make them closer both to Anat. and Nostr. proto-forms.

PIE vowels *a *e *i *o *u (with long equivalents) are reconstructed as such by several scholars, including Dolgopolsky who shows that this system (with *i and *u appearing in unstressed position) was very similar to the underlying Nostr. system. As we have seen above, the PIE system of stops was, most probably, closer to Nostratic than even Nostratologists have thought; both Illič-Svityč and Dolgopolsky, who have reconstructed the Nostratic proto-language in their independent studies, accepted initially the classical reconstruction of IE (which did not interfere much with their principal results), and only later has Dolgopolsky modified this reconstruction. As we have seen above, there is substantial evidence that the PIE (or rather Pre-PIE) system of laryngeals was close to Nostr. as well: in Nostr., the underlying consonants could appear in the neighborhood of any vowels (though mostly in the neighborhood of *a, *u, *o) and in IE, the laryngeals appeared mostly in the neighborhood of *a, *u, *o (shifting *e to *a); only the underlying **⁹ frequently appeared before *e as well.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) See, for details, Kaiser and Shevoroshkin 1986 and Shevoroshkin, forthcoming.
- (2) V.V. Ivanov identifies several East-Nostratic - Indo-European isoglosses (see Ivanov 1985: 147 sq.); we may add to them: "East-Nostr. and PIE *T* - *T* - *D* < Nostr. *T'* - *T* - *D*". Cf. also the materials in Shevoroshkin, "Recent Work on Distant Relationships of Languages", *Genetic Classification of Languages* (to appear).

- (3) Cf. Hitt. *p* < PIE **p*, **b*, **bh* versus Hitt. *t*, *d* < PIE **t*, **d*, **dh* and Hitt. *k/q*, *g* < PIE **k*, **g*, **gh*.
- (4) I would like to emphasize that Oettinger's conception presented in 1979 (and other works) is wrong in the part where he interpretes Anat. **D* as a merger of both PIE **D* (**b*, **d*, **g*, **ĝ*) and **Dh* (**bh*, **dh*, **gh*, **ĝh*). There were all three series of PIE stops present in Anat., as it is shown by different treatment of them in Lyc. and Lyd., by Hitt. *si-* < PIE **di-* versus Hitt. *-ti* < PIE **-dhi*, etc. In 1979: 101, Oettinger says that "Anat. *g*" (meaning a merger of PIE **G* and **Gh*) disappears in Proto-Luwian. This is, most certainly, wrong: PIE **leug-* 'break' is represented in cuneiform "Luw." languages as *luka-*, and in Mil. as *luga-*; only **ĝh*, and not **ĝ*, **g*, disappears in "Luwian" languages, as it is clear from Oettinger's examples (3 sets out of 5). Oettinger's remaining two examples show loss of **g* in **g^w* in **g^wóu-s* (Luw. **waw-*, Lyc. *waw-/uw-*; but the guttural is not lost in Lyd.: cf. *gen-* < **g^when-* 'chase, kill' and maybe *kan-* < **g^wen-* 'wife/woman'). As for the last example (Luw. **duwatra-* (actually *duttari-y-atti-*) 'daughter': Lyc. *kbatra*), it comes from **dhugha-tēr* and indicates loss of intervocalic **gh* - but not **g* (see above: Mil. *luga-*, Pal./Luw. *luka-* < **leug-*).
- (5) The PIE root was, actually, more complex: **dheH₁-*/**dheH₂w-*, from a protoform **dhiH^w-* or the like: Anat. shows **H* (in vowel length) + **i* and **w* (this latter is also present in Balto-Slavic); Nostratic confirms this reconstruction since it shows ***di[°]u/**di[°]wV*, with ***[°]* preserved as **[°]* in Afro-Asiatic, ***i* preserved as **i* in PIE and Afro-As., and ***w* preserved in PIE, Afro-As. (**wd[°]j*) and Kartvelian (**dw-* and **dew-*).
- (6) There is a phonetic difference between Lyc. *dd-* = Mil. *d-* and Lyc. *d* (which does not appear in the anlaut): the former was a stop (in a hapax, *dd* is used for *t* in *ddedi* = *tedi* 'father': Lyd. *taada-* < **tada-*; cf. *-a-* in *ēna-* 'mother', Hitt. *anna-*, versus *-i-* in Lyc. *ēni-* id., Luw. *anni-*; see below), whereas the latter (*-d-*) was a fricative. Cf. Lyc./Mil. *p-* (not *b-*), a stop, versus *-b-*, a fricative. In Lydian, where **p* (+ **a*) turned into *f*, the labial stop could be pronounced both as [p] and [b]; Lyd. *-b-* could be pronounced as a fricative: It interchanged with *f*, v. Note the deep similarity between Lyd. *bife-* and Lyc. *pibije-* 'give': anlauting stop versus anlauting fricative.

- (7) See, for details: Markey & Shevoroshkin 1986: XXV sqq.
- (8) See his papers 1977, 1979, 1980, 1986.
- (9) Despite Puhvel's known objection to the concept of Anat. lenition (Puhvel is right in discarding some concrete sets proposed by Eichner), this phenomenon is well represented in several Anat. languages, including Hierogl. Luw., as it was independently shown by Eichner and A. Morpurgo-Davies in several papers. Carian facts are also explainable by this concept, cf. $-t$ versus lenited $-d$ (after \bar{V}) in Car. $\lambda-t$ 'speaks' (to Lyd. $*\lambda\lambda\acute{e}-t$ id., $\lambda\lambda\acute{e}ns$ 'speaking') versus $sa-d$ < $*s\bar{a}-d$ 'engraves/writes' (to Hitt. $\acute{s}\bar{a}l-/š\bar{y}a-$ 'press' etc.). Past forms have $-\tau$ ([θ]) in $\lambda-\tau$ versus zero (sa); these endings originate from $*-t(t)a$ < $*-t$. Progressive weakening of $-\tau$ is shown by alternates $suso-\tau$: $suso$; cf. alternates $s\acute{s}esa-s$: $s\acute{s}esa$ in a different dialect where τ was absent (it seems that the ending $-s$ was genetically related to $-\tau$). Dialects: $-r$ or $-d$ for $-t/-d$.

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**HETHITISCH *damašš-* / *damešš-* *mi* "(BE)DRÜCKEN" UND DER
INDOGERMANISCHE SIGMATISCHE AORIST***

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1. Benjamin Schwartz schrieb in Zusammenarbeit mit J. Alexander Kerns (1946: 67) zur Entstehung des grundsprachlichen Verbalsystems in Anlehnung an die "Indo-hittite hypothesis" E.H. Sturtevant: "It might be objected that the situation in Hittite represents 1) extensive loss of categories as such, and 2) analogical levelling out of stems formerly structurally distinct. Now, both these processes are quite familiar throughout IE, but nowhere have they been carried out so neatly as to leave no trace of an earlier state of affairs. We should have to suppose that in Hittite the simplification, if such it was, was accomplished both much more effectively than anywhere else in IE, and also in a much shorter time. Hence, any such view must be regarded as altogether improbable". Anhänger dieser sog. Schwundtheorie, auf die Schwartz reflektierte, versuchen den angeblichen Verlust sämtlicher Kategorien oder grammatischer Erscheinungen, die aufgrund des traditionellen graeco-arischen Rekonstrukts auch dem Hethitischen unterstellt werden, durch den Nachweis von Resten solcher Kategorien oder Erscheinungen wie z.B. das Perfekt, das Femininum oder der (sigmatische) Aorist wahrscheinlich zu machen.

Zwischen der Sturtevantischen und der Schwundhypothese stellt sich das Raum-, Zeit-Modell von W. Meid (1973 [1975]; 1979) und E. Neu (1976; 1980: 87-88), nach dem die verschiedenen idg. Sprachen, räumlich und zeitlich bedingt, sich allmählich vom Indogermanischen abgespalten hätten und die Abspaltung des Anatolischen eben verhältnismässig früh anzusetzen wäre. Das Hethitische stelle sich

somit nicht heraus als "eine Sprachruine, als ein völlig korrumpiertes idg. Idiom" (1976: 245), sondern als frühe Abzweigung des Indogermanischen, das in manchen Bereichen viel Archaisches bewahrt hätte. Vorteil letzterer und der "Indo-hittite hypothesis" ist, dass das Hethitische nicht a priori alle Kategorien, die vorwiegend aufgrund des Griechischen und Indo-arischen rekonstruiert sind, aufzeigen muss: es kann z.B. auch neue, noch vereinzelt Elemente aufweisen, die erst später in anderen Sprachen zum vollen Durchbruch gekommen sind (1).

Letzteres nun wurde von E.H. Sturtevant in seinem Aufsatz "The s-aorist in Hittite" (1932), von J.A. Kerns und Benjamin Schwartz (1946: 66) und W. Meid (1979: 169-170) u.a. zur Erklärung verschiedener sigmatischer Erweiterungen im Verbalbereich des Hethitischen angenommen. Mit einer dieser Erscheinungen will sich dieser Aufsatz Benjamin Schwartz zum Gedenken befassen.

2. Die Frage, ob und in welchem Masse das Hethitische oder mehr allgemein die indogermanischen Sprachen Altanatoliens Reste des grundsprachlichen sigmatischen Aorists fortsetzen, ist oft diskutiert und sehr unterschiedlich beantwortet worden. Die wichtigsten Argumente für die These waren immer die Endung der 3. Sing. Prät. der *hi*-Konjugation *-š* und eine Anzahl von Verben mit einer anscheinend befriedigenden Etymologie, die jedoch dazu noch ein zusätzliches *-š* (*š*)- aufweisen (*kallešš-mi* "rufen, einladen" < **kelh₁-*, *ganešš-mi* "(an)erkennen" < **ǵneh_x-*, *pašš-hi* "einen Schluck nehmen" < **peh₃-*, *damašš-/damešš-mi* "(be)drücken" < **demh₂-*). Gegenstand einer umfassenden Untersuchung ist diese Frage aber bisher nicht gewesen.

Die Diskussion geht weit bis in die Anfänge der Hethitologie zurück, als B. Hrozný 1917 in seiner Arbeit "Die Sprache der Hethiter" (S. 162) anlässlich einiger Formen wie *dāš* "er/sie nahm" erklärte: "Kaum empfehlenswert scheint mir jetzt zu sein, in diesen Formen (...), wie auch in *dahhun* einen hethitischen s-Aorist zu erblicken". Schon 1918 aber behauptete C. Marstrand, "Caractère Indo-européen de la langue Hittite" (Christiania 1918 [1919]) S.84: "(...) l'hittite possède le prétérit athématique en s, qui non seulement

peut, mais qui doit sans doute être ramené au prétérit indo-européen en *s*". Seitdem wurde die Diskussion von dieser Zweiteilung geprägt. Als Befürworter der Zurückführung solcher sigmatischen Erscheinungen im Hethitischen auf den (voll entwickelten) idg. *s*-Aorist in rezent Zeit seien erwähnt H. Eichner (1973: 103) (2) und N. Oettinger (3). Kritik oder Ablehnung äusserten z.B. W. Cowgill (1979: 37) und E. Neu (4). U.a. C. Watkins beschreibt die *s*-Formen als Ansätze des späteren *s*-Aorists (1962: 74-89; 1969: 53-58).

Der idg. sigmatische Aorist zeigte, wie im wesentlichen schon in den Arbeiten von K. Brugmann, B. Delbrück, H. Hirt und A. Meillet beschrieben und von J. Narten bestätigt (5), Dehnstufe im ganzen Aktiv und Vollstufe im Medio-Passiv und den nicht-indikativischen Modi, z.B.

Akt.	* <i>dēik</i> - <i>s</i> -
Med. usw.	* <i>deik</i> - <i>s</i> -.

Auf diese Struktur hin sollen die in Betracht gezogenen Formen überprüft werden, eine Voraussetzung, auf die m.E. vor allem seitens der "Reliktanhänger" zu wenig Wert gelegt wurde. Es sieht öfters so aus, als genüge das Vorhandensein eines *-š-* zum Etikett "*s*-Aorist". Dass es auch andere Erklärungsmöglichkeiten gibt, hoffe ich am Beispiel von *damašš-/damešš-mi* im folgenden zu zeigen.

3. Die Zugehörigkeit zur idg. Wurzel **demh₂* - "(mit Gewalt) bedrücken" (6) des hethitischen Verbums *damašš-/damešš-mi* "(be)drücken, bedrängen" wurde schon früh erkannt, und andere Vorschläge zur Herkunft hat es kaum gegeben (7). Diese Einheitlichkeit in der etymologischen Deutung aber wird durchbrochen, wo sie dem, von historischer Sicht aus, im Hethitischen zusätzlichen Sibilanten *-š(š)-* gilt. Obwohl darin zumeist eine Fortsetzung des idg. Aorists gesehen wurde (8), gibt es auch diejenigen, die sich nicht ohne weiteres auf einen sigmatischen Aorist festlegen möchten (9) oder mehr allgemein von sigmatischen Erweiterungen sprechen, die einmal aoristische, futurisch-desiderativische oder präsentische Funktion innehatten oder ohne (noch) erkennbare semantische Differenzierung lexikalisch gebunden waren (10).

4. H. Otten (11) und N. Oettinger (1979: 122-125) haben aufgrund vieler, den verschiedenen Sprachstufen des Hethitischen entstammenden Belege einen in der älteren Sprache wirksamen Wechsel *damašš-*/*damešš-* überzeugend nachgewiesen. N. Oettinger hat dabei zu Recht auf die abweichende Graphik mit *-mm-* beim deverbativen *dammešha-* "Schädigung, Gewalt(tat), Strafe" (ebenso *dammešhae-* "schädigen, bedrängen, strafen", *dammešhišk-* "id.", *dammešhanu-* "id." (12)) hingewiesen. Das ergibt für das Alt- und Mittelhethitische im ganzen Paradigma einen Wechsel Sing. *damašš-* gegenüber Plur. (und Part. und *ske-*Ableitung) *damešš-*, der im Junghethitischen nahezu überall zu einem Stamm *damašš-* ausgeglichen wurde. Späte Schreibungen mit *-e-/i-* (*t/da-me/i-e/iš-*) finden sich vor allem in jungen Niederschriften älterer Vorlage (13). Schreibungen wie eine 3. Sing. Präs. *dam-me-e-eš-zī* (XII 2 III 15= CTH 511), das in einem Kultinventartext der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts bezeugt ist, verrät mit dem *-e-/i-*-Vokalismus im Sing. (!) und doppeltem *-mm-* deutlich den Einfluss von *dammešha-* und Ableitungen (14). Auch Formen mit doppeltem *-mm-* und a-Vokalismus der zweiten Silbe (*dam-ma-aš-*) (15) entstammen alle dem (späten) 13. Jhdt. und sind, was die Doppelschreibung *-mm-* anbelangt, diesem Einfluss ebenfalls zuzuschreiben. Zur Graphie ist noch zu bemerken, dass ausser bei den oben erwähnten Belegen sonst immer einfaches *-m-* geschrieben wird. Der Anlaut wechselt, schon in althethitischen Originalen und sogar innerhalb eines Textes (KBo XXII 1; s. unter Anm. 16), zwischen *ta-* und *da-*.

Der *-e-/i-*-Vokalismus der zweiten Silbe wird in althethitischen Originalen immer *-me-eš-* geschrieben (16), im Mittelhethitischen kommen *-me-iš-* und *-mi-eš-* dazu, *mi-iš-* findet sich erst in junghethitischen Niederschriften. Eine Pleneschreibung ist nur im späten schon zitierten *dam-me-e-eš-zī* belegt (17). Auch beim a-Vokalismus der zweiten Silbe kommt Pleneschreibung nur vereinzelt vor (18). Pleneschreibung der ersten Silbe gibt es nicht. Der Sibilant am Ende des Stammes wird intervokalisch immer doppelt geschrieben (19).

5. Was *dammešha-* und seine Ableitungen betrifft, so seien für die ältere Sprache folgende Belege verzeichnet (20):

- ah. *ʿta ʿam ʿ[-m]iʿ-iš-ha-an-ta-an* Akk. Sg. c. (Part.)
 KBo XXV 25 Vs. 4 (21)
- ah.+*dam-mi-iš-ha-an* Akk. Sg. c.
 KBo III 23 I 8= CTH 24
- mh. *dam-mi-iš-ha-a-an* Akk. Sg. c.
 XIII 1 IV 5' = CTH 261 (22)
- dam-mi-iš-ha-iz-zi* 3. Sg. Präs.
 Mst. 75/113, 17 (23)
- dam-me-iš-ha-a-iz-zi* 3. Sg. Präs.
 Mst. 75/13, 21 (24)
- dam-mi-iš-ha-an-da-ri* 3. Pl. Präs. Med.
 Mst. 75/104, 12 (25).

Abgesehen vom althethitischen Beleg mit Anlaut *ta-am* wird sonst in allen Sprachstufen *dam-mV-* geschrieben, einfaches *-m-* ist nicht belegt. Während in der älteren Sprache bei der Wiedergabe der zweiten Silbe *-mi-iš-* überwiegt, schwankt die Schreibung sonst zwischen *-mi-iš-*, *-mi-eš-* und *me-eš-* (26). Pleneschreibungen in einer der ersten zwei Silben sind mir nicht bekannt.

6. Bei einer historischen Analyse des Verbums *damašš-/damešš-* sollte im Hinblick auf die Beleglage vor allem eine befriedigende Antwort gegeben werden auf den wechselnden Vokalismus der zweiten Silbe (*-maš-* vs. *-me/iš-*) und das einfache *-m-* bei *damašš-/damešš-* gegenüber *-mm-* bei *dammešha-* usw.

N. Oettinger (27) hat als erster versucht, diesen Erscheinungen Rechnung zu tragen und den Wechsel *-m-/mm-* dahingehend erklärt, dass *dammešha-* wahrscheinlich gesprochenes /*dámes-/* wiedergibt gegenüber /*dmas-/* oder /*damás-/* für *damašš-* (/damešš-). Das ergibt für seine Deutung von *damašš-/damešš-* als alter sigmatischer Aorist eine Schwundstufe **dṃh₂s-* (28). Das *-a-* der ersten Silbe wäre im letzteren Fall nicht sprachwirklich, sondern nur als keilschriftliche Wiedergabe eines anlautenden /*dm-/* zu verstehen. N. Oettinger bezeichnet die Schwundstufe zwar als sekundär, es

bleibt aber unklar, woraus diese denn entstanden sei, ist doch – wie oben gesagt wurde – eine Schwundstufe für den idg. sigmatischen Aorist überhaupt nicht anzunehmen. Die angenommene Vollstufe für *dammešha-* < **demh₂-sh_{2o}-* würde eine Stütze finden in *tešha-* "Traum" < **d^héh₁-sh_{2o}-*. F. Starke (1979: 248) hat aber gezeigt, dass das gleichbedeutende *zašha-* < **d^héh₁-sh_{2o}-* ebenso wie *tešha-* schon für das Althethitische anzusetzen sei. Da die zwei anderen von F. Starke behandelten Wörter auf *-šha-* (*palzašha/palzahha-* "Sockel, Grundfläche", *hamešha-* "Frühling") keine Aussage hinsichtlich ihres historischen Vokalismus der ersten Silbe gestatten, entfällt somit streng genommen das Argument für die Vollstufe. Als Hypothese jedoch bleibt diese Erklärung für den Wechsel *-m-/ -mm-* die wahrscheinlichste. Auch die nie belegte Pleneschreibung **t/da-a-mV-* könnte in die Richtung eines gesprochenen /*dm-*/ weisen.

Für den Vokalwechsel *-a-/ -e-* nimmt N. Oettinger (29) eine Analogie nach der Klasse von *hi-*Verba wie *šakk-/šekk-* (II 1 c) oder *hamank-/hamenk-* (II 1 d) an. Eine solche Entwicklung ist aber kaum glaubwürdig (30), weil erstens *damašš-/damešš-* abgesehen von einer einzigen fraglichen Form in bruchstückhaftem Kontext (31) keine Formen der *hi-*Konjugation aufweist. Weiter ist zu beachten, dass die Ablautverteilung der genannten Verba nicht ganz mit der von *damašš-/damešš-* übereinstimmt (32): *-e-* erscheint bei diesen *hi-*Verba in althethitischen Originalen nur im Plural des Präteritums und des Imperativs, während die althethitischen Belege für z.B. die *ške-*Ableitung zwischen *-a-* und *-e-* Vokalismus schwanken. Erst in nachalthethitischer Zeit scheint das *-e-* auch in den Plural des Präsens einzudringen.

7. Es war H. Pedersen (1938: 95–96) der konkret eine andere Lösung zur Erklärung des "zusätzlichen" Sibilanten in einer Anzahl hethitischer Verba mit sonst gut indogermanischer Etymologie vorgeschlagen hat. Ihm verdankt man in seiner früheren Arbeit "Les formes sigmatiques du verbe latin et le problème du futur indo-européen" (København 1921) die Identifizierung einer ablautenden Wurzelenerweiterung **-es-/ -s-* mit – wie er damals meinte – futurischer Funktion. F.B.J. Kulper (33) hat darauf Pedersens Ansichten weiter verfolgt und gezeigt, dass die futurische Funktion

eine italische Sonderentwicklung darstellte und dass ursprünglich mit dem Formans *-es-/s- Präsens gekennzeichnet wurden. Die Wurzel tritt vor dem Formans in die Schwundstufe:

Sg. CC-es-

Pl. CC-s-

Möglicherweise war laut Pedersen und Kuiper ein solches Präsens einmal Teil eines ursprünglichen sigmatischen Systems mit sigmatischen Aorist und Futur-Desiderativ:

Aor. Sg./Pl. CēC-s-

Fut.-Desid. CeC-s-e/o-

Wie dem auch sei (34), das Formans *-es-/s- bleibt nur auf einzelne Lexeme beschränkt, meistens mit Verallgemeinerung einer der zwei Ablautstufen; Vollstufe z.B. in ai. *trásati*, gr. *τρέω* < *tr-es- "zittern" (vgl. mit anderer Erweiterung lat. *tremo*, gr. *τρέμω*), Schwundstufe z.B. in ai. *úksati*, gr. *αὔξω* < *h₂ug-s- "vermehrten" (vgl. ohne Erweiterung got. *aukan*). Pedersen hat dann später wieder in Anlehnung an Kuiper diese These auf das Hethitische angewandt. Vielleicht wegen seiner allerdings viel weiterführenden und nicht immer überzeugenden Folgerungen haben seine diesbezüglichen Ansichten kaum Widerhall gefunden. Dennoch dürfte er gerade für *damašš-/damešš-* das Richtige getroffen haben, wie unten zu zeigen versucht wird.

8. Auf *damašš-/damešš-* bezogen erwartet man mit dem Formans *-es-/s- für die Wurzel *dmh₂- die folgende ursprüngliche Struktur:

Sg. *dmh₂-es-

Pl. *dmh₂-s-

Dies resultierte wahrscheinlich in heth. Sg. *damhas-, Pl. *dams- > (mit regulärer Anaptyxis) *damešš-*. Der Singular wurde dann nach dem Plural *damešš-* und nach *dammešha-*, das mit N. Oettinger und F. Starke II.cc. *dmh₂sh₂- fortsetzen könnte, analogisch zu *damašš-* umgestaltet.

Was das Schwinden des Laryngals in *dmh₂s- betrifft, so sprechen sowohl die von N. Oettinger (1979: 550) gegebenen Beispiele heth. *tašuwant-* "blind" < *te/omh₂s-went- (cf. ai. *támisrāṇ*

"Finsternis") (35) und heth. *danduki-* "sterblich" < **d^honh₂/d^hnh₂-tu-* cf. gr. θάνατος "Tod") (36) als auch die von H.C. Melchert (37) gegebenen heth. *innara* "geradeaus", *innarawant-* (38) "kräftig" < **en-h₂nor-* und heth. *išn-* (obliquer Stamm zu *ešhar*) "Blut" < **(h₁)sh₂n-* für eine solche Entwicklung.

9. Diese Analyse von *damašš-*/*damešš-* mit dem Formans *-es-/ -s- hat ausser den oben erwähnten mehr allgemeinen und lautlichen Bedenken gegen eine Zurückführung auf den idg. Aorist den Vorteil, dass eine direkte Erklärung für den im Hethitischen innerhalb der *mi*-Konjugation singulären Ablaut geboten wird. Ausserdem passt die Beschränkung dieses Formans auf individuelle Lexeme in den idg. Einzelsprachen besser zu der synchronen hethitischen Situation. Eine ähnliche Erklärung kann möglicherweise auch für andere Verba angenommen werden (33).

Abschliessend kann man sagen, dass eine solche andere Erklärungsmöglichkeit als die aoristische für auf -š(š)- auslautende Verba von diesen Verba kaum den endgültigen Nachweis erwarten lässt, dass das Hethitische einen einmal produktiven s-Aorist hatte oder dieser Aorist von solchen Verba seinen Ausgangspunkt genommen hätte.

Amsterdam 1984.

ANMERKUNGEN

* Dieser Aufsatz geht zurück auf meine Magisterarbeit "De anatolische verba op -s- en de proto-indo-europese sigmatische aoristus" (1981, unpubl.) angefertigt unter der Betreuung von Prof. dr R.S.P. Beekes (Leiden), der an dieser Stelle dafür herzlich gedankt sei. Für weitere Hinweise seien Prof. dr E. Neu und dr J.J.S. Weitenberg gedankt. Für die Berichtigung des Deutschen bin ich Herrn Manfred Job zu Dank verpflichtet. Zu den Abkürzungen siehe das Abkürzungsverzeichnis. Stammansätze der hethitischen Verba erfolgen nach N. Oettinger (1979: 1-5). Die Texte aus der KUB-Reihe werden ohne Voransetzung von "KUB" zitiert.

(1) Prinzipielle und m.E. sehr sinnvolle Bemerkungen zum Rekonstruieren und zur Vorstellung des Indogermanischen macht

- G.R. Solta (1984 [1985]: 60-62). M.E. unberechtigte Kritik an dem Raum-, Zeit-Model äussert ausführlich B. Schlerath (1981), dazu siehe aber O. Szemerényi (1985: 48-49) und E. Neu, 1983 [1985]: 276-278 und Anm. 63.
- (2) Nicht aber für *damašš-/damešš-*, s. unten.
 - (3) Cf. z.B. 1979: 119-120, 201, 211-212, 364, 435-436, 526-527.
 - (4) 1974 (= *StBoT* 18): 87 Anm. 174.
 - (5) Narten (1964); s. auch H. Rix (1976: 216-217); C. Watkins aber (1962: 18-52; ihm folgt jetzt A. Bammesberger (1983: 74-75)), hat sich gegen die Annahme der Dehnstufe in der Wurzel ausgesprochen und betrachtet die Vollstufe auch im Aktiv als ursprünglich.
 - (6) Cf. J. Pokorny, *IEW* 199-200, zur Semantik s. E. Benveniste (1955: 15-29 [vor allem 24]).
 - (7) Z.B. A. Juret (1941: 48-49 s.v.), der es zu heth. *hatk-hhi* "schliessen" stellt mit Wurzel *t-.
 - (8) Siehe F. Bader (1978: 38), E. Benveniste (1955: 23), A. Bernabé Pajares (1973: 425), A. Kammenhuber (1963: 321), E. Laroche (1961: 29), T. Milewsky (1936: 44), N. Oettinger (1979: 122-125), F. Starke (1979: 249); E.H. Sturtevant (1932: 119-120; 1933: 229).
 - (9) H. Berman (1977: 235, 239), H. Eichner (1973: 83), H.C. Melchert (1984: 129 Anm. 98); E. Neu, *StBoT* 18, 87 Anm. 174 (1974).
 - (10) R. Gusmani (1972: 256); H. Kronasser (1963: 394, 396); H. Pedersen (1938: 95-96); C. Watkins (1962: 81).
 - (11) *StBoT* 17, 51-53 (1973).
 - (12) Siehe aber H.A. Hoffner (1983: 190): *dammešhanu-* ist nur belegt als hapax *dam-me-eš-ha-nu-nu-un* "ich strafte" im Text KBo IV 8 II 13' (CTH 71; Mursili II.). Der Schreiber dieses Textes hat aber gerade bei der Wiedergabe der 1. Sg. Prät. der *mi*-Konjugation Schwierigkeiten mit Haplo- und Dittographie, so dass auch hier gelesen werden könnte *dam-me-eš-ha-⟨nu-⟩nu-un* und somit der Ansatz eines Verbums *dammešhanu-* entfiel.
 - (13) Cf. 3. Sg. Präs./Prät. MP *ta-mi-iš-kitg-t[(-)]* XXVI 9 IV 6' (CTH 257; mh+), 3. Pl. Präs. *ta-me-iš-kán-zi* KBo XIV 86 I 5 (CTH 329; mh+).
 - (14) Zur 3. Pl. Prät. *dam-m[i-i]š-šar* der spätjunghethitischen Abschrift KBo III 38 Rs. 29' (CTH 3; ah+) s. H. Otten, *StBoT* 17,

- 53 (1973).
- (15) Cf. 3. Pl. Präs. *dam-ma-aš-ša-an-zi* XVII 35 III 34 (CTH 525.2; Tudh. IV.), Part. Nom.-Akk. Sg. ntr. *dam-ma-aš-ša-an* V 1 II 8, 91, III 31 (CTH 561; Hatt. III.), Subst. verb. Gen. Sg. *dam-ma-aš-šu-aš* KBo XVIII 181 Rs. 26 (CTH 243.6; s. S. Košak (1982:123)).
- (16) 3. Pl. Prät. *ta-me-eš-šir* KBo XXII 2 Rs. 12' (CTH 3), 2. Pl. Präs. *t/da-me-eš-kitg-te-ni* KBo XXII 1 Vs. 3' bzw. 19', Supin. *da-me-eš-ki-wa-an* ibid. Vs. 4' (CTH 272).
- (17) In dieser Pleneschreibung wird das -e- wohl kaum zur Bestimmung einer Lautfolge /mes/ gedient haben, weil gerade hier in der Keilschrift separate Zeichen für MI, ME, IŠ und EŠ vorhanden sind. Das Schwanken in der Graphie zwischen -me-eš- in althethitischen, -mi-eš- und -me-iš- in mittelhethitischen Originalen (s. die Belege bei N. Oettinger [1979: 122-123]) erinnert an einen Fall wie *takš-mi* "unternehmen, vereinbaren", das in althethitischen Originalen (*ták-ki-iš-*, in mittelhethitischen -*ki-iš-* und -*ki-eš-* (später oft -*ki-e-eš-*) geschrieben wird (s. N. Oettinger (1978: 217-218) und weiter H.C. Melchert (1984: 108-109, 134-135)), und bei dem das -e-/i- als anaptyktischer Vokal erklärt wird. Aufgrund solcher Schreibungen kann m.E. eine althethitische Anaptyxis mit -e- neben -i- nicht ausgeklammert werden und ist, wie für das Mittelhethitische, auch hier ein Schwanken zwischen -e- und -i- anzunehmen.
- (18) Cf. 1. Sg. Präs. *ta-ma-a-aš-mi* XXIV 15, 16' (Dupl. XXIV 14 I 16: -*ma-aš-*; CTH 397), 3. Sg. Präs. M. *ta-ma-a-aš-ta* XXIV 4 I 15' (CTH 376).
- (19) Siehe dazu unten Anm. 27. Für das Keilschriftluwische ist nur die 3. Sg. Präs. *da-ma-aš-ti* bezeugt (KBo V 9 II 26'; CTH 62, Mursili II.); zu *tamašti* s. unten Anm. 31. Die Wörter (Glš) *dammašhu(l)el* (eine Abart des Birnbaums; s. HW 2. und 3. Erg. s.v.) und *LÜ damšatalla-/tamišatalla-* (ein Kultfunktionär, s. E. Neu, 1980: 83-87; 1985: 263 Anm. 5) sind von der Sippe *damašš-/damešš-* und *dammešha-* fernzuhalten.
- (20) S. weiter die Zusammenstellung bei H. Otten, StBoT 17, 52 Anm. 22 (1973).
- (21) Zum Anlaut *ta-am-* gegenüber sonst *dam-* s. H. Otten, StBoT 17, 52 (1973).
- (22) Ebenso das Duplikat XIII 2 IV 14, XIII 24, 7' aber -*me-eš-*.

- (23) Umschrift nach S. Alp (1979:30 [Ebenso 1977: 638]).
- (24) Umschrift nach S. Alp (1976 [1978]: 185); die Maṣat-Belege hat H.C. Melchert (1984) anscheinend nicht in seine Überlegungen einbezogen, da er o.c. 136 und 153-154 *dammišha-* unter den Beispielen für "consistent MH / " zitiert. Für die ältere Sprache scheint also auch hier eine Lautung /mes/ nicht unmöglich (vgl. schon Anm. 17).
- (25) Umschrift nach S. Alp, o.c. 188.
- (26) Cf. in XIV 14+ (CTH 378; Mursili II.), eine Niederschrift aus der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jhdt. des 1. Pestgebets Mursilis, *dam-me-eš-* Vs. 39, Rs. 32, *dam-me-iš-* Rs. 22, *dam-mi-eš-* Vs. 16.
- (27) S. N. Oettinger (1979: 123-124). Die von H.C. Melchert (1984: 129 Anm. 98) zu Recht gefragte Erklärung für das intervokalisch anscheinend ausnahmslos doppelt geschriebene -šš- vermag ich nicht zu geben, ist aber eine weit über das Verbum *damašš-/damešš-* hinausgehende Frage, die sehr viele auf -š- auslautende (vor allem *mi-*) Verba betrifft.
- Wenn aber die von ihm (1984: 90 Anm. 24) angenommene Verdopplung eines -š- vor Sonant zutrifft, so wäre damit das -šš- vor den Verbalendungen der 1. Pl. (*-*uen/ueni*) und der 3. Pl. (*-*nti*) erklärt. Bei der 2. Sg. (*-*si*) gab es direkt schon doppeltes -šš- bei den auf -š- auslautenden Verben.
- (28) Eine andere von Oettinger erwogene Möglichkeit ist, wie im Griechischen, eine allerdings für beide Sprachen singuläre Entwicklung **demas-* > *damaš* anzunehmen, es ist aber fraglich, ob **demh₂-s-* jeweils heth. **demas-* ergeben hätte (s. unten 8).
- (29) Ebenso F. Starke, o.c. 249.
- (30) S. auch H.C. Melchert (1984: 129 Anm. 98).
- (31) 2. (?) Sg. Präs. *ta-ma-aš-ti* KBo XIV 15, 4 (CTH 40), cf. H.G. Güterbock (1956: 114).
- (32) S. die Zusammenstellung bei N. Oettinger (1979: 48-55).
- (33) 1934: 190-306 (vor allem 197-198 und 210-217), weiter 1937: 36-40. Der semantische Wert dieses Formans ist nur schwer feststellbar: die von Kuiper (und Pedersen) verwendeten Termini reichen von perfektiv (1933: 285) bis kausativ (1934: 224, 243) und determinativ (1937: 37 Anm. 2).
- (34) Öfters wird aus diesem System ein *-s- isoliert, das dann mit sigmatischen Erscheinungen (z.B. dem Nom. Sg. *-s der

- o-Stämme) ausser dem Verbalbereich verknüpft wird; die wichtigste Literatur dazu enthält K. Schields (1981: 263-279).
- (35) Cf. J.J.S. Weitenberg (1984: 199 m. Lit.); zur Frage der Entwicklung von intervokalischem -Ns- im Hethitischen s. die Diskussion bei J.J.S. Weitenberg, o.c. 160-162. Dass eine Assimilation von *-ms- zu *-ss- in der 1. und 2. Pl. (*d₁mh₂s(u)u₁eni > *damsu₁eni bzw. *d₁mh₂s₁nti > *damsanzi) nicht stattfand, wurde vom Singular und der 2. Pl. (-teni) bewirkt, wo das -ms- nicht Intervokallisch war.
- (36) Cf. weiter J.J.S. Weitenberg (1984: 236 m. Lit.).
- (37) 1984: 103-104 mit Anm. 59, 109 Anm. 66.
- (38) Bezüglich *innarawant-* sei auf die Variante mit nur einem -n- in ah. *i-na-ra-u-an-za* und *i-na-ra-ah-hi* XXXVI 110 Rs. 11' bzw. 12' (= StBoT 25, Nr. 140) hingewiesen. (E. Neu brieflich).
- (39) Zu *uleš-mi* "sich einhüllen, verstecken" s. schon Verf. (1984: 434-435). Wenn man für *ganešš-mi* "(an)erkennen" von einer Wurzel **ḡneh₁* - ausgeht (so R.S.P. Beekes (1969: 166), F. Lindeman (1971: 7-12), H.C. Melchert (1984: 92)) anstatt **ḡneh₃*-; s. die Literatur im HEG s.v. und N. Oettinger (1978: 198-199), M. Peters (1980: 314-315), so kommt man auch hier mit *-es-/-s- zu einer befriedigenden Erklärung: Sg. **ḡneh₁-es-* > *ganeš(š)-* = /*gnes*/, Pl. **ḡneh₁-s-* > **gans-* > (mit Anaptyxis) *ganeš(š)-*; die Graphie dieses Verbums läuft der von *damašš-/damešš-* parallel. Einer ähnlichen Erklärung für *kallešš-mi* "rufen, einladen" (**klh₁-es-/klh₁-s-*) scheint das doppelte -ll- aber im Wege zu stehen. Für alle hier genannten Verben nimmt N. Oettinger (s-)aoristische Herkunft an.

Ist die Vorform **dmh₂-es-* (> δαμασ-) auch Ausgangspunkt gewesen für den im Griechischen sonst nicht lautgesetzlich erklärbaren Stamm δαμασ- (cf. hom. Δαμαστορίδης und Aor. (έ)δάμασ(σ)α; das Verbum δαμάζω, das meistens zur Erklärung dieser sigmatischen Formen herangezogen wird, ist ja erst ab Aischylos belegt)?

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BCILL 42 : LINGUISTIC HAPPENING, 321-331

LATIN *LUCABOS* 'ELEPHANT'

J.-C. BILLIGMEIER

Virtually every classical scholar – and many a high school Latinist – knows the story that the Romans, when confronted with the war elephants of Pyrrhos of Epeiros at Herakleia in 280 B.C., dubbed the unfamiliar beasts "Lucanian oxen". The reason, given by Varro (*De Lingua Latina* 7.39), was that the largest animal the Romans knew was the ox and, like it, this strange creature seemed to have two "horns", while the battle had been fought in Lucania. The Latin phrase is not, however, the expected *bos Lucanus* or *Lucana*, but *luca bos*, *lucae bovis*, with the adjective first, declined as a feminine. The earliest occurrence is in a fragment of Naevius (270-201 B.C.), preserved by Varro:

atque prius parlet lucusta lucam bovem (1)

The *Casina* of Plautus, Naevius' younger contemporary (born before 251), reads (line 846):

institit plantam quasi luca bos (2)

More than a century later, the word appears in reverse order in the *De Rerum Natura* (V. 1302-1304) of Lucretius (ca. 94-55 B.C.):

inde boves lucas turrito corpore, taetras,
anguilmanus, belli docuerunt volnera Poeni
sufferre et magnas Martis turbare catervas (3).

Nowhere is any mention made of Lucania or of Pyrrhos; for this we must wait for Varro's *De Lingua Latina*, published most probably in 43 B.C. (4). He presents three etymologies for *Luca bos* (7.39-40): 1) the familiar one, "*ab Lucanis lucas*", attributed to a certain Vergilius (5); 2) from *Libyca bos* 'Libyan cow' ("*ab Libycis lucas*"), credited to a Cornelius; 3) Varro's own proposal, "*lucas ab luce*", because the elephants with Pyrrhos shone (*relucebant*) with gilt shields attached to the towers on their backs.

Cornelius' derivation is too far-fetched phonologically and has never attracted much support. Though no one seems to have directly taken up Varro's suggestion *lucas ab luce*, Franz Buecheler has proposed a derivation from the same Indo-European root for 'light' whence comes *lux* (6). He postulates an earlier **bōs louca*, translating a Greek **βοῦς λευκή* 'white cow'. Latin, however, has no adjective **lūcus* 'white'; *lux* and its derivatives retain the original Indo-European sense 'light', 'shine'. Moreover, elephants, apart from the occasional albino, are gray, not white; it is extremely unlikely that Pyrrhos had any albinos with him in Italy. Whatever the color of Pyrrhos' elephants, why could the Greeks call an elephant *βοῦς* when they had the word *ἐλέφας*? Buecheler's idea, though unobjectionable phonologically, is semantically implausible.

The etymology *ab Lucanis lucas* is rejected by Varro, who points out that the form *luca* is nowhere else used for *Lucana*. It was, however, picked up by the elder Pliny (*Naturalis Historia* 8.6 (6) § 16) and has been a commonplace ever since (7). Modern supporters of the "Lucanian ox" theory, for example Karl Meister (8), have tried to explain the unique *lūca* by deriving it from a hypothetical Oscan **Lúvkans*, with the typical Oscan-Umbrian syncope of unstressed vowels between a consonant and a final *-s* (e.g. Oscan *Bantins* 'Bantinus') (9). An Oscan **Lúvkans* would, however, have a long *a* plus *n* and *s* and be masculine; *luca* has only a short *a*, no *n* or *s* and is feminine (10). Advocates of this etymology cannot explain this phonological discrepancy, nor can they tell us why Roman legionnaires would adopt an Oscan adjective for the immense "cattle" confronting them, instead of using a Latin one (11). The connection of *luca* *bos* and Lucania must be rejected.

These etymologies, ancient and modern, are not convincing - cases of *luca a non lucendo*? All agree in dividing *luca* from *bos*. A better approach has been suggested by Peter Glare, editor of the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*: *luca* *bos*, or rather *lucabos*, is "perhaps rather a corrupted and misdivided foreign word" (12). Following Glare's insight, one should not try to explain the mysterious *luca* by itself, but instead seek cognates for an undivided *lucabos*. A promising candidate for such a cognate is Hittite *lahpas*, cited by Emmanuel Laroche as the probable ancestor of Mycenaean Greek *e-re-pa/*

elephās/, Classical Greek ἐλέφας (13). A trilingual literary text (RS 25.421), found at Ras Shamra/Ugarit in 1962 provides the equation of Sumerian ZÚ and Akkadian *šinnu* with Hittite *lahpas*, showing that this, like the other two, must here mean 'ivory' (14). That *lahpas* can also have meant 'elephant' is indicated by the double meaning of its descendant ἐλέφας, which signifies both 'ivory' and 'elephant'. In Bronze Age Egypt, *3bw* also had both meanings (15).

The elephants referred to here are not those of Africa (*Loxodonta africana* and *cyclotis*) nor those of India (*Elephas maximus*), but extinct Syro-Mesopotamian relatives of the latter: *Elephas maximus asurus* (16). The largest subspecies of the Asian elephant, *E. m. asurus* ranged in Neolithic times from Iran to the Jordan Valley. Egyptian Pharaohs and Assyrian kings hunted the great pachyderms, killing and capturing many, but they seem to have survived into the Hellenistic era (17). A famous Carthaginian war elephant, probably one of those with which Hannibal crossed the Alps, was named Surus, "Syrian" (18). Pliny tells us (*Naturalis Historia* 8.5 (5) § 11), quoting Cato, that Surus was the bravest of all the Punic war elephants and had lost a tusk, presumably in combat. He is probably the sole surviving beast on whom Hannibal rode through Etruria; later he seems to have been captured by the Romans and set out to pasture on an estate near Rome (19). He was famous in his time and his name was the source of puns by Ennius (with *sūrus* 'stake', since he had but one tusk) and Plautus in the *Pseudolus* (191 B.C.) (lines 1218 ff., with *Sūrus* 'Syrian' and *sūra* 'ankle') (20).

Surus is our latest evidence for the survival of the Syrian elephant, though Ivan T. Sanderson, the noted wildlife expert, believes that they "lingered on in... the old forests of Syria, till Roman times" (21). He presents no evidence for this, but it is likely that Syrian elephants interbred with imported Indians in the Hellenistic period, so that many elephants in the Roman world would have had some Syrian ancestors. Surus lived two generations *after* Pyrrhos, so many of the latter's animals were probably pure Syrians. With them were doubtless *mahouts* of local (North Syrian) origin: native elephants had been domesticated, or at least captured and tamed, since the earliest days of civilization in Syria and Mesopotamia (22). When the use of elephants in battle became *de rigueur* in the early Hellenistic period,

these local drivers would have trained and ridden both native Syrians and imported Indians, calling them all by their native name.

The area where the Syrian elephant survived longest, Sanderson's "old forests of Syria", would have been the foothills of northern Syria, today Turkish Kurdistan. Streams such as the Habur and the upper reaches of the Tigris and the Euphrates provided a hospitable environment for the water-loving elephants. The inhabitants of this region in the first millennium B.C. spoke neo-Hittite dialects; Harran, Karkamish, Aleppo and even Hamath were neo-Hittite kingdoms before the Assyrians conquered them around 700 B.C. and they are often referred to in the neo-Hittite "Hieroglyphic" inscriptions found in that region (23). So Hittite was the area that the Assyrians called it Hatti, the land of the Hittites, and it is so named in the Bible as well (cf. *Joshua* 9:1). We should not therefore be surprised to find the Hittite word *lahpas* surviving into Classical and Hellenistic times, as part of the neo-Hittite tongues spoken in the region (24).

The transformation of *lahpas* to *lucabos* is almost entirely predictable from what we already know of Hittite phonology and of the changes which occurred in the daughter languages attested in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. As for the consonants, the Hittite phoneme /ḫ/, originally a velar spirant, was sometimes pronounced as a stop even in the Bronze Age, as for example in *kilammar*, a variant of *ḫilammar* 'Torbau' (25). This change of /ḫ/ to /k/ becomes common in the neo-Hittite daughter languages, as for example in Lycian *kuga* vs. Hittite *ḫuḫḫa* 'grandfather', *Epñkuka* vs. Hittite *Appanḫuḫa*, a personal name, and *-ka*, *-ga* vs. Luwian and Hieroglyphic *-ḫa*, the first person singular preterit ending of verbs (26). We see it abundantly attested all over southern Anatolia in names derived from the divine name *Tarḫunt*, all attested in the Hellenistic period: *Τροκονδης*, *Τρακονδας*, *Ταρακονδας* and commonest of all *Τροκονδας* (27); nor is the *b* of *lucabos* versus the *p* of *lahpas* difficult to explain. The Cuneiform orthography used by Hittite scribes lacked a consistent method of indicating the distinction between voiced and voiceless consonants, except perhaps between vowels; thus [b] is as plausible a pronunciation as [p] for the labial stop in *lahpas* (28). Even if this labial was indeed voiceless in the Bronze Age, it would have likely been voiced by the Hellenistic

era; neo-Hittite tongues such as Lycian regularly voiced originally voiceless stops (29).

The vowels also present little difficulty. The *a* of *lucabos* could easily have arisen in the Hittite period. Such insertion of vowels between /*h*/ and a following consonant for easier pronunciation was commonplace: *tuhukanti* for *tuhkanti*; *tuhhussanzi* for *tuhsanzi*; *pahhasnu* for *pahsanu* (30). No **lahapas* has yet turned up, but it would be no surprise if it did. Most words with *h* + consonant seem to have been borrowed from the pre-Indo-European languages of Anatolia; this includes *lahpas*, which is marked in one passage as a loanword (31). The forms with the epenthetic vowel will then represent the popular pronunciation of Hittite native speakers, assimilating the words to their own phonological patterns, as opposed to the learned spelling of the scribes, aware of the proper pronunciation in the original languages.

As for the correspondence of the other vowels, it should be pointed out that the Hittite orthography had no means of distinguishing between [a] and [o]; we do not know whether orthographic *a* represented the former or the latter or both. As can be seen from such forms as *Τρακονδας* and *Τροκονδας*, corresponding to Cuneiform *Tarhunt-*, the Classical and Hellenistic descendants of Hittite show frequent variation. As can be observed in the second syllable of *Tarhunt-/Τρακονδας*, there is also a fluctuation between *o* and *u*, which may throw some light on the first vowel of *lucabos*.

To sum up: Hittite borrowed a word, *lahpas* 'ivory', 'elephant' (second meaning unattested as yet, but highly probable) from one of the original tongues of southeastern Anatolia (Hurrian?). According to sound patterns in Hittite and subsequent changes in the development of its daughter languages, we can reconstruct the Hellenistic descendant of *lahpas* as **lokobos*, **lakabas*, **lokabos*, **lukabos*. Northern Syria and southern Anatolia were the focal point of the new Seleukid kingdom in the third century B.C. and the center for the diffusion of war elephants, as well as for the knowledge of how to care for and use them. It is reasonable to assume that many of the mahouts and grooms used by Pyrrhos and other Hellenistic kings hailed from this region, the hillier, northern parts of which were still

peopled by neo-Hittite speakers. Asiatic elephants (*Elephas maximus asurus*) were indigenous to the area; they had been captured and tamed in the Fertile Crescent since the beginnings of civilized life. The local population would have contained numerous people having experience with elephants.

Pyrrhos' elephants came ultimately from Asia, most probably Syria, and their drivers would have come from there, too. They would have called the beasts they rode **lukabos* or something very close; the Romans would have learned the name from captives - and captured Romans would have heard it in Pyrrhos' camp. The coincidence of the last syllable with the Latin word for 'ox', 'cow' would not have escaped notice, especially since such a comparison with a much smaller - and familiar - creature would have made the gigantic beasts less terrifying in Roman eyes and thus easier to face in battle (32). In view of the southern Anatolian origin of the mahouts from whom the Romans acquired the name, the original popular etymology may have been, not Lucanian, Libyan or white cow, but *Lycian* cow, since the neo-Hittite peoples of Cilicia and northern Syria spoke a language very close to Lycian (33).

FOOTNOTES

- (1) "and sooner will a lobster (or locust) give birth to an elephant".
- (2) "she came down on my foot like an elephant".
- (3) "then the Carthaginians taught the elephants of towering body - hideous, snake-handed beasts - to endure the wounds of war and throw into confusion the great battalions of Mars".
- (4) Enk, 1970: 1107-1108.
- (5) Surely not *the* Vergil (Publius Vergilius Maro), who was 27 in 43, when *De Lingua Latina* most probably appeared, and had not published anything of note. Not until the next year did he begin work on the *Eclogues*. Nearly all the work supposedly written by him before 42 are now thought to be wrongly attributed to him. See Hardie, 1970: 1123-1128.
- (6) 1885: 148-150.
- (7) He says "Elephantos Italia primum vidit Pyrri regis bello et boves lucas appellavit in Lucanis visos anno urbis CCCCLXXII". (Italy

first saw elephants in King Pyrrhos' war and called them *boves lucas*, having seen them among the Lucanians in the year of the city 472 [= 280 B.C.].

- (8) 1916 (vol. I): 42.
- (9) The boldface type is traditionally used for Oscan and Umbrian words in the native, Etruscanizing script, while italics are employed for words in Latin letters. For this convention and a discussion of the alphabets used for Osco-Umbrian, see Poultney, 1959 (§ 1): 25-26.
- (10) Meister's assumption that **-nos* > *-ns* > *-(s)s* in Oscan-Umbrian may arise from his confusing the fate of inherited **-ns* (> *-ss* in Oscan, > *-f* in Umbrian) with that of the *-ns* resulting from the syncope of an originally intervening vowel (e.g. **Lūkānos* > **Lūkāns*), which is preserved in both languages. The *-ss/-f* from original *-ns* is sometimes dropped in late inscriptions, giving *-Ø*: the *-ns* from syncope survives (e.g. *Pūmpallans*, *Ikuvins*). See Buck, 1904 (§ 90): 59, and (§ 110): 71-73; and von Planta, 1891 (vol. I, § 235-236): 499-514, especially § 236.5-6: 511-514.
- (11) *Campans* 'Campanian' in Plautus, *Trinummus* 545, has been advanced as an Oscan ethnic adjective in Latin, with typical Osco-Umbrian vowel syncope. This is surely wrong; for one thing, Plautus' *Campans* is *neuter*, modifying *genus* ('the Campanian race'), whereas an Oscan **Campans* would be *masculine*. The reading *Campans* is, however, uncertain: the 6th-century *palimpsestus Ambrosianus*, by far the oldest Plautus manuscript, the *Campanis*. Even if we accept *Campans* and derive it from Oscan, how does this explain *luca*? We would expect either **Lucans bos* or **Campa*!
- (12) *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 1976: 1044-1045 (s.v. *luca bos*).
- (13) 1965: 56-59.
- (14) Laroche, 1968: 769-784, especially 773-779. Compare, in the same volume, Jean Nougayrol, pp. 1-446, especially (§ 169), pp. 310-321, "Signalement lyrique", which contains the Akkadian and Sumerian versions, the latter written both with ideograms and phonetically.
- (15) Adolf Erman & Hermann Grapow, 1926: 7 (s.v. *3bw*). The meaning 'elephant' is already attested in the Old Kingdom; 'ivory' appears in the Middle Kingdom. In the former case, *3bw* is followed by a pictogram of an elephant; in the latter, by one of a

tusk.

- (16) Deraniyagala, 1981 (in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Macropaedia, vol. XV): 1.
- (17) For an account of elephant hunting by Egyptian Pharaohs and Assyrian Kings, see Scullard, 1974: 26-31; and Brentjes, 1961: 9-30. Brentjes, p. 18, argues that the Near Eastern elephant was extinct by Achaimenid times, since Darius I got the ivory for his palace in Susa from India, Nubia and Arabia. This proves the opposite, however, since the homeland of the Syrian elephant on the Habur River and around Harran was often called *Arvastān* ("land of the Arabs") by the Persians and *Bēth ʿArabāyā* by the Aramaeans because it was frequented by Arab nomads. Arabia proper has never had any elephants! (For the "Arabia" of the Persians in northern Syria, see Canard, 1965 (vol. II): 523-524.
- (18) Scullard, 1974: 174-177.
- (19) Sanderson, 1962: 13; Scullard, 1974: 174.
- (20) Scullard, 1974: 174-176.
- (21) Sanderson, 1962: 79 (cf. p. 268).
- (22) Brentjes, 1961: 18, 20; illustrations on pp. 19, 23.
- (23) For an outline of the history of the neo-Hittite states, see Gurney, 1954: 39-46.
- (24) I refer to these languages as "neo-Hittite" despite the fact that they are closer to the Bronze Age cousin of Hittite known as Luwian. (Hittite, Luwian, Palaic and a number of languages from Classical Asia Minor - Lydian, Lycian, Sidetic and less known ones in Cilicia - are grouped together as the Anatolian branch of the Indo-European language family). The reason for not using "neo-Luwian" is that the term *Luwian* does not appear to have survived the Bronze Age, whereas the Anatolian-speaking people of the northern Syrian kingdoms called themselves "Hittites". So did their neighbors: the Assyrians knew North Syria as "Hatti" and the Bible calls it the "land of the Hittites". In Elamite tablets from Achaimenid Persepolis, Syrians are still called *Attip* 'Hattians' = Hittites and even today, the Turks call the area around Antioch *Hatay*, i.e. Hatti.
- (25) Friedrich, 1952 (s.vv. *ḫilammar*, *kilammar*).
- (26) Houwink ten Cate, 1961: 142.
- (27) Houwink ten Cate, 1961: 125-128.
- (28) Sturtevant, in his book (1933; 2nd ed., 1951), argues that

voiceless stops were written double intervocalically while voiced ones appear single. Whether or not this was consistent practice among Hittite scribes – and that has been questioned – they certainly did not distinguish between them initially and usually did not do so after consonants. (In the case of *lahpas*, where the *p* is written singly, the pronunciation [b] would be indicated, according to Sturtevant's system, had there been a distinction made in post-consonantal position).

- (29) Bomhard, 1981: 29. [This implicatum which Bomhard draws from the HL Luwian facultative rhotacism, as analyzed by Arbeitman & Ayala (in the GS. J. Alexander Kerns), is not viewed as a pendant phenomenon by Arbeitman, who continues to view the two phenomena (rhotacism in HL and putative "voicing" – or however else the letters be interpreted in the Alphabetic Anatolian tongues) as totally distinct and discrete processes. The reader may also wish to investigate the analysis of the latter process as presented by Shevoroshkin, this volume. Ed. (YLA)].
- (30) Friedrich, 1952, s.v.
- (31) Laroche, 1965: 57–58; Friedrich, 1952: 125 (s.v. *laphas*).
- (32) Popular etymologies such as "sparrow grass" for *asparagus* are well-known. For the use of belittling nomenclature, compare the Greek application of the word κροκόδειλος, originally meaning 'swift', 'small lizard', to the huge, carnivorous amphibious reptiles they saw in the Nile – hence, of course, our crocodiles. Such terminology has a humorous twist as well, as can be especially seen in the Greeks calling ostriches 'sparrows' (στρουθοί).
- (33) Since the Romans first borrowed Greek upsilon as *u*, and only later as *y* (Buck, 1922 (§ 76): 80, places borrowings with *y* in the first century B.C. and later), we can expect that the later *Lycus* 'Lycian' was earlier *Lucus*, just as *Syrus* 'Syrian' was *Surus*. (*Lycus* is attested only as a proper name, e.g. as a son of Pandion, king of Lycia, but is probably an older form than *Lycius*). Plautus (*Curculio* 3, 73) actually uses *Lucia* for Lycia.

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BCILL 42 : LINGUISTIC HAPPENING, 333-348

A PROPOS DES INSCRIPTIONS OSQUES DITES *IUVILAS* ET DU TEXTE VETTER 94

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Depuis plus de deux siècles qu'a été découvert à Capoue le premier spécimen de stèle caractérisée par le terme *IUVILAS*, ce groupe d'inscriptions osques a fait l'objet d'études minutieuses qui en ont clarifié bien des aspects - voir, en particulier, le livre de J. Heurgon (H), qui demeure classique, et celui, tout récent, d'A. Franchi De Bellis (FDB), qui a donné une bonne réédition de l'ensemble des textes, apportant dans certains cas des lectures nouvelles de grande importance.

Parmi les difficultés qui subsistent encore dans le dossier, les unes sont périphériques - interprétation de tel ou tel terme; l'autre est centrale - définition de ce qu'étaient au juste les *iuvilas*.

Ce sont ces deux aspects que je voudrais illustrer ici, en reprenant la question du sens de *iuvilas* (§ 1-3) et des termes *flagiuf* et *ner* du texte V 94 (§ 4-5).

0. La vingtaine - très précisément: 26 - de stèles dites *iuvilas* ont été découvertes, l'une (FDB 15), au XVIII^e siècle, toutes les autres, dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, presque toujours lors de fouilles sauvages. De ce fait, nous ignorons presque tout de leur contexte archéologique direct. Leur lieu de trouvaille n'est, lui-même, pas connu avec précision: c'est tout juste si on peut le situer dans deux propriétés modernes, le fondo Patturelli et le fondo Tirone. Du fondo Patturelli semblent provenir FDB 1-3, 4 (?), 5, 6 (?), 7-9, 12

α , 14, 16-23; près de ce terrain: FDB 13. Du fondo Tirone: 12 γ , 24 (?). De l'un d'eux: 10-11, 12 β . D'un endroit non précisé proche de Capoue: FDB 15. Encore est-il évident que certaines de ces localisations, si vagues qu'elles soient, sont sujettes à caution: ainsi, 12 α et 12 γ , qui étaient fixés aux angles d'une seule et même tombe, sont censés venir, le premier, du fondo Patturelli, le second, du fondo Tirone.

Ces deux terrains, situés, le premier, à l'est de Capoue, le second, au nord de la ville, étaient distants d'environ un kilomètre. A l'époque de nos stèles, le fondo Tirone semble avoir été occupé par une nécropole, tandis que le fondo Patturelli comportait, outre une nécropole (qui était visiblement la continuation de celle du fondo Tirone), un important sanctuaire - un *lūcus* (osque *lūvkeí*: FDB 24). Ce bois sacré devait être séparé de la nécropole par une enceinte, puisque FDB 24 fait allusion à des "portes" (osque *veruís*) du *lūcus*.

Avec son immense autel principal ($\pm 15 \times 6,5$ m) et ses douze autels annexes, ce *lūcus* évoque nettement, ainsi que l'a bien vu J. Heurgon (1), l'enclos sacré osque d'Agnone (V 147), avec ses quinze autels. Dans le sanctuaire de Capoue, la principale divinité honorée était une déesse-mère, dans laquelle il faut très probablement reconnaître Junon, à qui ont été offerts des centaines d'ex-votos. Mais à côté d'elle figuraient d'autres divinités, parmi lesquelles il est sûr qu'il faut placer Jupiter Flagius, explicitement évoqué par FDB 16, et Hercule (2).

Proviennent très probablement du *lūcus*: FDB 2, qui est dit avoir été trouvé près du temple, FDB 17, découvert près d'un des autels mineurs et d'une statuette, et FDB 24, localisé par l'inscription elle-même "près de la porte du *lūcus*" (nessimas**stafet veruís lūvkeí*: *lūvkeí* est au locatif, "dans le *lūcus*").

Proviennent sûrement de la nécropole: FDB 10, trouvé fixé à une tombe, et FDB 12 α - γ , trouvés fixés aux angles d'un tombeau.

Les inscriptions (toutes sinistroverses) sont gravées le plus souvent sur terre cuite (FDB 1-12, 14, 16, 24), mais aussi sur tuf (FDB 13, 15, 17-23). Les dimensions maximales des stèles sont les

sulvantes:

	terre cuite	tuf
hauteur	78,5 cm (FDB 12 γ)	110 cm (FDB 22)
largeur	17 cm (FDB 14)	50,2 cm (FDB 19)
épaisseur	6,6 cm (FDB 14)	33,7 cm (FDB 21)

D'après un ensemble de critères graphiques et linguistiques, les inscriptions sont datées comme suit:

- (i) deuxième moitié du IV^e siècle: stèles de terre cuite FDB 1-11;
- (ii) fin IV^e siècle et début III^e siècle: stèles de terre cuite et de tuf FDB 12-15;
- (iii) première moitié du III^e siècle: stèles de terre cuite et de tuf FDB 16-24 (ces textes sont postérieurs à ou contemporains de la réforme orthographique des environs de 300).

Tous ces documents sont écrits en alphabet osco-étrusque, l'écriture "nationale" osque.

1. Le terme *lúvilas* (nominatif pluriel)/*lúvilu* (nominatif singulier) est attesté sous des formes diverses en FDB 10-11, 14 (2 x), 16 (2 x), 18-21, [22], 23-24. Il s'agit visiblement du mot-clé de ce groupe d'inscriptions.

Ce terme est un féminin en *-ā dont on a deux orthographes différentes: *dluvil-* dans les deux stèles les plus anciennes où il est attesté (FDB 10-11), *lúvil-/lúvil-* ailleurs. Le passage de *dluvil-* > *lúvil-* est l'indice d'une évolution phonétique *dy- > *y-, bien connue par ailleurs en osque (B, p. 84). Cette évolution est attestée, en particulier, dans les stèles *iuvilas* pour le nom de "Jupiter", issu de *dyew-: dans les textes les plus anciens (groupe i), on a une forme à *dluv-* initial (FDB 6), alors que dans les textes plus récents (groupe iii), on a *lúv-* (FDB 16, 20).

La graphie récente *lúvilas*, avec -ú- écrit sept fois sur huit dans le groupe iii (FDB 16A, 18-21, 23-24 - graphie -u- en 16B), montre

que la voyelle suivant *dy- était de timbre /o/ (cf. *k^wotorōsk^wid > pútúrúspid etc.: B, pp. 36, 38).

Comme il n'arrive jamais, dans le groupe iii, que le -i- de -vil- soit noté par -f-, cette voyelle doit reposer sur un *-ī- étymologique (B, pp. 35-36).

D'après ce qui vient d'être dit, *lúvilas* doit provenir de *dyōwīlā-. La finale du mot comporte probablement un suffixe *-īlā-, non attesté comme tel dans les langues italiques, mais comparable au latin -īlis, marquant l'appartenance (Leu, p. 350), et à -ilus (Leu, p. 86), qui forme des dérivés du type de *nūbilus*, "nuageux" ~ *nūbēs*, "nuage" (3).

2.1. Avant d'établir l'étymologie de *dyōw- (§ 3), il convient de définir ce qu'étaient les *iuvilas*.

Les *iuvilas* ont chance d'avoir été des objets plus hauts que larges, puisqu'ils "se dressent", *stařet* et *stahint* (4) (FDB 24 et 16): indicatifs présents du verbe osque répondant au latin *stāre*; ce verbe s'emploie par exemple à propos de bornes délimitant un terrain (V 1B.31).

Va dans le même sens la forme verbale *ehpeřlatasset* (FDB 24), hapax, que l'on comprend par "ont été élevées": indicatif parfait passif d'un verbe formé sur la racine du latin *pīla*, "pilier" (FDB, p. 182: H, p. 51; V, p. 75).

Dernière indication concordante: la forme *stařlatasset* (FDB 24), apposée à *ehpeřlatasset*: indicatif parfait passif d'un verbe de radical *sta-dhlā-, qui s'emploie en P 175 à propos de statues et qui doit manifestement signifier "ériger" (5).

Cet ensemble de formes pourrait encore être renforcé si FDB, p. 128 avait raison de voir dans les trois traits verticaux qui suivent *eka(s)*: tris en FDB 15 une représentation symbolique des *iuvilas* - mais il convient de noter que cette inscription n'est connue que par une édition du XVIII^e siècle.

Les *iuvilas* sont liés à des (i) cultes (ii) funéraires (ii) partiellement gentilices.

(i) *Cultes*, car nos inscriptions se réfèrent à des rites divers, à célébrer à dates fixes: plusieurs stèles font état d'une "consécration", sans autre spécification, à réaliser sur les *iuvilas* elles-mêmes (FDB 10-11, 20-21) (6); d'autres précisent qu'il doit s'agir de sacrifices sanglants (FDB 7, 9, 14-15, 17) ou non (FDB 17), ou encore de banquets publics (FDB 6, 17).

En outre, FDB 20-23 évoquent les cérémonies réalisées lors de l'érection des *iuvilas*: sacrifices sanglants (FDB 20-22) ou non (FDB 20, 23).

On rapprochera de ces prescriptions l'autel de tuf et la statue trouvés à côté de FDB 17 (§ 0).

(ii) *Cultes funéraires*, puisque FDB 10 et 12 α - γ étaient fixés à des tombeaux, et qu'une partie au moins des autres stèles a chance de provenir de la nécropole plutôt que du *lūcus*.

(iii) *Cultes funéraires partiellement gentilices*, car les stèles sont explicitement attribuées (génitif possessif) à des familles (FDB 2-3, 6, 10, 12-13), à des groupes de parents (FDB 20-23) - plus rarement, à des individus isolés (FDB 11, 16, 17 [?], 18-19, 24).

Mais ce culte gentilice avait été incorporé au domaine public au moins à date récente (groupe iii), puisque la présence de magistrats capouans, les *meddix*, est requise pour certaines cérémonies (FDB 15, 17, 20-21), que l'érection d'une *iuvilla* est approuvée par un *meddix* (FDB 19) ou faite en sa présence (FDB 18, 22-24) (7), et que la présence d'un représentant de la *verehia*, association paramilitaire de la jeunesse, est nécessaire pour le sacrifice de FDB 21.

Dernières particularités des *iuvilas*: il peut y avoir plusieurs *iuvilas* érigées pour un même individu (FDB 16, 24 - dans ce dernier texte, leur nombre est donné: trois) ou pour un même groupe familial (FDB 20) - en outre, FDB 15 (texte lacuneux) parle de "trois" *iuvilas*.

Enfin, les *iuvilas* peuvent être dédiées à une divinité (Jupiter Flagius: FDB 16; voir § 4).

2.2. Deux traits caractéristiques émergent de ce dossier: les *iuvilas* devaient, physiquement, être plus hautes que larges. Et il pouvait y en avoir plusieurs érigées pour un même individu ou une même famille.

Pour savoir ce que sont ces objets, il suffit donc de se demander ce qui, dans les fondi Patturelli et Tirone, existe à plusieurs exemplaires, est plus haut que long, et, ajoutera-t-on, ne se trouve qu'à Capoue - car on ne mentionne des *iuvilas* en aucun autre endroit du domaine osque.

La réponse est évidente: ce sont les stèles elles-mêmes. Pour les dimensions, voir § 0. L'existence de plusieurs stèles associées à un même individu est assurée par FDB 18-19 (deux); associées à une même *gens*: FDB 2-3, 6 (trois), 12 (quatre); à un même groupe familial: FDB 20-21 (deux), 22-23 (deux). On notera comme particulièrement probant le fait que FDB 20 signale explicitement l'existence de plusieurs *iuvilas* d'Opilius, Vibius et Pacius Tanternaeus, alors que l'on a effectivement trouvé deux stèles érigées pour ces trois personnages (FDB 20-21).

Le texte FDB 19 impose d'ailleurs d'identifier *iuvilas* et stèles, puisque la stèle, parlant elle-même, dit "j'appartiens à Sepius Helvius". Comme les inscriptions ne parlent que de *iuvilas* et ne mentionnent jamais de termes comme "stèle" *vel sim.*, il est évident que l'objet qui appartient à Sepius Helvius ne peut être que la *iuvilla*, qui se confond, du coup, avec la stèle elle-même (cf. les parallèles osques en V 107, 172, etc.).

Cette conclusion est parfaitement compatible avec l'emploi, à six reprises (FDB 11, 16 [2 x], <18>, 23-24), qualifiant *iuvilas*, du démonstratif de l'objet rapproché de thème *eko-, qui peut s'utiliser dans un certain nombre de cas pour désigner l'objet même sur lequel une inscription est gravée (e.g. P 133). L'emploi, en FDB 10, du pronom *liuk*, équivalent au latin *is*, ne constitue pas un contre-exemple, puisque *liuk* est utilisé avec sa valeur anaphorique de référence à un objet déjà représenté (en l'occurrence: *diuvllam*, en tête d'inscription).

2.3. L'idée d'identifier stèles et *iuvilas* n'est pas neuve. A, p. 64 l'avait déjà proposée. Elle a parfois été admise (e.g. V, pp. 71-72), mais a été le plus souvent rejetée (e.g. B, p. 247; C, p. 102; FDB, p. 38; H, p. 50; PI, p. 79).

L'argument majeur dont se servent les opposants est que les stèles comportent parfois des indications topographiques spécifiant la place des *iuvilas*: "celle-ci est à droite" (liuk·destrat: FDB 10); "elles se dressent près de la porte du bois sacré" (nessimas·stafet verufis lúvkef: FDB 24); "... près de ..." (n[e]ssimas: FDB 15, texte lacuneux). Puisque, nous dit-on, les stèles peuvent signaler l'endroit où les *iuvilas* se trouvent, c'est, nécessairement, que les stèles ne se confondent pas avec les *iuvilas* (8).

Le syllogisme semble impeccable. Il n'a qu'un seul défaut: il prête aux Anciens notre mentalité moderne. En effet, pour peu que l'on compare - comme il faut toujours le faire - les inscriptions de Capoue avec d'autres textes antiques analogues, on découvre que le monde antique n'avait aucune répugnance à faire figurer sur une stèle l'indication de l'endroit où elle se trouvait.

Ainsi, on a sur des stèles funéraires grecques des formules spécifiant qu'elles se trouvent "près du chemin" (ἐγγύς ὁδοῦ) ou "le long du chemin" (ὁδὸν παρὰ τήνδε) (9). Il existe d'ailleurs des exemples de localisations extrêmement précises, telle cette inscription crétoise du III^e siècle - contemporaine, par conséquent, du groupe iii de nos *iuvilas* -, qui déclare: "pour qui regarde l'Hermès, je me trouve à droite" (Ἐρμῆα παριδόντι, ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ κεῖμαι) (10). Parallèles d'autant plus frappants que les *iuvilas* sont liées à un culte funéraire (§ 2.1).

3. Les *iuvilas* étant définis comme des stèles érigées dans la nécropole et le *lūcus* capouans pour célébrer un culte funéraire partiellement gentilice incorporé aux *sacra publica*, il reste à préciser l'étymologie du mot.

L'essai de J. Whatmough, rapprochant lúvilas du nom de "Juno" (11), qui reposerait sur *dy-, ne peut être accepté pour des raisons

phonétiques (Leu, p. 362), et n'est, à juste titre, admis par personne.

En revanche, le rapprochement avec le nom osque de "Jupiter", proposé dès 1874 par F. Bücheler (12), s'est largement imposé. Du point de vue phonétique, il ne suscite pas la moindre difficulté, puisqu'à l'époque même où, dans nos stèles, "Jupiter" s'écrit *diuv-*, le nom des "*iuvilas*" s'écrit *diuv-*, et qu'à partir du moment où "Jupiter" s'écrit *iúv-*, les "*iuvilas*" s'écrivent *iúv-*.

Du point de vue contextuel, cette étymologie reçoit l'appui de FDB 16, qui dédie précisément des *iuvilas* à Jupiter (§ 4).

Enfin, A, pp. 64-65, puis H, pp. 48-49 ont apporté à cette façon de voir un appui important en rapprochant les *iuvilas* des Μελίχιοι de Sélinonte et de Cyrène. Les Μελίχιοι sont le nom donné à des stèles dédiées à Zeus Mélichios par des individus ou des familles. Sur ces stèles, on trouve des inscriptions du type de Λυκίσκοῦ ἐμὶ Μελίχιος, "je suis le *milichios* de Lukiskos" ou de Μελίχιος τοῦ Κλευνδῶν, "*mélíchios* des Cléonides". Le parallèle avec les *iuvilas* est évidemment frappant, tant dans le procédé de formation du nom de la stèle que dans le type de culte où elle apparaît et que dans les formules utilisées.

Pour ce qui est du sens, un dérivé en *-Tīā du nom de "Jupiter" a dû signifier étymologiquement "objet appartenant à Jupiter", ce qui fait supposer que ces stèles étaient normalement dédiées à Jupiter. Ce qui va dans ce sens, c'est le fait qu'une partie de nos stèles est effectivement associée au culte de Jupiter: FDB 16 est dédiée au dieu, on l'a vu; FDB 6 et 20 prescrivent des cérémonies à effectuer lors des *loviae*, les fêtes de Jupiter; et FDB 7, 10 les prévoient lors des Ides, qui coïncidaient sans doute avec les *loviae* (FDB, pp. 55-56; H, pp. 80-81).

Il faut néanmoins reconnaître qu'il n'existe aucune stèle qui porte une reproduction de Jupiter. Or, il y en a six qui comportent des représentations d'autres divinités: Athéna casquée (FDB 6, 12 α et γ), un buste ou une tête de femme représentant sans doute la déesse-mère (FDB 3-4) et une tête d'Hélios (FDB 2).

Ces deux caractéristiques peuvent-elles remettre en question l'étymologie de *iúvilas* par *dyew-? Il ne semble pas. D'une part, en effet, il n'est pas obligatoire qu'une stèle dédiée à une divinité porte son effigie, sans compter qu'il existe, à date ancienne, des représentations aniconiques: on observera que c'est précisément le cas pour certains *mélíchioi* de Sélinonte (13). En second lieu, H, pp. 80-81 a bien montré que la consécration à un dieu de l'effigie d'un autre membre du panthéon était chose normale - noter, dans ce cas précis, que la stèle FDB 6 associe effectivement Jupiter et Athéna, puisqu'elle porte l'effigie de la déesse et prescrit des offrandes lors des *loviae*.

L'ensemble de ces données est à ce point concordant qu'il paraît difficile de suivre FDB, p. 38, qui suggère un rapprochement avec la racine *yew-, "aider" (latin *iuvāre* etc.), les *iuvilas* étant les "protectrices".

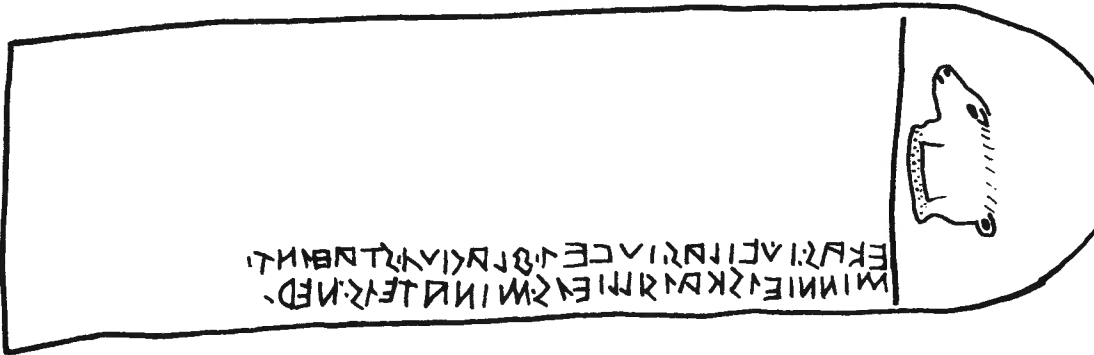
En fait, l'auteur admet elle-même que son hypothèse est phonétiquement inacceptable (puisque *iúvilas* est issu de *dy-, et non de *y-: § 1), et elle est contrainte d'imaginer que le nom des *iuvilas*, **yewTlā, aurait été réinterprété en osque comme s'il provenait du nom de "Jupiter". Cette supposition est inadmissible. Car une réinterprétation de **yewTlā ne peut, nécessairement, avoir pris place que lorsque le nom de "Jupiter" a évolué de *dyew- en *yow-, aboutissant à une séquence initiale identique à celle de **yewTlā > **yowTlā - c'est bien ainsi que l'entend FDB, qui situe cette réinterprétation "una volta avvenuto il passaggio *diuv-* > *iuv-*". Or tout ce processus est impossible, puisque le nom des *iuvilas* s'écrit déjà *diuv-* avant que le *dyew- de "Jupiter" ait évolué en *yow- (§ 1).

Dans une direction différente, V. Pisani a proposé de voir dans *iúvilas* un calque partiel du terme étrusque *tl̥nscvil*, qu'il comprend comme le nom générique de l'"offrande", mais qui aurait été étymologiquement une "offrande" [= -*cvil*] au dieu Tin [nom de la divinité étrusque correspondant à Jupiter] (14). On garde, ici, la connexion avec Jupiter, ce qui est un point favorable. Toutefois, la forme attendue du datif athématique n'est pas *-i, mais *-ei, ce qui fait que l'on devrait avoir eu **dyewei-wilā, sans haplogogie; la forme **-wilā, elle-même, ne coïncide pas de façon évidente avec

l'étrusque *-cvil*; l'interprétation donnée du *tinscvil* étrusque ne fait pas l'unanimité (15); enfin, un calque *partiel* mettant en jeu un nom de divinité semble sans parallèle connu à ce jour en osque (16). Il semble donc en définitive plus sûr et plus simple d'adopter la solution purement osque d'un **dyewTīā-* > *lúvilas*.

4. L'inscription FDB 16 est une stèle de terre cuite qui fait partie du groupe iii et est donc datable de la première moitié du IIIe siècle. Ses deux faces ont été inscrites avant cuisson par deux scripteurs visiblement différents. Ces deux textes diffèrent par quelques détails orthographiques - interponctions toujours simples en B, parfois doubles en A; en B, absence de *ú* dans *lúvilas* et de *í* dans *stahínt*; en B, toujours, gémination de *minniefs* non notée. En outre, le texte de A a été écrit en deux lignes élégamment réparties, alors que celui de B est disposé sur trois lignes maladroitement disposées.

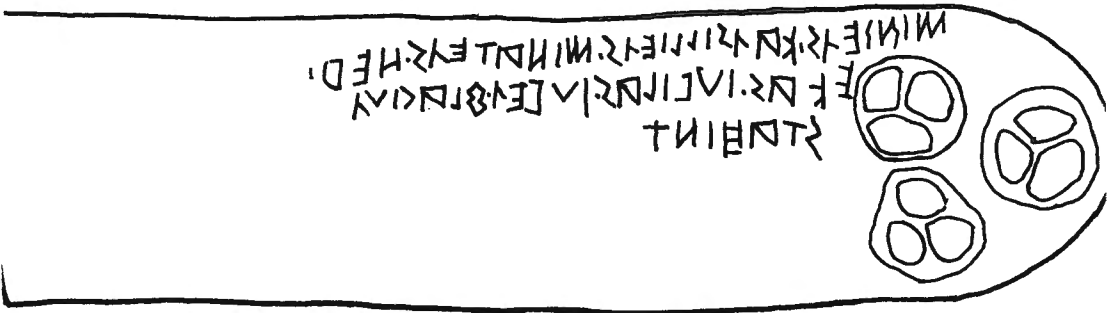
FDB 16, face A



Texte (j'adopte l'ordre des faces de V 94, mais en suivant FDB, pp. 18-19 pour l'ordre des lignes de B) (17):

- A. 1. *ekas* : *lúvilas* . *luver* . *flagluí* . *stahínt* .
 2. *minniefs* *kaíslííefs* . *minatefs* : *ner* .

FDB 16, face B



- B. 1. *ekas* . *luvilas* . *luvel* . *flaglu*
 1. *stahint*
 3. *miniefs* . *kařsilliefs* . *minateis* . *ner* .

"Les *luvilas* que voici sont dressées pour Jupiter Flagius. (Elles sont de) Minius Caesillius, (fils de) Minatus, *ner*".

La traduction ci-dessus est généralement admise. FDB, pp. 133-134, observant qu'une dédicace à une divinité est sans parallèle dans les autres stèles, a proposé de voir dans *luvel flaglu* une indication topographique du genre de celles de FDB 10, 15, 24. A cela on peut objecter, d'une part, qu'il n'est pas de bonne méthode de critiquer le caractère singulier de la dédicace FDB 16, puisque d'autres inscriptions présentent des formules non moins singulières, et pourtant non contestées: FDB 19, avec son "j'appartiens à Sepius Helvius"; FDB 24, avec ses hapax capouans *ehpeřlatasset* et *stafiatasset*; etc.

D'autre part, *luvel flaglu*, à lui seul, n'a aucun sens comme indication topographique. Du coup, FDB est forcée de sous-entendre *nessimas*, de manière à comprendre "près de Jupiter Flagius": une telle altération du texte est un motif supplémentaire pour s'en tenir à l'interprétation traditionnelle.

Qui était Jupiter Flagius? L'épithète *flagiuf* a été très généralement rapprochée du latin *flagrāre*, "flamber, être en flammes", et Jupiter Flagius a ainsi été comparé au *Jupiter Fulguriator* latin (e.g. B, p. 249; FDB p. 133). Interprétation rejetée par V, p. 85, car dans une inscription latine de Pouzzoles (CIL X.1571), des statues d'Asclépios et d'Hygie sont offertes à Jupiter Flagius (*Iovi Flazzo/Flazio*, avec flottement orthographique), ce qui lui semble incompatible avec un dieu de la foudre.

En fait, dans nos textes osques, *lúvef flagiuf* n'apparaît que dans une seule autre inscription, V 108 = P 132, trouvée à Cumes, dans le temple d'Apollon. Il s'agit d'un socle de statue (*se[kk]únúm*), avec dédicace à Jupiter Flagius de la part de la *verella*, association paramilitaire de jeunes. Il paraît clair qu'une offrande faite par une *verella* s'harmonise fort bien avec l'aspect fulgurant du dieu.

D'autre part, J. Heurgon a observé que l'un des dessins d'offrandes figurant sur les *iuvilas* était un gâteau en forme de roue (18). Cette pâtisserie porte le nom de *summanalia*, "gâteaux de Summanus"; or, Summanus, parfois appelé Jupiter Summanus, était le dieu de la foudre nocturne. Ceci aussi s'accorde bien avec l'interprétation de *flagiuf* comme *fulguriator* - d'autant plus que des *summanalia* figurent précisément en FDB 16B.

Comment concilier, maintenant, cet aspect fulgurant avec la dédicace latine à Asclépios et Hygie? Ici encore, le même auteur (*ibid.*) a clarifié la question en montrant que le Jupiter capouan avait un net aspect chthonien, concurremment à son caractère céleste. Et de façon plus générale, M. Lejeune a montré que les divinités osques étaient susceptibles d'être vénérées sous un aspect tantôt céleste, tantôt chthonien, et même sous les deux aspects réunis (19). Rien d'étonnant, dans ces conditions, à ce que des statues de divinités guérisseuses aient pu être dédiées à Jupiter Fulgurant. Rien d'étonnant non plus à ce que le même dieu ait pu être honoré par une *verella*, qui, de par sa nature même, devait à la fois exalter les faits d'armes et tenir compte des blessures et de la mort.

Le lien particulier qu'entretenait la *verella* de Cumes avec Jupiter Fulgurant fait d'ailleurs se demander si la dédicace de notre *iuvila* à

Jupiter Flagius ne pourrait pas avoir été faite par un membre de la *verehla* capouane.

Ce qui encourage à faire cette hypothèse, c'est le texte FDB 21, qui prescrit la présence, lors des cérémonies sacrées, non seulement d'un *meddix*, mais aussi d'un représentant de la *verehia*: "lorsqu' (il y aura) quelqu'un du médicament et de la *verehia*" (pún . medd(i)klas) pls Inīm verehias).

Va dans le même sens l'observation, trop peu remarquée, de V, pp. 70-71, pour qui l'érection de *iuvilas* à au moins trois frères (FDB 22-23) (20) ne peut bien s'expliquer qu'en cas de guerriers tués au combat.

5. Ce climat partiellement militaire nous conduit au dernier mot de FDB 16: *ner*.

ner a parfois été compris comme l'abréviation d'un cognomen, *ner(e)s* (e.g. FDB, p. 134; L, p. 16) - interprétation parfaitement défendable, puisque *ner* est utilisé dans l'anthroponymie italique: ombrien (V 236), sabin (*Nerō* etc., emprunté en latin) - on observera toutefois qu'il n'en existe pas d'exemple osque en dehors de celui allégué dans notre *iuvila*.

Mais une autre façon de voir a été plus généralement adoptée: que *ner* soit l'abréviation d'un nom de fonction (e.g. B, p. 249; C, p. 636; H, p. 18; PI, p. 82; V, p. 85). Cette interprétation est, elle aussi, plausible, puisque, en osque, *ner* peut avoir cette signification (21). Les exemples que l'on en a sont, à vrai dire, tous postérieurs au II^e siècle. Et la plupart d'entre eux figurent dans les noms désignant les *trium-* et les *quattuorvir*, où l'on peut soupçonner qu'il pourrait s'agir d'un calque du latin (V 2.29, 32: début I^{er} siècle: écriture latine; V 29: 30 e, h: date inconnue; écriture osco-étrusque). Toutefois, la tablette d'exécration V 5 C.4, E.3 (datée du II^e siècle par V; du IV^e par L: écriture osco-étrusque), provenant probablement de Cumae, porte nlr kulupu, qu'il est tentant de comprendre "princeps latrōnum" (L, p. 52). Un calque latin serait, ici, exclu, et l'on aurait la preuve que nlr ner aurait bien été un nom osque de fonction (22).

Si cette seconde possibilité est admise à titre d'hypothèse, il devient possible de faire un pas de plus et de lever l'obstacle principal qui handicape l'interprétation: l'absence de toute insertion institutionnelle du *ner* de FDB 16.

V, p. 85 n'a pas réussi à convaincre en y voyant le titre du président d'une association funéraire. Pi, p. 82 non plus, qui y a vu un titre peut-être nobiliaire. Mais une autre voie s'offre à partir de l'étymologie de *ner*. Le terme remonte à l'indo-européen **ner-*, qui désigne proprement l'"homme mâle" perçu en tant qu'être fort, guerrier, etc. (23). Dans le domaine italique, cette racine a donné le nom de *Neriō*, génitif (hautement archaïque) *Neriēnis*, vieille divinité de la guerre, parèdre du dieu Mars, que les Romains ont empruntée aux Sabins; toujours en sabin, *Nerō* est glosé par Suétone, *Tibère* 1.2 "fortis ac strenuus"; etc.

Si, donc, *ner* est bien un nom de fonction, il est utilisé pour qualifier un personnage qui intervient dans une nécropole où l'on sait (FDB 21) que la *verellia* envoyait des représentants. Or, ce même personnage honore Jupiter Flagius, lequel est connu à Cumae - tout près de Capoue - pour être vénéré précisément par une *verehia*. Il se peut que tout ceci ne soit que coïncidences. Mais ne pourrait-il se faire que *ner* soit le titre porté par le président de la *verellia* capouane (24)?

NOTES

- (1) *Recherches sur l'histoire, la religion et la civilisation de Capoue préromaine des origines à la deuxième guerre punique*, Paris, 1942, pp. 330-334.
- (2) J. Heurgon, *op. cit.*, pp. 334-387.
- (3) Le suffixe de *lúvillas* a souvent été interprété comme de type diminutif, mais à tort, cf. FDB, pp. 37-38.
- (4) Voir H, p. 51.
- (5) Cf. M. Lejeune, *Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* s. 8a 26 (1971), p. 676. L'interprétation de FDB, p. 182, qui comprend *stafiatasset*

par "furent approuvés, garantis" semble incompatible avec le contexte de P 175.

- (6) En outre, plusieurs stèles comportent des dates auxquelles des cérémonies devaient visiblement avoir lieu: FDB 2-5, 8, 12-13, 18-19.
- (7) Discussion de FDB 18, 22-24 chez H, pp. 89-91.
- (8) L'argumentation ainsi développée ne va pas sans difficultés, et H, p. 50, observant que la même stèle (FDB 24) qui signale que les *iuvilas* sont "près de la porte du bois sacré" utilise le démonstratif de l'objet rapproché, *eko-, pour qualifier l'*iúvilas*, décèle là "une sorte de contradiction", dont il ne se sort qu'en imaginant que FDB 24 est le double d'une autre stèle, et que, par surcroît, ses deux dernières lignes auraient été gravées après coup. Même un partisan de la thèse des *iuvilas* distinctes des stèles comme FDB, pp. 40-43 a reconnu que cette façon de voir n'était pas admissible.
- (9) Cf., e.g., W. Peek, *Griechische Vers-Inschriften* I, Berlin, 1955, n° 70-71, 97, 145-146, etc.: E. Schwyzer, *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora*, Leipzig, 1923, n° 689.
- (10) M. Guarducci, *Inscriptiones Creticae* II, Rome, 1939, pp. 187-188.
- (11) *Classical Quarterly* 16 (1922), pp. 181-189.
- (12) *Jenaer Literaturzeitung* 1 (1874), p. 609 (*non vidi*).
- (13) Cf. L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford, 1961, pp. 270-271.
- (14) *Studi Etruschi* 45 (1977), pp. 345-346.
- (15) A.J. Pfiffig, *Die etruskische Sprache*, Graz, 1969, p. 304 comprend ainsi *tinscvil* comme le nom des "Dioscures".
- (16) Cf. M. Lejeune, *Revue des Etudes latines* 45 (1967), pp. 228-229.
- (17) En FDB, p. 132, face a [= face b de V], corriger le lapsus *lúvel* (*sic*) en *luvel*; face b [= face a de V], corriger *minatels* (*sic*) en *minatels*; p. 134, corriger *lúvel* (*sic*) en *luvel*.
- (18) *Op. cit.* [n. 1], pp. 364-365.
- (19) *Art. cit.* [n. 16], pp. 229-231.
- (20) Le même raisonnement est sans doute applicable à FDB 20-21, qui mettent en jeu trois membres de la même famille dont les liens de parenté ne sont pas précisés.
- (21) La réfutation que L, p. 16 donne de *ner* compris comme nom de

- fonction en FDB 16 a été rendue caduque par la réédition de FDB 21.
- (22) En ombrien, *nerf* (accusatif pluriel) désigne "ceux qui font partie des *optimates*" et a donc une connotation sociale.
- (23) A. Ernout et A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine*, Paris, 1959⁴, pp. 438-439.
- (24) P, pp. 98-100 a proposé de comprendre, dans trois inscriptions osques (dont V 108), l'abréviation *m.v.* comme *m(eddix) v(erellias)*, ce qui impliquerait que le président de la *verella* aurait porté le titre de *meddix*. Son interprétation se fonde sur la vieille lecture de V 87, désormais exclue par la réédition de FDB 21. J'ai suggéré (*Živa Antika* 31 [1981], pp. 109-112) de voir dans *m.v.* un *meddix quinquevir*.

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LA FORMATION DE LATIN *DOMĀRE*

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1. Dans sa brève contribution "Italic Evidence" à la version préliminaire de Evidence for Laryngeals (Work Papers of a Conference in Indo-European Linguistics; cf. 1965: 181-186), C. Watkins a restitué pour l'état préhistorique de la conjugaison latine un type athématique en *-a-*, auquel appartiendrait une sous-classe soi-disant homogène constituée par *domāre* "soumettre, dompter", *vomere* "vomir, cracher", *molere* "moudre", *sonere/sonāre* "(faire) sonner" et *tonere/tonāre* "tonner" (1965: 185-186 et 188-189 de l'Appendix en réplique à G. Cardona, 1961: 415-416) (1): il s'agirait d'anciens thèmes radicaux formés sur des bases disyllabiques se₁ d'état I, devenus thématiques en latin à la suite de l'affaiblissement des voyelles intérieures (ainsi par ex. *sonis* < **sonasi*) à moins qu'ils n'aient subi l'influence de la flexion productive en *-ā-* < **-ā-je/o-* des dénominatifs (*sonās*).

Déjà G. Cardona, *loc. cit.* a mis en doute le caractère systématique des "verbes athématiques à structure *CoRā-*"; l'objet de la présente notice, dédiée à la mémoire de B. Schwartz, qui s'est particulièrement intéressé aux problèmes de morphologie verbale, est de démontrer que la formation de *domāre* n'a rien de commun en tout cas avec celle de *vomere* (§ 2) ou de *molere* (§ 3). D'emblée nous posons qu'une explication de *domāre* n'est plausible que si elle justifie à la fois le vocalisme radical *o*, la genèse du thème (latin) en *-ā-* et l'appartenance à la classe des parfaits en *-uī* avec part. passé en *-itus* (§§ 4-5).

2. D'après C. Watkins, *loc. cit.*, le vocalisme *o* de *domāre* (de même que de *tonere/tonāre*) serait analogue de *vomere*, *molere* et *sonere/sonāre*, où l'ancien *e* radical devait régulièrement aboutir à *o* (**ue-* > *vo-*, **-ela-* > **-ola-*, **sue-* > *so-*): c'est dire que pour lui le prototype est **demati*. Or une forme telle que **uematī* ne peut servir de modèle utile pour *domāre* puisqu'elle est tirée d'une base durative (i.-e. **uemx₁-* dans par ex. v.ind. *vāmtī*, etc.), alors que le rapport privatif aor. *(*e-*)/*dēm-x₂-m₀*: prés. **dēm-n-x₂-mī* tel qu'il se fait jour dans grec ἐδάμασ(ς)α: δάμνημι démontre suffisamment la valeur aoristique ou téléique de la racine i.-e. **dēm-x₂-* (cf. d'ailleurs v.ind. aor. *adamīti* gramm.). En effet, l'aoriste grec, avec δαμα- pour δεμα- (2), continue normalement une formation radicale, qui, selon les tendances naturelles de la langue, était exposée à la sigmatisation (3); d'autre part, si l'on ramène les formes sing. δάμνημι: plur. δάμναμεν à un état plus ancien **δεμναμι*: **δαναμεν* (c'est-à-dire i.-e. **dēm-n-x₂-mī*: **dm₀-n-x₂-mó*) (4), la qualité marquée du thème de présent grec ne peut guère prêter à discussion (5).

Afin de valoriser au maximum la position de C. Watkins, il convient de se demander dans quelles conditions une racine non durative peut donner lieu à un présent sans suffixe (6). A priori, en face d'un aoriste radical (forme de fondation), on peut songer à un thème de présent caractérisé par un redoublement en *-i-* (forme fondée): ainsi la flexion postulée sing. **di-dēm-x₂-mī*: plur. **di-dm₀-x₂-mó* se superposerait exactement à **di-dēx₃-mī*: **di-dx₃-mó*, etc. en regard de l'aoriste *(*e-*)/*dēx₃-m₀*, etc. (base i.-e. **dēx₃-* "donner") (7). Seulement, comme le verbe *domāre* n'entre en composition que de manière exceptionnelle (8), il n'y a pas de raison pour que la syllabe de redoublement eût disparu (9).

3. En 1975, M. Peters a pu établir pour quelques racines aoristiques une opposition accentuelle et apophonique entre les flexions indo-européennes d'aoriste et de présent (p. 41), en ce sens qu'en face d'un aoriste amphikinétique s'observe parfois un présent acrostatique, celui-ci défini par l'accentuation immobile de la racine et par l'alternance de formes fortes à degré allongé et de formes faibles à degré plein (10). Il est clair que dans cette perspective, le

thème **dema-* supposé par C. Watkins pourrait avoir été généralisé à partir d'un paradigme originel sing. **démx₂-mi*: plur. **démx₂-me*. D'autre part, comme la déclinaison des noms athématiques en indo-européen comportait, outre le type acrostatique à degré *e* aux cas forts, un type parallèle à degré *o* (11), rien n'empêche d'admettre avec J.H. Jasanoff, 1979: 83-85 (cf. aussi 1978: 44-45) une deuxième variante de présent acrostatique à alternance radicale -*ó*-/-*é*-, s'opposant le cas échéant à un aoriste amphikinétique et susceptible de s'augmenter par un redoublement facultatif (ainsi par ex. l.-e. sing. **dóx₃-mi*: plur. **déx₃-me*, d'où aussi **dé-dox₃-mi*: *dé-dx₃-me*) (12): c'est là en tout cas l'interprétation correcte de *molere* en latin, qui remonte à une flexion alternante sing. **mólx₁-mi*: plur. **mélx₁-me* (13). Il faut dès lors chercher à savoir si *domāre* ne remonterait pas directement, moyennant l'extension de l'état fort au degré fléchi, à un paradigme tel que sing. **dómx₂-mi*: plur. **démx₂-me*, qui serait à **dém-n-x₂-mi*: **dm̥-n-x₂-mó* ce qu'est **mólx₁-mi*: **mélx₁-me* à **mél-n-x₁-mi*: **m̥l̥-n-x₁-mó* (dans v. ind. impér. *m̥ḡṇīhi* de *m̥ḡ-* 2 "broyer, moudre"). Or cette analyse, à première vue séduisante et avancée en substance dès 1915 par A. Meillet (182-183), se heurte à l'observation, faite déjà par G. Cardona, *loc. cit.*, que "*domāre* was never anything but an -*ā*-verb in Latin", c'est-à-dire que l'on ne trouve jamais, si haut qu'on remonte, de forme collatérale **domere* et qu'inversement un doublet **molāre* n'a jamais concurrencé le présent *molere*.

4. Une dernière tentative, désespérée à la vérité, de sauver le caractère radical de la structure *domā-* en regard d'une racine télique serait d'y voir, avec P. Monteil 1970: 90, 315, un présent tiré de l'état II **dmex₂-*: mais à la reconstruction i.-e. **dm̥mex₂-mi*, qui est d'autant moins vraisemblable qu'elle implique la réalisation *o* de la voyelle d'appui par "analogie" avec *domuī*, *domitus* alors qu'en fait on attendrait **demuī* comme continuation de l'aoriste radical en latin (cf. *genuī* "j'ai engendré" d'i.-e. *(e-)ǵénx₁-ṛ̥), il faut objecter de surcroît que le procédé de la "balance apophonique" (*Schwebeablaut*) n'a jamais été d'application automatique dans le système proethnique (14). Pour les mêmes raisons d'ailleurs, on ne peut suivre M. Leumann, 1977: 544, lorsqu'il propose, d'après la polymorphie caractéristique du type v.ind. *gr̥bhāyāti*: *gr̥bhṇāti* "saisit" (15), de

ramener *domā-* par le biais de **domā-je/o-* à un présent en yod primaire, corrélatif avec le présent à nasale infixée (ainsi i.-e. **d̥m̥mex₂-je/o-*?). On notera au demeurant un tel présent collatéral en v. lrl., où *daimid* "permet" répond à *damnaid* "dompte", et en grec, où δαμάω doit s'expliquer par un antécédent **d̥m̥x₂-je/o-* (16), étant donné que des formes barytonique **démx₂-je/o-* ou oxytonique **d̥m̥x₂-je/ó-* eussent donné *δεῖνω ou *δαῖνω respectivement, avec chute régulière de la laryngale intérieure devant *-j-* (voir à ce propos M. Peters, 1980: 80-81 n.38 et surtout G.-J. Pinault, 1982: 265-272).

En accord avec l'enseignement de la plupart des manuels et lexiques, N. Oettinger, 1979: 357 a rapproché *domāre* de v. ind. *damāyāti* "maîtrise"= germ. **tamōjan* dans v.h.all. *zamōn* "dompter": dans le prototype **domā-je/o-* ainsi compris, on aurait affaire à une formation de causatif en **-ex₂-je/o-*, qui n'est autre en dernière analyse qu'une dérivation dénominale, provenant de noms d'action du type de **bhor-éx₂*, voire de **bhóro-*. Il ne semble pas toutefois que cette solution puisse être tenue pour satisfaisante, vu que les présents latins de ce type ont toujours développé un parfait en *-āvi* avec part. passé en *-ātus* (17). C'est la même difficulté que rencontre aussi l'hypothèse, suivant laquelle *domāre* serait un factitif du type *novāre* (i.-e. **neye-x₂ [je/o]-*), construit sur un adjectif **domus* "apprivoisé"= v.h.all. *zam*, v. isl. *tamr*, etc. (ainsi par ex. C. Marstrander, 1924: 37); il faut d'ailleurs ajouter que les adjectifs germaniques en question sont généralement considérés comme des créations secondaires (cf. A. Meillet, 1932: 109-110).

5. La solution du problème est fournie par une autre correspondance indo-germanique, à savoir v. ind. *damāyati*= germ. **tam(l)jan* "dompter" (cf. got. *gatamjan*, v.h.all. *zemman*, v. isl. *temja*, etc.), formation commune d'itératif-causatif avec phase *o* radicale (18): le prototype i.-e. **domx₂-je/o-* (cf. déjà R.S.P. Beekes, 1969: 198), tiré d'une racine *ultimaē laryngalis*, ne devait pas être affecté, en indien, par la loi de Brugmann. Il est clair que la même reconstruction ne pouvait donner rien d'autre en latin que **domāje/o-* d'où *domā-*, avec coloration de *e* suffixal par *x₂* précédent à travers la frontière de morphèmes (19), alors qu'en germanique le timbre

e (d'où *i*) a été restauré. L'ultime vérification de notre théorie se produit par le parfait lat. *domuī* avec part. passé *domitus*, qui correspond minutieusement à *monuī*, *nocuī*, *docuī*, *mōvī* (de **moṃiṃai*), etc. avec *monitus*, *nocitus*, *doctus* (de **docitus*), *mōtus* (de **moṃitus*), etc. en face des itératifs-causatifs *monē-* "faire souvenir, avertir", *nocē-* "nuire", *docē-* "enseigner, instruire", *movē-* "mettre en mouvement", etc. (i.-e. **mon-éje/o-*, **x₂ nok-éje/o-*, **moṃx₁-éje/o-* (20), etc.): il s'agit là de structures récentes, où les finales *-*ai* et *-*to-* ont été ajoutées au thème de présent à suffixe réduit *-*i-* (ainsi **moni-ai*, **moni-to-*, etc.).

Quant à l'origine de *sonāre* et *tonāre*, il n'est pas interdit de restituer des antécédents analogues i.-e. *(*s*)-*tonx₂-éje/o-* (ainsi déjà H. Eichner ap. K. Hoffmann, 1975-76: II 568 n.32 et ap. N. Oettinger 1976: 148 n.67; G.-J. Pinault, 1982: 267; cf. v. ind. *stanáyati*) et **sṃonx₂-éje/o-* (cf. v. ind. *svanayati*), allant de pair avec des présents acrostatiques sing. *(*s*)-*tónx₂-mi*, **sṃónx₂-mi*: plur. *(*s*)-*ténx₂-me*, **sṃénx₂-me* dans *sonere* et *tonere* (pour la valeur aoristique des racines i.-e. *(*s*)-*tenx₂-* et **sṃenx₂-*, cf. Joh. Narten, 1964: 275-276, 284) (21).

NOTES

- (1) Voir aussi N.C. De Wandel, 1982: 46, 64 n.5, 51, 136-139.
- (2) Voir e.a. M.S. Rulpérez, 1949: 116, et 1950: 389 n.1 (avec renvoi à E. Schwyzer et Fr. Specht); R.S.P. Beekes, 1969: 198, et 1972: 32; F.O. Lindeman, 1971: 132.
- (3) Pour la reconstruction d'un aoriste radical i.-e. sing. *(*e*)-*dénx₂-m*: plur. *(*e*)-*dṃnx₂-mó*, cf. par ex. E.D. Francis, 1970: 186, 190, 200.
- (4) La substitution de δάμνημι à δεμναμι en grec est tout à fait parallèle à celle de *stṛṇāti* à **starpñti* en sanskrit (cf. Kl. Strunk, 1967: 53-54, et 1979a: 88; pour les verbes problématiques de la classe VII des présents v. ind., cf. 1969: 216-226= 1970: 175-178, 1973: 51-74 et 1979b: 237-256). - C'est d'ailleurs l'hypothèse d'une ancienne alternance -εμ-: -α- devant -v-, résolue en -αμ-, qui rend compte enfin du traitement aberrant de -m- devant -n- (pour la reconstruction d'un ancien **δανᾱμι*, changé par analogie avec une forme en

- δαμα-, cf. e.a. G. Cardona, 1960: 504; Q. Kujore, 1970: 74-75 n.14; E.D. Francis, 1970: 200, et 1974: 23-24 n.30, etc.: - mais une représentation régulière de $-m-$ par $-\alpha\mu-$ devant R est défendue e.a. par R.S.P. Beekes, 1969: 279; Kl. Strunk, 1979a: 99; R. Normier, 1980b: 69).
- (5) Pour l'interprétation de l'infixe nasal comme marque fonctionnelle, cf. déjà J. Puhvel, 1960: 36.
- (6) On trouvera un aperçu des procédés durativisants chez Kl. Strunk, 1968: 296-298 n.32, qui parle à ce propos de *Streckung*; voir aussi J.A. Kerns & B. Schwartz, 1946: 58, et 1972: 2.
- (7) En accord avec H. Rix, 1976: 208 (cf. M. Peters, 1977: 65), nous admettons que le type de présent à redoublement (obligatoire) en *i* est amphikinétique et ne comporte donc pas de vocalisme radical *o*, s'opposant par là à la flexion acrostatique du type parallèle à redoublement (redondant) en *e*.
- (8) Cf. Thesaurus linguae Latinae V, 1948.
- (9) Pour le sort du redoublement *in compositis*, cf. par ex. F. Sommer, 1914: 548-549, 552-553.
- (10) Ce type, caractéristique d'un grand nombre de racines *praesentia tantum*, a été décrit pour la première fois par Joh. Narten, 1968: 9-19. - Aux exemples alignés par M. Peters, on peut ajouter l.-e. aor. sing. $*(e-)x_1 \acute{e}d-m$: plur. $*(e-)x_1 d-m\acute{o}$ "mordre" avec part. act. $*x_1 d-\acute{o}nt-$ "qui mord; dent" (cf. J. Schindler, 1975a: 62) par opposition au présent sing. $*x_1 \acute{e}d-mi$: plur. $*x_1 \acute{e}d-me$ "manger" avec part. act. $*x_1 \acute{e}d-nt-$ "qui mange".
- (11) Cf. J. Schindler 1975b: 262, et 1975c: 4-6.
- (12) Voir aussi M. Peters, 1980: 92-94 avec bibliographie (on notera que J.H. Jasanoff attribue ce type à la conjugaison en $-x_2 i$); - de la même classe relèvent aussi les présents intensifs à redoublement total $C\acute{e}R-CoR-ti$: $C\acute{e}R-CR-nti$ (cf. par ex. Joh. Narten, 1981: 11).
- (13) Cette structure fondamentale a dû connaître les variantes $*m\acute{e}-molx_1-mi$: $*m\acute{e}-m|x_1-me$ et (intens.) $*m\acute{e}l-molx_1-mi$: $*m\acute{e}l-m|x_1-me$ (cf. v. ind. impér. *mármartu*). - On remarquera dans lat. sing. *molis*: plur. *molitis* < $*molasi$: $*molates$ un nivellement bilatéral à partir d'un paradigme $*molsi$ (avec représentation zéro de schwa après *oR*): $*melates$. La disparition de schwa n'intervient pas dans les reconstructions $*molx_2-e/o-$ (N. Oettinger, 1979: 261, 281: type thématique à vocalisme *o*

- radical, servant de base aux itératifs-causatifs, cf. p. 306) ou *mélx₁-/*m₁x₁- (G. Klingenschmitt, 1982: 146 avec n.6: présent radical athématique amphikinétique).
- (14) Cf. E.D. Francis, 1970: 26-27 en accord avec R. Anttila, 1969. Si néanmoins on veut reconnaître dans le système verbal un contraste motivé entre les deux états d'une racine disyllabique, celui-ci se verra plutôt dans l'opposition état II à l'aoriste: état I au présent (cf. J. Schindler, 1969: 146, et 1972: 152; M. Peters, 1975: 41; H. Eichner, 1978: 153; - bibliographie chez E.D. Francis, 1974: 29). - A remarquer la base "*domā-" reconstruite par E. Benveniste, 1955:15, et 1969: I 307, bien qu'une telle structure n'entre dans aucun schéma de sa théorie de la racine.
- (15) Pour ce rapport, cf. K. Hoffmann, 1966: 68-69= 1975-76: II 462, et Kl. Strunk, 1967: 76-80.
- (16) Pour ce présent mésotonique, dit "iláyati", qu'on trouve notamment dans grc σχάω "ouvrir en coupant" (*skx₂-éje/o-), v. ind. dháyati (*dhx₁-éje/o-), lat. stāre "se trouver debout" (stx₂-éje/o-), etc., cf. J. Schindler, 1969: 152 n.50; E.D. Francis, 1970: 206; N. Oettinger, 1979: 350; M. Meier-Brügger, 1978: 236 avec n.39, et 1980:291; R. Normier, 1980a: 267 n.64 et 273 n.86; H. Eichner, 1980: 159 n.79, 160; G. Klingenschmitt, 1982: 132. - De la même façon on réécrira le présent grec ἀρῶ "labourer" comme *x₂x₃-éje/o-.
- (17) Cf. le type *multāre*, -āvī, -ātus de *multā* "amende" (X. Mignot, 1969: 269-279).
- (18) Nous croyons que dans la dérivation des itératifs-causatifs, de même que dans la formation du parfait, l'opposition téléque: atélque de l'aspect inhérent aux racines se trouve neutralisée; ainsi, les représentants du type l.-e. *sūōp-lje/o-, *x₁ōd-lje/o- > lat. *sōpīre* "endormir", arm. *owtem* "Je mange" (G. Klingenschmitt, 1978: 1-13, 1982: 157; *contra* A. Bammesberger, 1980: 4-9) ne sont que des transformations secondaires d'un état plus ancien *sūop-éje/o-, *x₁od-éje/o- sous l'influence des présents acrostatiques *sūép-mi, *x₁éd-mi (cf. d'ailleurs *dōk-éje/o- en face de *dēk-mi: E. Tichy 1976: 83).
- (19) Cf. par ex. aussi grec ποτάομαι (refait de *ποθῶμαι) "voleter" de *potx₂-éje/o- (l.-e. *petx₂- "voler"). - Le même phénomène s'observe notamment dans les aoristes intransitifs grecs ἐβίω "Il a (sur)vécu", ἐάλω "Il est mort" de

* $(e-)g^uix_3-éx_1-t$, * $(e-)u/x_3-éx_1-t$ (i.-e. * g^ueix_3- "survivre", * uex_3- "se perdre"), selon E.D. Francis, 1970: 71, 84 et *passim* (p. 87 pour le principe) et 1974: 24, 29 n.49 (cf. R. Normier, 1978: 132-134, et 1980b: 59).

(20) Pour ce prototype, cf. H. Eichner, 1973: 90 n.30, et 1975: 84; N. Oettinger, 1979: 526.

(21) Les références bibliographiques sont arrêtées à 1982.

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SYNTACTIC BOUNDARIES AND VOWEL SHORTENING IN CLASSICAL LATIN: NEW EVIDENCE

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1. The effect of a following major syntactic boundary (1)

A number of scholars such as Lindsay (1894: 210) and Vollmer (1917) and more recently Drexler (1967, 1969: 50) have proposed that iambic shortening in Old Latin was syntactically conditioned, so that iambic-shaped words (# $\bar{S}\bar{S}$ *) became pyrrhics (# $\bar{S}\bar{S}$ *) only or primarily when they were in close syntactic connection with following words:

$$\bar{S} \rightarrow \bar{S}/\# \bar{S} \text{ ______ }]_x$$

where $]_x$ is not a major syntactic boundary. While no controlled statistical tests have been performed, it is linguistically quite reasonable to suppose that the reduced autonomy of the word in phrases would promote such a phonological reduction as shortening (see Devine and Stephens 1980). From a general linguistic point of view a following major syntactic boundary would be expected to block a process of vowel shortening, since it is a characteristic environment for vowel and syllable lengthening. In English one can observe increasing lengthening of final syllables as one proceeds upward through the hierarchy of syntactic boundaries (2). Lengthening before syntactic boundaries has also been established in a number of other languages (3). The expected blocking effect of a major syntactic boundary is exemplified by the English process of trochee shortening. In English the first vowel of a trochaically stressed word like *lighten*

is considerably shorter than the same vowel in a monosyllabic word like *light*. At conversational rates of speech the domain of trochee shortening is extended from the word to the phrase, so that the duration of the segments /lai/ of *light* before *an* in the sentence

The longshoremen must *light* an inflammable carton,

where *light* occurs within a verb phrase, is not appreciably longer than the /lai/ of *lighten* in the sentence

The longshoremen must lighten the inflammable cartons.

An experiment by Cooper and Paccia-Copper (1980: 59 ff.), however, has shown that trochee shortening is blocked by a major syntactic boundary. For example, in the sentence

After the governor appointed Chuck, equality was ignored,

where *Chuck* occurs before a clause boundary, the duration of the segments /čΛ/ was 14% longer than in the sentence

After the governor appointed Chucky, quality was ignored,

where the segments /čΛ/ occur in the trochaic word *Chucky*.

2. The change $-\bar{o} > -\check{o}$ in Classical Latin: syntactic conditioning

Hartenberger (1911: 52) observed that in several hexameter and elegaic poets, a large number of the unshortened iambic verbs in $-\bar{o}$ occur "ante notam interpunctionis aut incisiones sensus". Hartenberger, however, left this as a mere philological observation, not even calculating the actual rates at which unshortened verbs were so located, and later scholars have never attempted to evaluate the potential significance of his observations. Perhaps the actual percentages of iambic verbs in $-\bar{o}$, as given in Table 1, would have attracted more attention.

Poet	Proportion of iambic verbs in -ō followed by Is (4)	N
Vergil	65.38 %	26
Propertius	80.00 %	10
Ovid (all)	80.00 %	50
Ovid, <i>Met</i>	80.64 %	31
Ovid, other	78.94 %	19
Lucan	100.00 %	7
Silius Italicus	76.29 %	13
Valerius Flaccus	88.89 %	9
Statius	86.96 %	23

Table 1

Not only do these percentages give the initial impression of being rather high, but it is tempting to discern a general, if irregular, trend of increase from Vergil on. Before we can draw any conclusions, however, we must subject these figures to careful evaluation and controlled testing. As they stand, they do not establish anything about iambic verbs in -ō that might not also be characteristic of other iambic words regardless of the phonological structure of the final heavy syllable. Most obviously, we must control for an important syntactic factor that might skew the rates at which major syntactic boundaries appear. Classical Latin is a predominantly S(ubject) - O(bject) - V(erb) language, so that we should expect verbs to occur at the ends of clauses and clause-like units at a fairly high rate. Secondly, it is well known (see Perret 1966; Drexler 1953, 1966: 93 ff.) that iambic words in general, and not just verbs, tend to occur before the caesura, or ending in position 3 or position 7 of the hexameter, and at the diaeresis in the pentameter (5). Furthermore, Drexler (1953, 1966) has argued that iambic words at these positions in the verse are frequently followed by a major syntactic boundary. We must therefore construct a test that controls for both the factor of Latin word order and for the factor of metrical localization of word shapes as well as for any metrical tendency peculiar to the general class of iambic words. This can best be done by comparing the rates at which iambic verbs in -ō are followed by major syntactic boundaries with the rate at which other

iambic verbs not ending in $-\bar{o}$ and which do not admit variation in their metrical shapes are followed by major syntactic boundaries. The most frequent category of the latter type of iambic verb is the third person plural, ending in the cluster $-nt$. In order to hold other syntactic factors as constant as possible, only Indicative forms have been used in the following tests. Finally, it is necessary to control for possible effects of the specific semantic and syntactic properties of the individual verbs involved (e.g. differences in subcategorization). Accordingly, the control sample has been limited to the same set of lexical items as occur in the first person singular indicative. The verbs in question are *ago, amo, cano, colo, dabo, ero, fero, gero, lego, ligo, paro, peto, puto, probo, rogo, scio, traho, veho, veto, voco, volo*. Thus no third person plural indicative iambic verbs were admitted into the control sample, unless they had first person singular indicative occurrences as unambiguously iambic shapes. This test was carried out for the earliest and the latest poets in Table 1 and for the poet at the mid-point: Vergil (*Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid*), Lucan (all), and Statius (*Thebaid, Achilleid*). The results are presented in Table 2.

Type of Verb	Proportion followed by Js					
	Vergil	N	Lucan	N	Statius	N
Verbs in <i>-ō</i>	65.38%	26	100%	7	86.89%	23
Verbs in <i>-nt</i>	43.63%	110	69.70%	33	59.26%	81
	o.r.= 2.185		o.r.= 6.702 (corrected for continuity)		o.r.= 4.583	
	d= 0.881		d= 1.616		d= 1.224	
	$\chi^2_{\text{homog.}} = 0.602$					
	$\chi^2_{\text{assoc.}} = 12.378$					

Table 2

The first point to be observed from the test is that the rate of major syntactic boundaries after the $-nt$ verbs in the control sample

increases after Vergil, and in fact increases and decreases *pari passu* with the rate after verbs in $-\bar{o}$. Thus at least some of the increase in the rate of major syntactic boundaries observed in Table 1 is not a purely linguistic phenomenon associated with final $-\bar{o}$, but part of a more general metrical tendency in the history of the Latin hexameter. More importantly, however, in all three poets the rate of major syntactic boundaries after iambic verbs in $-\bar{o}$ is always higher than the rate after iambic verbs in $-nt$. We need a measure of how much greater the rates after verbs in $-\bar{o}$ are. Two such measures are given in Table 2, the odds ratio (o.r.) and the standardized difference d (6). The odds ratio is the more intuitive measure of association; it is simply the odds for a major syntactic boundary after $-\bar{o}$ verbs divided by the odds for $-nt$ verbs. Thus we see that the odds for a major syntactic boundary after $-\bar{o}$ verbs ranges from little more than twice as great as the odds for a major syntactic boundary after $-nt$ verbs in Vergil, to over four and a half times as great in Statius, to, in a manner of speaking, infinitely greater in Lucan, or, when corrected for continuity, 6.702 times greater (7). Not only do all poets associate iambic verbs in $-\bar{o}$ with major syntactic boundaries more strongly than iambic verbs in $-nt$, but the strength of the association, i.e. the magnitudes of the odds ratio and the standardized difference, is greater in the two later poets than in Vergil. It is necessary to test, therefore, whether this observed increase is really significant or could be the result of merely random effects. This can be done by a method introduced by the statistician Cochran based on the standardized differences (8). The criterion for this test is the quantity $\chi^2_{\text{homog.}}$, which is the measure of the degree of homogeneity, or lack of it, among the different poets. The small value of 0.602 obtained in Table 2 would arise at random with a very high degree of probability. Thus we are not justified by the data presented in Table 2 to conclude that there is a difference between the poets in how strongly they associate iambic verbs in $-\bar{o}$ with following major syntactic boundaries.

The most important test, however, remains to be performed. Is the consistently greater rate of major syntactic boundaries after iambic verbs in $-\bar{o}$ a reality, or could it too be merely a random effect? This question can be decided by the value of the quantity $\chi^2_{\text{assoc.}}$, which measures the overall association averaged over the

poets when their specific differences as measured by the $\chi^2_{\text{homog.}}$ are discounted. The value of 12.378 obtained in Table 2 is highly significant: there is less than one chance in a thousand that such a large value would arise due to chance variation. The conclusion is clear: there is a very strong and statistically significant tendency for iambic verbs in $-\bar{o}$ to be located before major syntactic boundaries. This in turn implies that a major syntactic boundary tends to block the shortening of final $-\bar{o}$ in iambic verbs.

3. Exkursus on linguistic variation and literary tradition

From the conclusions just reached we can also deduce something of the effect of spreading linguistic change on a conservative literary tradition. Consider in particular Lucan. He never admits pyrrhic verbs arising from the change $-\bar{o} > -\check{o}$. Yet, as we have seen, he does not freely admit iambic verbs with long final $-o$; rather he always places them before a major syntactic boundary. Such a constraint on the location of iambic verbs in $-\bar{o}$ would not arise if Lucan were merely linguistically conservative, basing his usage on an earlier state of the language or on a register in which the change $-\bar{o} > -\check{o}$ had not taken place in verbs. Rather, the most straightforward explanation is to be found in the relation between the poetic register and the standard spoken register of Lucan. On the one hand, in what is probably the formal register of Lucan's sociolinguistic variety of Latin, the change $-\bar{o} > -\check{o}$ had made considerable progress. On the other, shortened forms might still be considered substandard in an elevated poetic context, so that the style of hexameter verse that Lucan was writing would not permit $-\bar{o} > \check{o}$. Yet Lucan was not writing in a situation of diglossia: his hexameter style was not completely divorced from his careful speech. Consequently free employment of unshortened iambic verbs in $-\bar{o}$ would constitute an unacceptable artificiality. Lucan's solution to this dilemma was to restrict the unshortened forms to only those linguistic contexts most conducive to the retention of vowel length, namely before major syntactic boundaries. Lucan's response was categorical. Vergil and Statius permitted variation. In Vergil's case it is possible (despite the small value of the chi-square homog. in Table 2) that the association of length and major syntactic boundary is weaker because of the spread of the change $-\bar{o} > -\check{o}$.

was not so advanced in his speech as to have eliminated \bar{o} everywhere except before major syntactic boundaries.

4. The avoidance of major syntactic boundaries after shortened $-o$

If we are correct in interpreting the demonstrated association of major syntactic boundaries with the preservation of length in \bar{o} as evidence for the blocking effect of the boundary on the change $\bar{o} > \check{o}$, then we would expect to observe the converse association, namely that pyrrhic verbs arising from $\bar{o} > \check{o}$ would be associated with the absence of a following major syntactic boundary. Theoretically, however, this converse association need not always hold. If a poet is writing at a relatively late period or admits a linguistic register into his verse in which the change $\bar{o} > \check{o}$ is well advanced and has established itself for all iambic verbs in all contexts, there would be no basis for the poet to avoid major syntactic boundaries after shortened verbs. Both on chronological and stylistic grounds Martial would appear to be a good candidate to be such a poet. Moreover, out of 72 occurrences of originally iambic verbs in \bar{o} (not in elision or at the end of the pentameter) in his elegaic epigrams, only one, *negō* (11.49.12), preserves long $-o$. In Ovid, on the other hand, $\bar{o} > \check{o}$ is not so advanced, but occurs in only 46.81% of the 94 cases of originally iambic verbs. Consequently, we might expect to find evidence of the weakening or disappearance of the syntactic constraint between Ovid and Martial (9).

Once again it is necessary to design a test of our hypothesis to control for as many extraneous linguistic and metrical factors as possible. In this case pyrrhic-shaped words arising from $\bar{o} > \check{o}$ must be tested against corresponding pyrrhic-shaped verbs that do not arise from that shortening process. The best available control sample is the class of third person singular indicative pyrrhic-shaped verbs in $-\check{v}t$. (The change $\bar{v}t > -\check{v}t$ was completed before $\bar{o} > \check{o}$, and $-Vt$ is always short in the poets considered here.) The control sample comprises *amat*, *canit*, *erit*, *negat*, *petit*, *putat*, *rogat*. Of course, these verbs can only be pyrrhic shapes when they are followed by a word beginning with a vowel. Unfortunately, this fact means that it is not possible to control for the effects of a possible

(but undemonstrated) in-built correlation in the Latin language. If it should be the case that the types of words that are more likely to occur after a major syntactic boundary also tend to begin with a consonant more frequently than other words, pyrrhic-shaped words in $-\check{V}C$ might consequently be less easy for the poets to locate before such a boundary than pyrrhic shapes in $-\check{V}$. Such a situation would make it more difficult to establish a tendency for pyrrhic shapes arising from $-\bar{o} > -\check{o}$ not to occur before major syntactic boundaries, since, in effect, the in-built correlation would prejudice the test against the hypothesis. On the other hand, if the types of words more likely to occur after major syntactic boundaries also tend to begin with a vowel more frequently than other words, the test would be prejudiced in favor of the hypothesis, and any association observed between $-\bar{o} > -\check{o}$ and the absence of major syntactic boundaries could in part be a spurious one. While this reservation cannot be completely ruled out, any positive correlation between tendency to occur at the beginning of clauses and tendency to have initial vowels cannot be very strong and is not likely to have much influence on the compositional strategy of the poets. Fortunately, moreover, the possibility of such a correlation becomes irrelevant when the test is expanded to compare the practices of different poets. Any difference between the poets in their treatment of $-\bar{o} > -\check{o}$ before syntactic boundaries cannot be the result of an in-built correlation in the language, since it would be operative for both poets. Just such a difference is revealed between Ovid and Martial in Table 3.

Type of pyrrhic verb	Proportion followed by Is			
	Ovid	N	Martial	N
$-\check{o}$	6.82%	44	16.90%	71
$-\check{V}t$	20.00%	100	11.11%	36
	o.r.= 0.293		o.r.= 1.627	
	d= -0.9822		d= 0.4555	
	$\chi^2= 3.955$		$\chi^2= 0.630$	

$$\chi^2_{\text{homog.}} = 3.607$$

Table 3

Syntactic conditioning is clearly present in Ovid: the odds on a major syntactic boundary following a third person singular indicative pyrrhic verb in $-\check{V}t$ are over three times as great as for pyrrhic verbs arising from $-\bar{o} > -\check{o}$. The χ^2 for Ovid is 3.955, which means that there is less than one chance in twenty that the observed association is a random phenomenon. The situation in Martial, however, is different: here in fact major syntactic boundaries are slightly more frequent after pyrrhic verbs arising from $-\bar{o} > -\check{o}$ than those in $-\check{V}t$. The difference between the rates, however, is not significant, but consistent with random variation from equality. Probably due to the small size of the sample of appropriate pyrrhic verbs in $-\check{V}t$ that I was able to obtain for Martial, the $\chi^2_{\text{homog.}}$ does not quite attain the critical value of 3.84. Nevertheless, I believe we are justified in seeing a genuine difference between Ovid and Martial: for Ovid the syntactic constraint is operative, but for Martial the syntactic constraint has been overcome in the spread of the shortening. Such a difference correlates perfectly with the chronological and stylistic differences between Ovid and Martial, and particularly with the differences in rates of application of the change $-\bar{o} > -\check{o}$ in the two poets (10).

In summary: a following major syntactic boundary tends to block the shortening $-\bar{o} > -\check{o}$ in iambic verbs and to encourage the retention of vowel length. The absence of such a boundary, at least in the earlier stages of the change, promotes the shortening. The syntactic constraint is gradually eroded as the phrase-internal (the linguistically most common) variant is generalized to all contexts.

NOTES

- (1) For the present it is necessary only to dichotomize the hierarchy of syntactic boundaries: boundaries weaker than clause boundary and boundaries equal to or stronger than clause boundary. I refer to the latter as "major syntactic boundaries". This class corresponds to Rudolph Hartenberger's (1911: 52) notion of *Inclisio sensus*. Since the symbol]s in transformational generative syntax roughly corresponds to the notion of clause boundary in traditional

grammar, it is employed as an abbreviation in the tables.

- (2) This emerges very clearly from the graphs presented by Oller (1973: 1235 ff.).
- (3) For Russian see Zlastouva cited in Oller (1973); for Dutch and Swedish see M. Lindblom (1975: 387 ff.), Lindblom, Lyberg and Holmgren (1981), and Nooteboom (1972); for Spanish German, and French see Delattre (1966: 182 ff.); for Japanese see Homma (1973: 347 ff.).
- (4) Words at the end of the pentameter are not included, as, of course, words in elision.
- (5) The end of the pentameter must be excluded because it does permit, if rarely, final short vowels. The increasing tendency for iambic words to be placed at the end of the pentameter is a well recognized phenomenon in the history of Latin meter. See Sturtevant (1924), Platnauer (1951), and Veremans (1969).
- (6) The standardized difference is the difference between the proportions reported for each poet divided by $p(1-p)$, where p is the average rate at which major syntactic boundaries appear after both classes of verbs considered together.
- (7) Since it is mathematically meaningless to divide by zero, a small quantity such as 0.5 is often added to the raw frequency data before the odds ratio is calculated; this is called a correction for continuity.
- (8) For the mathematics see Fleiss (1973: 112 ff.). Cochran's method is preferred to tests based on the odds ratio since it is a statistically more powerful test.
- (9) A substantial number of pyrrhic verbs rising from $-\bar{o} > -\check{o}$ are parenthetical uses of *puto* as a modal particle and of *rogo* as interrogative particle. The commas with which the editors frequently set off these words obviously do not constitute major syntactic boundaries: cf. Ovid, *Epistulae ex Ponto* 3.1.103 *omni puto tempore*.
- (10) The value of $\chi^2_{\text{homog}} = 3.607$ is statistically significant in the sense of a "one-tailed test". That is, if we are only interested in the chances that Martial would have a smaller or reserved degree of association, the observed difference between $d = -0.9822$ for Ovid and $d = 0.4555$ for Martial is significant. This is precisely what the linguistic hypothesis predicts, so that we may take Table 3 as confirmation of a one-tailed test of that hypothesis. In

Stephens, (1986: 248) Table 4, through a scribal error, reports the simple difference, 0.1318, rather than the standardized difference, 0.9822, for Ovid; for Martial also there is a misprint: it should be $d = -0.4555$. The odds ratios and the differences were calculated in the reverse direction from those given here, but this makes no difference for the test.

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BCILL 42 : LINGUISTIC HAPPENING, 373-381

OSCAN TRUTUM

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To honour the memory of Benjamin Schwartz, I have chosen a problem of textual and etymological analysis in a well-known Oscan text, the *Tabula Bantina* (1). The passage that will be dealt with opens with a conditional clause, and reads:

*"Suaepis pru meddixud altrei castrous auti eituas zicolom dicust,
izic comono ni hipid ne pon op toutad petirupert urust sipus
perum dolom mallom in. trutum zico. touto peremust".*

The municipal procedure described here refers to the number of preliminary hearings, and to the interval to be observed in cases of legal suit. As is clear from the text, the Oscan stipulation hardly differs from the Roman procedure (2), with the exception that at Bantia there was an interval of thirty days between the final hearing and the convocation of the *comitia*, as the continuation of the text shows:

*"Petiropert, neip mais pomtis, com preiuatud actud pruter pam
medicatinom dldest, in. pon posmom con preluatud urust, elsucen
ziculud zicolom XXX nesimum comonom ni hipid".*

Contrary to Roman usage, the Bantian procedure allows for four to five preliminary hearings, separated by an interval of thirty days from the convocation of the *comitia* (which in Rome pronounced its verdict immediately after the *quarta accusatio*, following upon the end of the period of *trinum nundinum* setting in after the third preliminary hearing).

The above cited passages have as yet not received a definitive account, although their basic content and grammatical structure (including the morphology of the verbal forms: *dicust*, Ind. Future Perfect; *hipid*, Subj. Perfect; *urust*, Ind. Future Perfect; *didest*, Ind. Future; all third person sg.) are clear. Moreover, the formula *sipus perum dolom mallom* "without guile" has received a satisfactory explanation in the light of Latin *sciens dolo malo* "wittingly with guile" (3). The problems lie in the explanation of *castrous* and *trutum*. The former word, also attested in Umbrian (*castru-*) has received two divergent translations, viz. "real estate" (Latin *fundus/fundi*), and "head" (Latin *caput*). The most elaborate defense of the latter translation had been offered by Buck (1904: 236-237) (4), who later abandoned his view (see Buck 1928: 364) (5). The most exhaustive critical account of the problem can be found in Ernout's (1961) study of the *Tabulae Iguvinae*, s.v. *castru-*, in which the author rightly defends the interpretation of Oscan and Umbrian *castru-* as meaning "real estate". "Le groupe *ueiro pequo* a son correspondant exact dans l'avestique *pasu vîra* "pecua uiros". On grouperait ainsi: 1° *nerf arsmo* "*principes *sacerdotes?" où *ner-* semble désigner comme en osque les magistrats de la cité, cf. *niir* "magister", *nerum* "magistrorum", et *arsmo-*, peut-être des prêtres (ou les Institutions sacerdotales?); 2° *ueiro pequo* "uiros, pecua"; 3° *castruo frif* "fundos, fruges", en faisant de *castruo* le pluriel d'un thème en *-u-* comme *pequ-* à rapprocher du lat. *castrum*. Mais cette explication a été contestée. Le mot existe en osq., gén. *castrous*, abl. *castrid* dans la Table de Bantia, 2, 1.8 *pis pocapit... comono hafiest meddis dat castrid loufir len eituas*; 3, 13 *suaepis pru meddixud altrei castrous auti eituas izicolum dicust*, où *castrid*, *castrous* s'oppose à *eituas* qu'on interprète par *pecunia* sans du reste appuyer ce sens sur une étymologie sûre, cf. W.H. I 407, 408, II 848. Or, aux *iudicia pecuniae* sont joints les *iudicia capitis* dans Tite Live 26, 3, 8 "*quoad uel capitis uel pecuniae iudicasset priuato*", cité par Buck qui traduit le texte osque par "quis quandoque... comitia habebit magistratus de capite uel in pecunias" "si quis pro magistratu alteri capitis aut pecuniae diem dixerit" cf. OUG p. 236, pour un essai d'explication étymologique - qui à vrai dire est plus ingénieuse que convaincante. Dans ce cas, *ueiro pequo* seraient des génitifs compléments de *castruo* et signifieraient "uirorum, pecuum capita", *frif* "fruges" se trouvant isolé. Mais la dissymétrie ainsi créée est peu vraisemblable,

et d'autre part l'expression osque *dat castrid loufir en eituas* peut aussi bien s'entendre "de fundo uel in pecunias", *castrous auti eituas* "fundi aut pecuniae", "à propos de terre ou d'argent". Devoto coupe: *nerf arsmo, ueiro pequo, castruo fri pihatu* et traduit "principes [et] sacerdotes, homines [et] pecudes, capita [et] fruges plato", mais son interprétation de *castruo* "capita" par "animantia", p. 198 sqq., est arbitraire, et ne convainc pas non plus; cf. Pisani, p. 143, qui s'en tient à l'interprétation traditionnelle, "fundos fruges" (Ernout 1961: 111-112).

The second problematical form in the above cited passage is *trutum*. This form occurs in the coordinated clause *in. [= inim] trutum zico. [= zicolom] touto peremust*, and constitutes a noun phrase, the head of which is *zico[lom]*, a *-kelo-* formation (**diē-kelo-*), which I prefer to interpret as an accusative singular (second declension) (6). The phrase should be interpreted as the direct object of *peremust* (which has *touto* "people" as subject), meaning "to perceive (something)/to be notified (of something)". The verbal form is a third person singular of the Future Perfect of the compound third conjugation verb *per-emo* (cf. Umbrian *emantur* "accipiantur"). The direct object of *peremust* is directly related to the stipulation, and more specifically to the frequency of the preliminary hearings. The sequence *trutum zico.* then refers to a particular day (on which such a hearing takes place), and it is in the light of this that an interpretation of *trutum* can be proposed. This word refers to a particular day, the "ordinal sequence" of which is determined by the series of preliminary hearings. With respect to the latter the text offers an unequivocal indication: *petirupert*, i.e. "four times". In conjunction with the four preliminary hearings to be respected by the magistrate, *trutum zico[lom]* can be interpreted as "the fourth day". Interestingly, the formal link between the numeral adverb and the ordinal has been obscured by a number of sound-laws. The form *petirupert* is a numeral adverb to be analysed as *petiro-pert* (for *-per/-pert*, compare Latin *semper* and Umbrian *trilu-per*), the first part of which is **petria* (after the model of **tria*, neuter pl.), directly related to Oscan *petora* "four". These forms must be derived from Indo-European **k^Wetwor(a)* (cf. Sanskrit *catvāra-*, Greek *τέσσαρες*, Lithuanian *keturi*) and **k^Wet(w)ḡ-(l)yo-*. The change of *k^W* to *p* is general in Oscan and Umbrian (Oscan *pud* and *pod*, Umbrian *puḡ-e*,

Latin *quod*; Oscan *pid*, Umbrian *piř-e*, Latin *quid*; etc.).

The form *trutum* "fourth" must be analysed as going back to Indo-European $*k^wtur\text{-}to$ or, better, $*k^wt_g\text{-}to$, with zero-grade in both syllables. This form should be linked with Sanskrit *turīya-* "fourth" (7) (based on a formation $*k^wtw_g\text{-}(l)yo\text{-}$) and Avestan *āxtūirīm* and *tūrya-* (8). With respect to the evolution of $*k^wt_g\text{-}to$ to Oscan *trutu-*, we note that the initial cluster k^wt simplified to *t* (a change which must probably be situated in the Pre-Italic period) (9), and that *-ru-* (and not *-ur-*) corresponds to interconsonantal $(w)_r$ (10).

In the light of this analysis, the passage cited at the beginning can be translated as follows: "If someone by virtue of magistracy shall have settled the day for someone else in a suit involving real estate or a fine, he must (can) not hold the assembly until (unless) he has brought the accusation four times before the people without guile, and the people have received [the news concerning] the fourth day".

NOTES

- (1) The text of this bronze tablet can be found in the editions of Conway (1897), von Planta (1892-1897) and Buck (1904, second edition 1928).
- (2) See Cicero, *De domo sua* 17.45: "Nam cum tam moderata iudicia populi sint a maioribus constituta, primum ut ne poena capitis cum pecunia coniungatur, deinde ne improdicta die quis accusetur, ut ter ante magistratus accuset intermissa die quam multam irroget aut iudicet, quarta sit accusatio trinum nundinum predicta die, quo die iudicium sit futurum"; Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 26.3: "Bis est accusatus pecuniaque anquisitum; tertio testibus datis, cum, praeterquam quod omnibus probris onerabatur, iurati permulti dicerent fugae pavorisque initium a praetore ortum, ab eo desertos milites, cum haud vanum timorem ducis crederent, terga dedisse, tanta ira accensa est ut capite anquirendum contio succlamaret. De eo quoque novum certamen ortum; nam cum bis

pecunia anquisisset, tertio capitis se anquirere diceret, tribuni plebis appellati conlegae negarunt se in mora esse quo minus, quod ei more maiorum permissum esset, seu legibus seu moribus mallet, anquireret quoad vel capitis vel pecuniae iudicasset privato".

- (3) On the predicative use of adjectives with the force of adverbs, see Buck (1904: § 306).
- (4) "Nearly all commentators have taken *dat castrid* and *castrous* as "de fundo", "fundi". But the objection raised long ago by Lange, Tab. Bant., 21 ff., has never been answered, namely that according to all Roman analogies we have to do with criminal procedure, in which a suit involving real estate would have no place. He translates "capitis", but with an untenable explanation of the form. Recently Bréal, *Mém. Soc. Ling.* 11, 5, without recollection of Lange's view, quotes the opinion of a legal colleague that "capitis", not "fundi", gives the contrast to be expected, and suggests that *castrid*, *castrous*, were inscribed by mistake in place of a word corresponding to L. *caput*. But this last assumption is not necessary. For, retaining the formal connection with L. *castrum*, the meaning "head", though apparently remote, is more easily explained than "real estate". The word is generally connected with L. *cassis*, and so would contain the root (s)kat-, s(k)ad- "cover, protect", the cognate nearest in form being Skt. *chattra-m* "parasol". From the meaning "protection", whence in L. "fortress", may come "cover" or "summit", which frequently interchange with "head". Cf. Skt. *kakud* "mountain-peak" and "head"; - Germ. *Glebel*: Grk. κεφαλῆ; - Germ. *Kopf* probably: Eng. *cop*, Dutch *kopje*; - and especially Germ. *Dach* "covering, roof" (*decken*, στεγῶ, etc.), used dialectically in sense of "head". The Umbrian *castruo*, *kastruvuf*, which cannot be separated from the Oscan forms, occur in two often repeated phrases. In Va 13 ff. the perquisite for the performance of certain ceremonies is fixed at so much *pusti kastruvuf*, commonly taken as "in fundos", "for each estate". But the meaning "in capita", "for each person" (cf. Livy 2, 33, 11 etc.) is more appropriate (cf. *in hominem a. II*, CIL. VI 820). In the other passage, where the word occurs among a series of objects which the *gōd* is asked to preserve (VI a 30 etc.), the meaning "capita" is less attractive, and were it a

question of this passage alone we should prefer "fundos". But it is possible to take *pecuo castruo* together as "pecuum capita", or else to assume that the word was also used for small animals, sheep, goats, etc., in contrast to *pecuo*, large animals, kine".

- (5) "But the second Umbrian passage, where one cannot ignore the obvious grouping of the words in pairs, especially since Wackernagel's discussion, KZ 43, 295 ff. (though I do not agree that *ueiro pequo* are dual forms) is so decisively adverse to the interpretation "capita" that "fundos" should be substituted in the translation, reading in VI a 20 etc. *ueiro pequo, castruo fri* "viros pecua, fundos fruges", in V a 13 etc. *pusti kastruvuf* "in fundos", and similarly O. *dat castrid* "de fundo", *castrous* "fundi".
- (6) Buck (1904: § 268 and register) seems to analyse all instances of *zicolom* as genitive plural forms (genitive of time; compare Greek $\nu\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma, \tau\rho\iota\omega\nu \mu\eta\nu\omega\nu$), but this interpretation (which I accept for Oscan *elsucen ziculud zicolom XXX nesimum* "shall not hold the comitia within the next thirty days from that day") seems less valid for the passage under discussion. For the interpretation of *trutum* (*zicolom*) as an accusative singular, see von Planta (1892-1897: I, 122; II, 196), who hesitates between the meaning "definitus, certus" (as proposed by Lange, Schweizer and Bréal) and "quartus"; see also Bottiglion (1954: 121) for the syntactic and semantic interpretation of *trutum*.
- (7) See Mayrhofer (1956: 515), s.v. *turīyaḥ*: "der vierte/the fourth (seit RV; später auch *tūrīyaḥ, turīyāḥ*), *tūrīyaḥ* ein Viertel ausmachend, *turyaḥ* der vierte; vgl. aw. *tū'ryō* der vierte, wohl auch heth. **du(r)ja-* in *LUdujanalli-* "der viert(nächst)e Mann" (Sommer, IF 59, 205 ff.), mit Vereinfachung der Anlautgruppe aus **q^Wtur-* (: aw. *ā-htūrīm* "viermal"), zu *catvāraḥ*. Die jüngere Bildung ist *caturthāḥ*".

For a different interpretation of *trutum*, see Vetter (1953: 21 ff.) and the now obsolete study by Huschke (1856: 66, 415), who translates *trutum* as "inutile, frustraneum". Pokorny (1959: 643) includes *truto(m)* under **k^Wet^Wer-*, but remains hesitant ("wenn es 'quartum' bedeutet").

- (8) See Bartholomae (1904: col. 310, 656-657).
- (9) Both Bartholomae (1904) and Mayrhofer (1956) refer to Greek $\tau\rho\upsilon\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ (the first element of which goes back to zero grade **k^Wtru-*, with loss of *k^W-*). Note that Müller (1926: 371) puts

trutum under *q^ha/et^hor-, whereas it should be under his entry *q^hat^hor-tos (p. 372). See also Boisacq (1923²: 988, s.v. τρυφάλεια), who reconstructs IE *k^wtru- and intermediate *πτρυ-.

For the reconstruction of the various series of Indo-European numerals I refer to the masterly treatment by Szemerényi (1960; 1970: 204-211).

- (10) Anaptyctic -u- (giving us *t(w)ḡ-to > *truto-) must be excluded, since there is no example of vowel insertion between liquid and dental in Oscan.

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POSTSCRIPT *: Hittite ^{LU}*dujanalli-*

The reference in Mayrhofer (1956: 515), quoted in note 7, to Hittite ^{LU}*dujanalli-* is based on the then generally accepted interpretation of Sommer (in *IF* 59, 1949). Beginning with Kronasser, *Vergleichende Laut- und Formenlehre des Hethitischen*, 1956 [somewhat hesitantly, compare p. 151 and the note on p. 251] serious doubts have been cast on the validity of Sommer's analysis. There are two serious objections against the interpretation of *dujanalli-* as "fourth" or "fourth-ranking": 1° the evolution from IE **k^wtur-* to Hittite *du-* has no parallels in Hittite; 2° the root for "four" in Hittite seems to be *meu-/miu-* (Luwian *mau^{ya}*) [see H. Güterbock, *RHA* 15, 1957, p. 1-8, esp. 1-3; E. Laroche, *DLL*, 1959, p. 70; *HD* fasc. 3: 3, s.v. *meu-/miu-*]. Since Güterbock's *RHA* article, ^{LU}*dujanalli-* has almost universally been interpreted as "second/second in rank" (Germ. *zweitrangig*), which is phonologically less opaque and fits contextually well with ^{LU}*tarrijanalli-* "third" [see also J. Friedrich, *Hethitisches Elementarbuch*, I. Teil, 1960, p. 72 n.1, who raises doubts about Sommer's interpretation and seems to prefer Güterbock's interpretation; only the latter is retained in J. Tischler, *Hethitisch-Deutsches Wörterverzeichnis*, 1982, p. 92]. With respect to the phonological explanation of *dujanalli-*, see the summary of the interpretations in J.J.S. Weitenberg, *Die hethitischen U-Stämme*, 1984, p. 208 (dw > d; cf. *dān*, *dā-yugas*) and p. 453; notes 561 and 562 (for the numeral stem, compare hierogl. Luwian *tuwi-*, and Lycian *kbi-* and *tbi-*). The interpretation of *dujanalli-* as "fourth", common in the 1950s, seems now completely abandoned; consequently the reference to the Hittite materials in Mayrhofer's passage quoted in note 7 has

* This postscript is the result of an exchange of ideas with Yoël Arbeitman, whom I want to thank for his valuable suggestions and critical remarks, and for letting me profit from his vast erudition.

no probative value, though it does not entail his etymologizing of the Indo-Iranian forms.

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VOLSCIAN UND UMBRIAN*

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1. Introduction

Since the publication of James Poultney's "Volscians and Umbrians" (1951), most students of Italic dialectology have claimed that Volscian and Umbrian form a separate subgroup, together perhaps with Aequian and Marsian, within the Oscan-Umbrian (O-U) branch of Italic (1). And although our knowledge of Volscian depends upon one inscription (2) - the so-called LEX VELITERNA (Ve 222) (3) - a rather large number of shared innovations have been offered in support of this Volscian-Umbrian connection. Poultney (1951: 122-23), for example, argues for the following phonological (nos. 1-7) and onomastic/stylistic (no. 8) similarities between Umbrian and Volscian (4): 1° monophthongization of diphthongs, e.g. Volscian *esaristrom* ACC SG 'expiatory sacrifice' - Umbrian *esunu* NOM/ACC PL 'divine' (IIa 2) < **a₂is-*, cf. Paelignian *aisis* DAT PL 'gods' (Ve 204); 2° loss of word-final *d* after long vowels, e.g. Volscian *toticu* ABL SG 'public' < **toytikōd* - Umbrian *tota* ABL SG 'state' (Ia 5) < **toytād*; 3° loss of word-final *-t* after consonants, e.g. Volscian *atahus* 3 SG FUT PERF 'steal' < **ad/ā-tetagust* - Umbrian *fus* 3 SG FUT PERF 'be' (VIb 40) < **bhust*; 4° change of **d* to *r* before labials, e.g. *arpatitu* 3 SG IMPV 'offer' - Umbrian *a₂fertur* NOM SG 'priest' (Ib 41) < **adp/*adf-*; 5° the palatalization of velars before **j*, e.g. Volscian *fa₂ia* 3 SG SUBJ - Umbrian *fa₂ia* (IIa 17) < **fak₂iāt*, cf. Oscan *fakiliad* (Ve 88a); 6° the treatment of word final **-ns*, e.g. Volscian *asif* ACC PL - Umbrian *sif* ACC PL 'pigs' (Ia 7) < **sūns*; 7° the fronting of **ū* to *i*, e.g. Volscian *bim* ACC SG 'cow' - Umbrian *sim* ACC SG 'pig' (IIb 1) < **sūm*; 8° the arrangement of the onomastic

formula in the sequence praenomen, patronymic, gentilicum, e.g. Volscian *ec:se:cosuties* 'Eg(natius), son of Se., Cossutius' - Umbrian *la:ma tuplei:* 'La(rs), son of Ma(rcus), Dupleius' (Ve 232a).

Generally, these correspondences are accepted without being subject to much critical scrutiny, a fact which is attributable in part at least to the paucity of data. But some of the correspondences listed above are, on the surface at least, very suspicious, e.g., the loss of *t after consonants. As a result, the possibility arises that there are similarities offered in support of the Volscian-Umbrian connection which are of little real value as criteria for subgrouping. It is necessary, then, to evaluate each correspondence in terms of its value for subgrouping. Only then can one determine the linguistic relationship of Volscian with respect to Umbrian.

2.1. Monophthongization of diphthongs

Monophthongization is generally considered to be one of the primary linguistic features for determining the position of Volscian, and other Sabellian languages as well, within O-U (5). But unfortunately, the value of this feature as a criterion for subgrouping Volscian has been exaggerated.

The monophthongization of diphthongs is widely distributed through most of the languages of central Italy (see Table 1). It is attested in Umbrian of course. Among the Sabellian languages, in addition to Volscian, it is found in Marsian (*pucle[is]* DAT PL 'sons' (Ve 224) < **puklōjs*), Aequian (*state* DAT SG 'Stata Mater' (Ve 226) < **statāi*), and possibly in Sabine (*fedus* 'goat' (Festus 205) < **ghajdos*), although the evidence is difficult to interpret (6). According to Latin lexicographers and grammarians this change is also attested in rural (= Latin of the city Rome) varieties of Latin (7). Inscriptional evidence from a variety of sources in southern Latium confirms their statements (Praenestine *Plotia* NOM SG CIL XIV 3369 < **Plautia*, Norba *locina* DAT SG (Ve 511) < **loukīnā*, etc.). Similarly, in the *ager Faliscus*, the evidence of later chronological layers points to monophthongization in Faliscan (*efiles* NOM PL (Ve 264a) < **ajdhilēs*) (8). And there is some indication that Etruscan also participated in

this change (*peθn(ei)* < *paiθ(unas)*), although the outcome is phonetically distinct in some cases (9). Thus, there appears to be a geographical continuum for the monophthongization of diphthongs which extends south from Umbria as far as southern Latium, east perhaps as far as the Aternus river valley, and west into the area surrounding Rome. This continuum encompasses the territory of the Umbri, Falisci, Sabini (?), Aequi, Marsi, Volsci, and the rural Latini. The fact that contiguous languages in central Italy all share a similar set of changes, including languages which do not belong to the O-U branch of Italic, indicates that monophthongization must have originated in one of these languages and spread to the rest by means of contact, although it is impossible to say where geographically the innovation occurred and in what direction it spread (10). At any rate, it is clear that this feature can be of little value for determining the position of Volscian.

2.2. Loss of final *d* after long vowels

The loss of word final *d* after long vowels must be divided into two categories depending on the source of the *d*: 1° *d* < **d* and 2° *d* < **t*.

In both Umbrian and Volscian there is evidence for the loss of *d* from both sources: 1° **d* Umbrian *tota* < **toytād*, Volscian *toticu* < **toytikōd*; 2° *d* < **t* Umbrian *façia*, Volscian *façia* < **fakjāt*. However, the loss of *d* in the same environments is well-attested in Latin, by the beginning of the second century, i.e., at a time roughly contemporaneous with the Volscian and Umbrian evidence (11). In the Faliscan material of the 4th and 3rd centuries there are no examples of final *d* < **t*. There are only two examples of final **d*. In one case *d* remains (*foied* ADV 'today' (Ve 244) < **ghodjēd*), in the other it is lost (*ifra* ADV 'inside' (Gi 87) < **enferād*). And, although there is no evidence bearing on this change in Marsian or Aequian, two of the eastern Sabellian languages do attest the change. In Paelignian there are examples of the loss of final **d* from both **t* and **d*, e.g. *aetatu* ABL SG 'life' (Ve 213) < **ajtātōd*, *dida* 3 SG SUBJ 'give' (Ve 213) < **didāt*, but there are also cases – all adverbial forms – where final **d* has survived, e.g. *fertlid* ADV 'copiously' (Ve 213) < **fertlīd*. For

Paelignian, then, the loss is not categorial, as in Volscian and Umbrian, but variable, or at least restricted to certain morphological categories. Marrucian, attests the loss of final *d* < **t*, e.g. *ta[ɣ]a* 3 SG SUBJ 'steal' (Ve 218) < **tagāt*; unfortunately, this is the only example of final *d* < **t* and examples of original **d* after long vowels are not attested at all. As a result, it is impossible to be certain of the status of the loss of final *d* in Marrucian.

Once again, then, it is possible to recognize a large area of central Italy which shares a linguistic change (for summary see Table 2). For the loss of final *d*, this area includes the territory of the Umbri, Volsci, and the rural/urban (= Latin of the city Rome) Latini. It is attested once in Marrucian and occurs variably in Faliscan and Paelignian. This feature appears, like the preceding feature, to be the result of diffusion among geographically contiguous languages. As a result, it is impossible to tell whether Volscian speakers had lost final *d* before they migrated south into Latium or whether they received this change as the result of contact with speakers of neighboring languages. The loss of final *d*, then, is without value for subgrouping Volscian.

2.3. Loss of final **t* after consonants

The similarity between the loss of **t* in the 3 SG FUT PERF in Volscian and in Umbrian is illusory. There is but one example of this feature in Volscian, namely *atahus* < **ad/ā-tetagust*. In Umbrian there are dozens of third singular future perfect formations but only a few cases, e.g. *covortus* (VIIa 39), attest the loss of **t*. In fact, word final **t* appears in a vast majority of examples, e.g. *benust* 3 SG FUT PERF 'come' (VIb 53) < **g^hemust*. The loss of **t* in the Volscian example and the sporadic loss of **t* in Umbrian are probably to be attributed to sentence sandhi (cf. the loss of final consonants in American English, *test case* [tEs kes]).

2.4. **d* > *r*

This feature is a quite striking characteristic of pronunciation

among the Italic languages and, as a result, is potentially important for subgrouping. There are, however, serious problems for anyone attempting to demonstrate that this feature is an innovation shared by Volscian and Umbrian.

The first problem concerns the contexts in which the change is found. In Volscian there is but one example of this change and it occurs in the environment before the labial *p*; in Umbrian, on the other hand, **d > r* is found not only before labials, but also before other consonants, and in intervocalic position as well, e.g. *dirsa* 3 SG SUBJ 'give' (Vb 13) < **didāt*, *aṛkani* ACC SG 'musical accompaniment' (IV 28) < **adkanjom*. Thus, it is possible that the contexts in which this change occurred are not comparable (12). Unfortunately, there is no way to tell due to the lack of evidence in Volscian.

The second problem with this correspondence concerns the orthographic representation of the outcome of the change. In the Volscian example, the result of the process is represented as *r*, i.e. with the same symbol used to represent original IE **r*. It seems reasonable to assume then that the reflex of **d > r* merged in Volscian with original *r*. In Umbrian, however, original **r* and **d > r* remain distinct orthographically. In the native alphabet the sound is represented by the symbol <ḡ>; in the Latin alphabet it is represented by the digraph <rs>. One has to wonder, then, if the Volscian reflex is in fact the same as the reflex in Umbrian.

The final problem with this correspondence is the fact that the change of **d > r* before labials is attested in other languages in central Italy in addition to Umbrian and Volscian. A Latin inscription (Ve 228a), found in Marsian territory near Trasacco, contains one example of the change of **d* to *r* before a labial, namely *apurfinem* = classical Latin *apud finem*. And the *senatus consultum de bacchanalibus* CIL 12, 581, issued from Rome circa 186 B.C., contains numerous examples of the same change, e.g. *ar(uere)*, *ar(uise)*, *aruorum*. And examples are also found in the work of the elder Cato, e.g. *aruertum* (A.G. 135, 7), *aruertant* (A.G. 138) (13). Thus, there appears to be a small group of peoples, the Volsci, Latini, and perhaps the Marsi, who share the change of **d* to *r* before labials.

It may well be the case, then, that the change attested in Volscian, Marsian-Latin, and some rural/urban Latin dialects, is independent of the change attested in Umbrian. At any rate, the differences in the contexts of the change, as well as in the representation, are such that this feature can be accorded little value for subgrouping.

2.5. Palatalization of *k

The major problem with the use of palatalization as a criterion for subgrouping is the fact that it is an extremely common type of assimilatory change and as such is attested frequently in the world's languages (14). In fact, the change is attested in the Oscan of the *Tabula Bantina*, e.g. *meddixud* ABL SG 'meddixship' (Ve 2) < **meddikkjōd*, and in Vulgar Latin (15). In both cases, palatalization undoubtedly arose as an independent innovation. As a result, it is not unthinkable that palatalization arose independently within Volscian and Umbrian.

Thus, while palatalization in Volscian may be similar to that found in Umbrian, one must at least acknowledge the possibility of an independent but parallel change.

2.6. *-ns > -nf

Volscian *asif* is a very difficult case. There is a wide range of interpretations of both the case and the meaning of this word. Pulgram (1978: 154) and Pisani (1964: 123) argue that *asif* is a DAT/ABL PL but disagree on the meaning and the syntactic category (Pulgram ADJ 'sacred'; Pisani NOUN 'money'). Von Planta (1897: 651), Grienberger (1928: 32), and Thurneysen (1921: 21) interpret this word as a NOM SG ACT PART derived from a verb comparable to Latin *āreō* 'be dry', i.e. < **āsēnts*. Vetter (1953: 156) and Morandi (1982: 53) see it as an ACC PL equivalent to Latin *assēs* 'money', i.e. < **assins*. And finally, Bréal (1876: 245) and Whatmough (1955: 336) identify *asif* with *adasia* cited in a gloss by Festus (12): *ovis vetula recentis partus*.

The claim of Pisani and Pulgram – that *asif* is to be analyzed as a DAT/ABL PL – seems unlikely. Nowhere else in O-U does the sequence **-fs* (cf. Oscan *luisarifs* ABL PL **Lūrālibus* (Ve 74)) < IE **-bhos* result in *-f*. In O-U **-fs* appears uniformly as *-ss/-s*. The analysis of von Planta, etc., is, in all probability, to be dismissed on syntactic grounds. If *asif* is analyzed as a PART, then it must be transitive governing at least *bim* (16). But Latin *āreō* is intransitive.

In terms of case, the assumption that *asif* is an ACC PL is most reasonable. Parallels exist for the change of final **-ns* to *-f*, e.g. Umbrian *sif* ACC PL 'pigs' < **sūns*. And syntactically, *asif* could form part of the object phrase, with *bim* and perhaps *se*, depending upon the interpretation of the latter (see below). On the surface, the analysis of Bréal and Whatmough is most appealing because there would then be evidence in Volscian for a triple sacrifice, a *suouetaurilla* of sorts, not unlike that practiced by the Romans. Unfortunately, there appears to be no sure way of connecting *asif* and *adasia*. Vetter's analysis is also appealing but is problematic because the amount of reparation is not specified in the text. Customarily, the amount of monetary reparation is spelled out (see, for example, CIL 1, 366). Still, *asif* could be the equivalent semantically of *molta* 'monetary reparation'.

Thus, although the context in which *asif* occurs appears to call for a ACC PL (as object of the verb *arpatitu*), it is not sufficiently clear to allow one to eliminate with absolute certainty the other possibilities. As a result, if one claims that Volscian *asif* testifies to the change of final **-ns* > *-f*, one must be prepared to acknowledge that this claim is based, to some degree, on speculation. And in any case, this change is not a shared innovation between Umbrian and Volscian; Marrucinian, a language which is generally aligned with the Oscan dialects, appears also to show the change of word final **-ns* to *-f*, i.e. *iafc* ACC PL 'these' (Ve 218) < **eāns* + (clitic) *ke*.

2.7. **ū > i*

As was the case with the preceding change, the status of **ū > i* in Volscian is by no means assured. The words which have been

offered as evidence for this change - namely *se* < **sūm* (Pulgram 1976/1978), *bim* < **g^hōm* (Durante 1978, Pisani 1964, etc.), and *sistiatiens* < **sistatūens* (Durante 1978) - all involve difficulties. In fact *sistiatiens* can be eliminated from consideration at the beginning. The most likely analysis of this verb, on morphological and epigraphical grounds, appears to be that of a *-ti-* perfect based on a first conjugation stem **sistā-*, i.e. **sistātīens* (17). The intrusive "i" in the root syllable is explained as an anticipatory error due to the following *ti* sequence. The stem **sistā-* is a deverbative formation similar to that found in Faliscan *pipafo* 'swill' (Ve 244a) beside Latin *bibit*, or Latin *ducat* 'lead' beside *dūcit*.

Whether *se* is in fact evidence for a sound change **ū* > *i* depends on the syntactic interpretation of the first *sepis* clause of the LEX VELITERNA (18). Unfortunately, there is probably no way to give a definitive decision as to how this clause is organized, and hence the role of *se* within it. As a result, it is scarcely possible to offer *se* as evidence for this sound change.

Most authorities agree that the word *bim* is ACC SG, that it means 'ox, cow', and that it is derived from IE **g^hōm*. However, as was noted by von Planta (1892 I: 131), the *i*-vocalism in this word is problematic, for IE **ō* regularly appears as *u* in Volscian. Compare, for example, Volscian *estu* < **estōd*, Volscian *toticu* < **toytikōd*, etc. From IE **g^hōm*, one would expect *bum* in Volscian, cf. Umbrian *bum* ACC SG 'cow' (Ila 5). Pisani (1964: 123) proposes to account for this discrepancy by arguing that original **būm* was remade to *bim* by means of contamination with the noun **sim* ACC SG 'pig'. Such a change is surely possible, particularly given the fact that both words are phonologically similar and belong to the same semantic sphere. Unfortunately, by this scenario the evidence for **ū* > *i* is secondary and the possibility of contamination by an original *i*-stem, say **ouim* 'sheep', cannot be ruled out (19).

In sum, the use of this change as evidence for a Volscian-Umbrian connection is not without difficulties. *sistiatiens* can be ruled out on morphological grounds: the identification of *se* with Umbrian *sim* is not assured. *bim* provides problems on phonological grounds, but may in fact be evidence for the fronting of **ū*. Since,

there are no straightforward examples of this change in Volscian, one must cautiously offer the fronting of $*\bar{u}$ as evidence for a shared innovation between Volscian and Umbrian.

2.8. Onomastic formula

The formation of onomastica and onomastic formulae are rather homogenous throughout Italy, from Umbria to Bruttium. The only difference resides in the placement of the patronymic. In Paelignian, and Marrucinian the patronymic is positioned after the gentilicium, in the same manner as Latin (Paelignian *ob.ouiedis./* 'Ob. Oviedius, (son of) L.' (Ve 215d), Marrucinian *u.alies./* 'U. Allius, (son of) L.' (Ve 219)). And this is generally the position of the patronymic in Oscan (Oscan *m[.]siuttiis.m.* 'M. Suttius, (son of) M.' (Ve 8)). However, on two inscriptions from Teggiano ($\alpha\lambda\alpha\pi\omega\nu\iota\varsigma.\pi\alpha\kappa\eta\tau\iota\varsigma/\omega\pi\iota\epsilon\varsigma.$ 'Alponius, (son of) Pacuius, Oppius' (Ve 185), $\Pi\lambda\alpha\tau\omicron\rho.-\Sigma\iota.\text{Αλ}α\pi\omega\nu\iota\epsilon\varsigma$ 'Plator, (son of) Si., Alponius' (Po 149), the patronymic is positioned between the praenomen and gentilicium. And this is precisely the pattern attested in Umbrian and Volscian as well as Aequian (*po.ca.pomposiies.* 'Po., (son of) Gaius, Pomposius' (Ve 226)). It is not easy to account for the distribution of the second type of onomastic arrangement in a manner which allows it to remain as a special characteristic of an Umbrian-Volscian group of dialects, particularly given the location of Teggiano (ancient Tegianum) in Lucania.

The facts can be accounted for rather neatly if, as mentioned by Poulitney (1959: 118), the second type of onomastic arrangement was the older. If this was indeed the case, the Volscian, Umbrian, Aequian, and the Oscan speakers at Teggiano (though for what reasons we cannot say) retained the older onomastic arrangement while the other O-U dialects (and Latin ?) innovated. But, according to this account, the fact that Volscian and Umbrian share the second variety of onomastic arrangement is of little consequence for subgrouping because this arrangement is a shared retention, not a shared innovation.

3. The position of Volscian

If one inspects the list of linguistic features displayed on Table 3, it is evident that the number of innovations shared exclusively by Umbrian and Volscian turns out to be very small. In good conscience, one can point only to the palatalization of **k* and the fronting of **ū*, though with reservations in each case. A correspondence such as the loss of final **t* is most certainly illusory. Undoubtedly, this similarity arose independently in Volscian and Umbrian. Likewise, the rhotacization of **d* may be an Independent Innovation in Umbrian and Volscian. At any rate, there are so many unanswerable questions surrounding this change that it is of little use for subgrouping. Other features, e.g. monophthongization and loss of final **d*, are shared in common with other languages of central Italy and, as a result, appear to have been the result of geographical diffusion. Of course correspondences which are suspected of being the result of diffusion cannot be employed as criteria for subgrouping. Thus, the case for the connection between Umbrian and Volscian, since it consists of but two (admittedly questionable) isoglosses, is not nearly so strong as might have appeared to be the case initially.

However, from this somewhat pessimistic discussion a rather more interesting and realistic picture of Volscian in relation to the other O-U languages, at least from the point of view of dialectology, begins to emerge.

We note first that Volscian shares several changes with the speakers of neighboring languages. In other words, Volscian speakers formed part of an area of linguistic convergence in central Italy (20). There are other changes, however, which cannot be attributed to the spread of isoglosses resulting from language contact. This is particularly evident when one considers the fact that the languages which share these features - Umbrian, Volscian, Marrucian, Oscan - are not geographically contiguous. Thus, Volscian appears to share with Umbrian the features of palatalization and fronting of long **ū*. With Umbrian and Marrucian Volscian may share, if *asif* is indeed an ACC PL, the change of final **-ns* to *f*. Oscan treats this final cluster by means of *-ss* or simply *-s*. On the other hand, Volscian may share with Oscan, Paelignian, and Marrucian, to the exclusion

of Umbrian, the use of a *-t-* formant in the perfect (Oscan *prúfatted* 3 SG PERF 'approve' (Ve 11); Paelignian *coisatens* 3 PL PERF 'supervise' (Ve 216); Marrucinian *amatens* 3 PL PERF 'take' (Ve 218), if *sistatiens* is derived, as discussed above in 2.7, from **sistātiens*. Based on the meagre amount of evidence which can be brought to bear on this issue, Volscian (as well as Marrucinian) appears to occupy a position which is linguistically intermediate between Oscan and Umbrian inasmuch as it shares some features with the former to the exclusion of the latter and *vice versa*.

4. Conclusion

The results of this investigation, then, do not support the hypothesis of a separate Volscian-Umbrian dialect group which was opposed, say, to an Oscan group. To be sure, the prehistoric Umbri and Volsci must have been in contact with one another; the shared innovations point to as much. However, one should not overlook the fact that the prehistoric Volsci must have had other contacts among the nascent O-U languages. How else can the Umbrian-Volscian-Marrucinian and Volscian-Marrucinian-Oscan isoglosses be explained? Based on the evidence presented here, it appears possible to detect some traces of a prehistoric O-U DIALECT CONTINUUM which was broken apart by the various migrations of O-U speakers into central and southern Italy (21). This picture of the development of the O-U dialects must replace the view that there were two distinct subgroups.

Table 1. Monophthongization of diphthongs

	*a _ɪ > ē	*ā _ɪ > ē	*a _ʊ > ō	*ou > ō	*e _ɪ > ō	*oi > ō	*ō _ɪ > ī/ē
Etruscan	+		(a)		+		
Umbrian	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Faliscan	+	-	+	+	+		-
Rural Lat.	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Urban Lat.	-	-	-	(ū)	(ī)	(ū)	-
Volscian	+	+			+		+
Marsian	+	+					+
Aequian		+					
Marrucinian	-	-		-			
Paelignian	-			-	-	-	-
Oscan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2. Loss of final *d* after long vowels

	d < *t	*d
Umbrian	+	+
Faliscan		X
Latin	+	+
Volscian	+	+
Paelignian	+	X
Marrucinian	+	
Oscan	-	-

Table 3. Shared innovations

	*k > ɸ	*ū > i	*-ns > -f	perfect in -t-
Umbrian	+	+	+	-
Volscian	+	+	+	+
Marrucinian	-	-	+	+
Oscan	-	-	-	+

Key to Tables

- + positive attestation
- negative attestation
- X variable attestation
- ∅ no attestation

FOOTNOTES

- * Whereever possible the Oscan-Umbrian and rural Latin forms have been cited from Vetter (Ve) (1953). Forms not found in Vetter were cited from Poccetti (Po) (1979) and Giacomelli (Gi) (1963).
- (1) The traditional position of the relation between Oscan-Umbrian and Latin-Faliscan - namely that they form two subgroups of the Italic branch of Indo-European - is assumed in this paper. For the position that the similarities between these languages are the result of language contact, rather than a period of common development, see Devoto (1931: 43-53), Jeffers (1973), and Pisani (1978: 28-55).
 - (2) Recent excavations in Satricum have brought to light an engraved axe-head which is believed to be of Volscian origin. Unfortunately, the inscription is, at this point in time at least, uninterpretable. For discussion see Colonna (1984: 104-106).
 - (3) There are a considerable number of interpretations and discussions of the LEX VELITERNA. Among the more enlightening are Skutsch (1912), Untermann (1956), and Pulgram (1976: 1978). Additional bibliography may be found in the references (below). Here I present the text and *one* plausible interpretation.
(Ve 222):
 deue:declune:statom:sepls:atahus:pls:uelestrom
 façia:esaristrom:se:bim:asif:uesclis:uinu:arpatitu
 sepls:toticu:couehrli:sepu:ferom:plhom:estu
 ec:se:cosuties:ma:ca:tafanies:medix:sistiatiens
 'Dedicated to the goddess Declona. If anyone should steal/violate (this object), some *uelestrom*, let him make a sacrifice. Let him offer a pig, a cow, and reparation money along with vessels of wine. If someone (should steal/violate this object), then with the consent of the assembly, let there be a lustral procession. The magistrates Eg(natius), (son of) Se., Cossutius and Ma(raeus), (son of) Ga(ius), Tafanius had (this object) dedicated'.
 - (4) An almost identical list is provided by Durante (1978: 812-13).
 - (5) See, for example, Poultney (1959: 114-15).
 - (6) The status of monophthongization in Sabine is difficult to determine. On one hand, there are glosses attributed to the Sabines that show monophthongization, e.g. *fedus* 'goat' (Festus 205) < *ghajdos. However, it is difficult to know whether this is a

genuine Sabine feature or a feature of rural Latin, since these glosses show Latin inflectional morphology and there is evidence for monophthongization in rural Latin dialects. On the other hand, there are glosses (*ausum* 'gold' (Festus 8-9)), again attributable to the Sabines, in which diphthongs remain intact. And the inscription from Scoppito (Ve 227) (near L'Aquila) contains the word *aunom*, which may also be considered evidence of the preservation of diphthongs. Unfortunately, there is no good etymology for this word. Moreover, there is some question about whether this inscription is in fact Sabine. Some claim that it is Vestinian; others question its authenticity. It is also possible that the monophthongization attested in the glosses reflect a western Sabine innovation. Scoppito is located in the easternmost portion of Sabine territory.

- (7) See Varro *L.L.* 7, 96; Varro *R.R.* 1, 48, 2; Festus 182; etc.
- (8) See Giacomelli (1963: 119-122).
- (9) The Etruscan developments are discussed in Pfiffig (1969: 34-35).
- (10) Pisani (1978: 43) puts the locus of diffusion in Umbrian and Faliscan territory. This hypothesis may well be correct but there is no empirical evidence to support it.
- (11) For the Latin facts see Kent (1945: 116). The dating of the LEX VELITERNA is discussed by Conway (1897: 268) and that of the TABULAE IGUVINAE by Pisani (1964: 129).
- (12) For discussion of the development of *d in Umbrian see Poultney (1959: 59) and Buck (1904: 83).
- (13) See Ernout (1928: 112-13).
- (14) A second problem with palatalization as a criterion for sub-grouping, though perhaps a minor one, stems from insufficient evidence. It is not clear that we are comparing two instances of the same phenomenon when we compare Volscian with Umbrian. In Volscian there is only one piece of evidence for palatalization - namely *k before *j*; in Umbrian there is evidence for the palatalization of both velars, i.e. *k* and *g*, and not only before *j* but also before the palatal vowels *i* and *e* (see Poultney 1959: 64). Due to the lack of evidence in Volscian it is impossible to know whether the same segments were affected by the change, or whether the conditioning factors were the same. In fact, since the outcome of palatalization is represented by a different alphabetic character in Volscian <> than it is in Umbrian <d>

- ⟨s⟩, it is impossible to be sure that it indicates the same sound phonetically.
- (15) See Grandgent (1908: 109-11).
- (16) See footnote 3 above.
- (17) The possible interpretations of the Volscian verb *sistatiens* are reevaluated in Wallace (1985: 93-101).
- (18) For the various syntactic interpretations of this clause the reader is once again referred to the bibliography listed in footnote 3.
- (19) Pulgram (1976: 257) appears to suggest that *blm* can be derived from IE **g^hōm* by means of sound change alone but he does not elaborate. One might suggest a scenario in which IE **ō*, at least in words with a phonological structure like **g^hōm*, was raised to *ū* early enough to participate in the shift of **ū* to *i*. Perhaps in Volscian **ō* in accented syllables was raised before **ō* in other environments. This scenario accounts for the Volscian facts, e.g. *bim* vs. *estu*, *arpatitu*, *toticu*, *sepu*, etc., but it is purely speculative.
- (20) Central Italy as an area of linguistic convergence before the expansion of urban (= city of Rome) Latin is clearly in need of further investigation. The discussion offered by Pisani (1978: 39-55) is far too extreme in its attribution of shared similarities to linguistic convergence.
- (21) The O-U *uer sacrum* 'sacred spring' is discussed in detail by Salmon (1967: 33-39).

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THE FORMATION OF TOCHARIAN B *KALĀK-* 'TO FOLLOW', *PARĀK-* 'TO REJOICE', *SANĀP-* 'TO ANOINT', AND *WALĀK-* 'TO DWELL', WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN LARYNGEALS IN TOCHARIAN

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Almost all verbal roots in Tocharian B are monosyllabic. There are only two groups of exceptions: 1° denominatives such as *kawā-ññ-* 'to desire' (*kāwo/kāwā-* 'desire'), and 2° a four member set of non-denominatives (in traditional citation form): *kalāk-* 'to follow', *parāk-* 'to rejoice' (1), *sanāp-* 'to anoint', and *walāk-* 'to dwell'. They all show athematic present stems of the form *CoCoC-* (e.g., *koloktār* 'he follows' or *wolokmar* 'I dwell') and subjunctive stems of the form *CāCāC-ā-* (e.g., with shortening in unstressed syllables, *sanāpalle* 'to be anointed' or *parākalñe* 'rejoicing [noun]'). Descriptively all four roots come from underlying disyllabic forms with /ā/ in the first syllable and /e/ in the second, e.g., /kālek-/ or /sānep-/). In their athematic presents these four undergo Mutual Vowel Rounding, just as do the presents of Class IV: /kālek-tār/ → *koloktar* just as /ās-e-tār/ → *osotār* 'it dries up (intr.)'. In the subjunctive we see the regular effects of ā-umlaut so that /sānep-ā-/ gives *sānāpā-* just as *tresk-* 'to chew' has a subjunctive *trāskā-* (2). Within Tocharian as a whole, these four Tocharian B verbs stand alone. The Tocharian A root *kalk-/kāl/-* which forms the suppletive preterite to *i-* 'to go' is presumably to be related to Tocharian B *kalāk-* 'to follow' but descriptively the Tocharian A root is monosyllabic.

To my knowledge the origin of this class of words has never been

discussed though the four members of it have, of course, been discussed with inconclusive results. Thus Van Windekens (1976, svv.) sets out the following etymologies:

kalāk- He compares this word with Finnish *kulkea* 'to go, promenade', or Kamchadal (!) *k'olk* 'to arrive' or *kilk* 'to go'. Such an equation accounts for the semantics satisfactorily enough but hardly for the phonology (i.e. the second syllable) of this putative borrowing. Even more questionable is whether or not the Tocharians were ever geographically near enough the Uralic languages (let alone Kamchadal!) to have had an opportunity to borrow.

parāk- Here again he sees a borrowing, this time from Iranian, specifically from the root seen in Avestan *hvar-* 'sun' or *xVarδnah-* 'glory, etc.'. The semantic development (*'be brilliant, shine' > 'rejoice') is acceptable. (Van Windekens' adduction of the history of English *glad* [OE *glæd* 'glad; clear, brilliant'] is particularly apposite). However, none of the many Iranian languages suggests a middle Iranian **hvārāh-* that would account for the Tocharian form.

sanāp- Here, where an appeal to borrowing from a middle Iranian source (such as that which lies behind Khotanese *ysānāh-* 'to wash', whose past participle *ysānautta* demonstrates an earlier **zānāf-* earlier **snāp-*) would be justified, Van Windekens suggests a putative compound **sān-āp-* (cf. Latin *sānus* and Sanskrit *āp*, Tocharian AB *āp* 'river').

A borrowing from pre-Khotanese (vel sim.) is much to be preferred - particularly since this verb is attested only in medical texts where it appears to be a technical term (among others of Iranian origin) corresponding to the more usual *lup-* 'to smear, throw'.

walāk- This he takes to reflect a PIE **wōl-ōg-*, an enlargement from **wel-* 'to turn, roll' with the same **-g-* seen in English *walk* or Sanskrit *vālgati* 'he moves (his arms or legs), jumps'. On the semantic side he adduces Latin *versāri* and *vertere*.

In general one can say that Van Windekens' etymologies explain neither the form nor the origin of the individual words nor the form and origin of the class as a whole. We would do well to start afresh.

The clearest etymological connection is with *sanāp-* whose origin as a borrowing from pre-Khotanese **zānāf-* seems very likely. If Emmerick (1979: 242) is right that Khotanese <ä>, unlike its Tocharian counterpart, represented some sort of short mid front vowel, a pre-Tocharian speaker might well have borrowed *zānāf-* as **senāp-* which, by metathesis, gave the actual Tocharian underlying form */sānep-/*. The metathesis in this case was motivated, I would claim, by the inherited shape of the other members of this class.

The other three verbs come from late PIE extended roots of shape *CoR-H-g-* with two *élargissements*, a laryngeal (as very commonly with roots ending in a resonant) and a palatal, probably **-g-* (as was also common with roots ending in a resonant) (3). We see, with 'schwebeablaut', the cognate of Tocharian B *parāk-* in Sanskrit *bhrājate* 'it shines, sparkles' and Lithuanian *brėksti* 'dämmern' from **bhreEg-e/o-* and **bhreEg-se/o-* respectively with the same combination of laryngeal and palatal.

The exact preforms we need to account for Tocharian B *walāk-* and *kalāk-* are not paralleled exactly, so far as I know, in other Indo-European languages. PIE **wel-* does, however, appear with both a laryngeal increment or a palatal one (i.e. English *walk*) so it does not stretch the imagination too much to see a conflation of the two to give a PIE **welEg-* parallel to *bhorEg-*. Tocharian B *kalāk-* is probably to be derived from PIE **kWel-*, as has often been suggested. Though normally an *aniṭ* root, Indic at least shows some clear *seṭ* forms (*cārītum*, *cīrṇa-*, etc.). No other language appears to show a palatal enlargement.

Taking such hints then as come our way, and anticipating our discussion below, we can tentatively reconstruct late Proto-Indo-European athematic middle presents, **bhorHg-to-r*, **kʷolHk-to-r*, and **wolHg-to-r*. The *o*-grade is reasonably well attested in Tocharian presents, e.g., Toch. A *ken-* 'call', B *kes-* 'extinguish' [but A *kās-*], B *mely-* [A *malyw-*] 'press, crush', B *kery-* [A *kary-*] 'laugh', so

finding it here is no particular surprise (4). However, the phonological development is not altogether obvious. Particularly we need to concern ourselves with the fate of the laryngeals in these roots.

The phonological development of the laryngeals in Tocharian is a bit unsettled. Ever since Winter's pioneering study (1965), it has been often assumed (cf. Anttila, 1972: 305) that Tocharian was rather like Greek in that the Proto-Indo-European laryngeals were rather widely vocalized. A closer look at Winter's evidence and some additional data not taken into account by Winter shows, I think, that Winter's position is too extreme (5). For instance Winter's assumption (1965: 190-194) that any Proto-Indo-European **TRAT* would be reflected in Proto-Tocharian by **TRāt* rather than **TāRT* is based largely on morphological criteria. He assumed that B *ostwa* [A *waštu*] 'houses' or the feminine B *rtaryai* [A *rtäryām*] 'red' were the direct descendents of PIE **wostuA* and **ErudhriA-*, etc. However, there is plenty of evidence from other Indo-European groups for the analogical spread of **eA* for **A* in such cases so there is no necessity to assume that the PTch **ā* we find in such cases represents PIE **A* rather than **eA*. Indeed, there is good evidence for assuming the contrary since Tocharian preserves a few good examples of a PIE **A* in these same morphological contexts that were not replaced by **eA*, e.g., B *akrūna* [A *ākrun̄t*] 'tears' which reflects PIE **(d)ak̑ruA* or B *ersna* 'form' which must represent a PIE **oresA* + (later) *-nā*. The only word that Winter's hypothesis explains better is A *mrāc* [B *mrāce**] 'head' which he equates with Sanskrit *mūrdhān-* 'head'. Both the Indic and the Tocharian words would then be the descendents of a PIE **mr̥Hdhēn-*. However attractive at first sight, his etymology is not without difficulty since the Sanskrit word is usually taken as related to Old English *molda* 'head', etc. which presupposes a PIE **l* rather than an **r*. So questionable a word cannot carry conviction beside such sure cases as B *akrūna* or *pārweṣṣe* (**p̑Owo-* + *-ṣṣe*).

It is Winter's further contention (1965: 201) that vocalic schwas in Tocharian may show "coloring" just as they do in Greek. His best example is Tocharian B *āñme* 'self' which he, following a long tradition, equates with Greek *ἄνεμος* and derives from PIE

*AenEmo-. Unfortunately his etymology, however attractive, forces us to separate B *āñme* from Tocharian A *āñcām* (oblique *āñm-*) 'self'. Surely Klingenschmitt (1975: 155) is right in seeing *āñme* and *añcām* as related and deriving from a PIE *AenEtmen- a conflation of PIE *ētmen- and *AenE- (cf. Greek ἄντιμῆν for a similar conflation). The development would have been something on the order of *AenEtmen- → *anHtmen- → *anat'm'ān- → *ān(ä)cmān → *āñ(c)m-*. Thus, Tocharian B *āñme* cannot be used to support the notion of "coloring" of vocalized schwas in Tocharian.

In a similar fashion Winter (1965: 202-204) suggests that a word-initial *E- is reflected in Tocharian by the progressive palatalization of the immediately following consonant. Thus Tocharian B *ñem* [A *ñom*] 'name' reflects a PIE *Enom̥, AB *šām-* 'to sit' reflects *Es- + -m-, etc. (6). The most attractive example is Tocharian B *ñem* but I see no reason why it could not reflect a PIE *(E)nēm̥ with an analogical *Dehnstufe* in the root, particularly as Tocharian seems to have several other examples for lengthened grade neuters, i.e. *yok* 'hair' from PIE *(d)ēku (Adams, 1982-3), or *mot* 'alcohol' from PIE *mēdhu (cf. Tocharian B *mit* 'honey' from PIE *medhu). In any case positive evidence that PIE *E- did not cause progressive palatalization would seem to be provided by AB *länt-* 'to come out' which must be from PIE *Elu-n-dh- (cf. Greek ἐλυθ- suppletive stem tp ἔρχομαι 'I set out, come, go'). The evidence, then, would support a proposition that word-initial consonantal laryngeals disappeared without a trace in Tocharian.

To summarize the salient points of the position held here we can say that laryngeals were vocalized in Tocharian only between consonants, including the consonantal allophones of the Proto-Indo-European resonants. After vowels, and after the vocalic allophones of the Proto-Indo-European resonants, the laryngeals disappeared - after coloring a preceding *e and lengthening a preceding *e, *i*, or *u* (but not *r, *l*, *m*, or *n*) (7).

The laryngeal between consonants was vocalized uniformly in early Proto-Tocharian to *a. In later Proto-Tocharian this *a became an *ā* in open syllables but an *ä* in closed syllables. In open syllables we have such obvious examples as B *pācer* [A *pācar*] 'father' and B

tkācer [A *ckācar*] 'daughter' from PIE **pAtēr* and **dhugAtēr* respectively. An example where the Proto-Indo-European **H* was found before a consonantal resonant is to be seen in the Tocharian B plural (enclitic) copula, *stare* (the regular unstressed surface manifestation of underlying /*stāre*/). Just as its singular counterpart, *ste*, is from PIE **stA-o* (Watkins, 1969: 200), so /*stāre*/ is from PIE **stA-ro* and therefore the more or less equivalent of Sanskrit *āstīran*, though without the augment and the added *-n(t)* of the Sanskrit form (cf. Watkins, 1969: 91). Examples of a vocalized laryngeal in a closed syllable are rarer but they do exist, e.g., A *kānts-* 'to acknowledge' from PIE **ǵnE-ske/o-*, A *nātsw-* [B *mātsts-*] 'to starve' from PIE **n-Ed* ^S-*tw-ye/o-* [: Greek *νῆστις* 'fast'], or B *tälläsk-* 'raise, lift' from PIE **tǵ-nA-ske/o-* (8). If, however, in Proto-Tocharian an **a* in an originally closed syllable came, by some subsequent change, to stand in an open syllable, it developed normally to **ā*, e.g., B *krāñi* '(nape of the)neck' (9), from PIE **krAsniyom* [: Greek *κράνιον* '(upper part of the) head, skull'] with the regular simplification of the PIE cluster **-sn-* (i.e., **krAsniyom* **krasñiyā(n)* → **krañiyā(n)* → **krāñiyā(n)* see Adams, 1983b).

Our **bhorHg-to-r* developed regularly into Proto-Tocharian as **perak-tār* and then, by systematic metathesis, became **parek-tār*, later **pārek-tār*. The metathesis, the only part of this whole process which is not absolutely *lautgesetzlich*, can be motivated by the completely exceptional character of this group of verbs. There was nothing else like them. By metathesis, however, they became somewhat less anomalous since they were now phonetically parallel, if not structurally so, with the Class IV presents, i.e., **walek-tār* was similar to **as-e-tār* (from PIE **as-o-to-r*) 'to dry out (intr.)' in a way that **welak-tār* was not.

In Tocharian B the present has been made the base for the rest of the paradigm, hence /*sānep-ā-*/, etc. In Tocharian A the group has been almost entirely lost. The only surviving link is the old perfect corresponding to *kalāk-* which provides the suppletive preterite to *i-* 'to go'. The form of the perfect in late Proto-Indo-European would have been something like **k^wolAg-/k^wlAg-*. Such a paradigm would have regularly given Proto-Tocharian **kelak-/kälk-* which, when

sundered semantically from the present **kelak-tār*, was regularized as **kelk-/kälk-* and appears in Tocharian A, with the addition of the nearly ubiquitous preterital *-ā-*, as *kalkā-/kälkā-* (10). If, as has been supposed, Tocharian B *walke* 'for a long time' is related to *walāk-* (and the semantics are not compelling), it would come from a zero-grade **w/Ego-*.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) As Schmidt (1980: 407-408) points out the present stem of this verb is attested in the two imperfect forms, *porōsicer* (2nd pl.) and *porōsyem* (3rd pl.) heretofore wrongly divided as *po rošicer* and *po rošyem*.
- (2) For a discussion of Tocharian verbal formation in general and Mutual Vowel Rounding and *ā*-umlaut in specific, see Adams (1978a, 1978b).
- (3) "Von idg. Standpunkt bieten sich gutturalerweiterte Wurzeln mit *-l-* und *-r-* an (gr. *φλέγω* usw....)" Mayrhofer, 1963: 530.
- (4) Another example would be Tocharian B *nes-* [A *nas-*] 'to be if', as is often the case it is taken to be from PIE **nes-* [: Sanskrit *nāsate* 'he approaches, resorts to, joins, copulates', Greek *νόμμι* 'I go, come, return'] - see Van Windekens, 1976: 309, with literature. If, however, with Pedersen (1941: 161) we see Proto-Tocharian **nes-* as reflecting PIE **endo + es-* (see Hamp, 1980, for parallels), then it is not. I think Pedersen's suggestion is the more likely one.
- (5) Though differing a good deal from the development outlined here, Van Windekens (1976) also takes a more conservative view of the history of laryngeals in Tocharian.
- (6) In the case of *šām-* Winter assumed that it could not be simply from PIE **(E)sem-*, with the palatalization accounted for in the normal way by a following front vowel, because other verbs whose stem is formed by a *élargissement* **-m-* showed no palatalization in the present (e.g., *kām-* 'to come', *tām-* 'to beget') and thus it was "best to consider *-ām-* as nonpalatalizing" (Winter, 1965: 202). However, his list of verbs in *-m-* also includes *tsām-* 'to grow' where the initial *ts-* reflects a PIE dental palatalized before

a front vowel.

- (7) The lengthening of a preceding vowel is non-controversial – indeed it is universal in Indo-European outside of Anatolian. As for when a resonant precedes we might note B *šim* 'roof' from PIE **siHm̥* [; Sanskrit *sīmán-* 'extremity', cf. Van Windekens, 1976: 455], ABriñ 'cities' from PIE **wriHnes* [; Thracian βρι(α: πόλις, τεῖχος], B *akrūna* [A *ākrunt*] 'tears' from PIE **(d)akruA* + (later) *-nā*, but B *pärwešse* from PIE **pr̥Owo-* [; Sanskrit *pūrva-*], B *pällent-* 'full (of the moon)' from PIE **p̥l̥Eno-went-*, or B *karse* 'hart, deer' from PIE **krAso-* [; Greek κέρας 'horn'] (Adams, 1983a). For a more complete discussion of the "long" resonants, see Adams (forthcoming).
- (8) One should note that the variety of Proto-Indo-European that gave rise to Tocharian a sequence of CRHCV was vocalized as CRHCV while CRHCC gave CRHCC. If, for instance, PIE **ĝnE-ske/o-* had been ***ĝnE-ske/o-* the outcome should have been A ***käs-* (from ***kä(n)ske/o-*). If vocalization in Proto-Tocharian had been everywhere to **ā*, Tocharian A should have ***knās-* for this verb. The common present stem formative, *-āsk-*, is presumably from **-eA-ske/o-* **i.e.*, the common *-sk-* added to the common *-ā-*, even in *ānāsk-* 'breathe (in)' from the PIE root **AenE-*.
- (9) Compare the first/second (/and third) person enclitic pronoun, B *-me* [A *-m*] from PIE **nsmó-/usmó-* (Cop, 1974).
- (10) It is possible that, given the higher sonority of resonants over laryngeals (and obstruents), that a combination VRHCV yielded VRCV, with loss of the laryngeal, in Proto-Tocharian. PIE **k^WolAg-* provides the only reasonably certain example of this combination that I have discovered in Tocharian but, as we have just pointed out, the *-H-* in this form might easily have been lost analogically.

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langues indo-européennes, Vol. I: *La phonétique et le vocabulaire*.
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BCILL 42 : LINGUISTIC HAPPENING, 411-462

MINŌS, THE 'ΟΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ OF GREAT ZEUS: ἄ-, ἁ-, AND ὀ-
COPULATIVE, THE KNOSSAN ROYAL TITULARY AND THE
HELLENIZATION OF CRETE

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*In memory of Ben Schwartz:
an offering in his three loves...
Crete, Anatolian, and Greek.*

It is a far easier act to define Minos's relationship to Great Zeus than it is to summarize the murky proposals for etymologizing the root of the Greek word for that relationship. But an Ariadne's thread is given us by (a) the gradient continuum of semantic hues of the entirety of the several derived words from the stem ὀαρ- and (b) precision in defining the special nature of that relationship. These two meaning-facets, taken together, leave only one proposal realistically probable as the root element.

With reference to the non-root element, the prefix ὀ- copulative, there are two sets of words semantically connected enough with each other to justify our considering them together.

At the same time, the semantic overlay of another group of words with the ὀαρ- set requires the inclusion here of some perspective on several words meaning "spouse" et sim., constructed with the prefix ἁ- or the prefix ἁ- ("halpha" or "alpha").

I. The Loci of the Seme ὄαρ-

Viewed formally, this Greek "titulary", descriptive of Minos's relationship to Zeus, is a nomen actoris to a verb ὄαρίζω or *ὄαρίζω, that is to say that it derives from such a verb, be it attested or not. In the event, upon inspection, it proves to be an attested verb, to wit ὄαρίζω. We do not, though, require that the same precise specialized usage, that developed or was preserved in the nomen actoris, be extant or common for the attested verb as well. We will have to prove that the meaning of one or the other or of both, can be shown to semantically derive from the other meaning or both meanings from a more basic, common, one, just as we can demonstrate the mode of formal derivation.

The set of ὄαρ- words occurring in Homer consists of four lexical items, 1° the aforementioned verb ὄαρίζω and our 2° ὄαριστής plus 3° the root noun ὄαρ and 4° an abstract, ὄαριστύς. Preliminarily and, in the main, altogether, in this examination we will limit ourselves to (a) these lexical items which are the only stems of this base to occur in Homer and (b) the Homeric attestations of these items. We will cite the loci for each item in an order different from the above, in one corresponding more to their relative semantic opacity.

ὄαρ "wife":

E 486 (Sarpedon upbraids Hektor, drawing a comparison between his sacrifices as but a companion-ally and Hektor's own inaction as Prince of Troy):

479-480 τηλοῦ γὰρ Λυκίῃ, Ξάνθῳ ἐπὶ δινῆεντι
 ἐνθ' ἄλοχόν τε φίλῃν ἔλιπον καὶ νήπιον υἷόν.
 485-486 τύνη δ' ἔστηκας, ἄτὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλοισι κελεύεις
 λαοῖσιν μενέμεν καὶ ἀμυνέμεναι ὥρεσιν.

For far is Lykia by Xanthos the whirler,
 where both my wedded wife I have left and my infant son.
 But you stand here; you do no even order the rest of
 your hosts to stand-firm and to fight for their wives.

I have quoted this at length because of the passage's use of both ἄλοχος and ὄαρ for "wife" (1). Later we will have occasion to scrutinize the etymology of the former as well.

I 327 (Akhilleus complains to Odysseus):

- 326-327 ἥματα δ' αἰματόεντα διέπρησον πολεμίζων
 ἀνδράσι μαρνάμενος ὄρων ἔνεκα σφετεράων.
 335-337 τοῖσι μὲν ἔμπεδα κεῖται, ἐμεῦ δ' ἀπὸ μούνου
 Ἀχαιῶν εἴλετ'. ἔχει δ' ἄλοχον θυμαρέα· τῇ
 παριαύων τερπέσθω.
 340-343 ἦ μοῦνοι φιλέουσ' ἄλόχους μερόπων ἀνθρώπων
 Ἀτρεΐδαι; ἐπεὶ ὅς τις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἐχέφρων,
 τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλεῖ καὶ κήδεται, ὥς καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν
 ἐκ θυμοῦ φίλεον, δουρικτητὴν περ εὐόσαν.

Days of blood I have spent waging war,
 battling against warriors for their wives' sake
 For them the spoils remain, but from me alone of Akhaians
 he has snatched away and keeps the wife fit for my soul:
 Lying alongside her, let him have his pleasure (2).
 Are the Sons-of-Atreus unique among mortal men in loving
 their wives?
 As any decent and sane man
 loves and cares for his own wife(3), thus I too do love her
 from my soul, even though she is spear-booty.

ὄαρ ἰζω :

Z 516 (Describing Hektor's and Andromakhe's conversing):

- 514-516 αἶψα δ' ἐπειτα
 Ἴκτορα δῖον ἔτετμεν-ἀδελφεόν, εὖτ' ἄρ' ἔμελλεν
 στρέψεσθ' ἐκ χώρης, ὅθι ἦ ὄαριζε γυναικί (4).

Then all of a sudden
 he met up with divine Hektor, his brother, for he was
 about
 to turn from the place where he was conversing
 with his lady.

X 127 (Hektor pondering for Troy the case of total submission and restitution to Akhilleus [for the Danaans] vs. fighting to a decision):

123-128 μή μιν ἐγὼ μὲν ἵκωμαι ἰών, ὃ δέ μ' οὐκ ἐλεήσει
οὐδέ τί μ' αἰδέσεται, κτενέει δέ με γυμνὸν ἐόντα
αὕτως ὥς τε γυναιῖκα, ἐπεὶ κ' ἀπὸ τεύχεα δύω.
οὐ μέν πως νῦν ἔστιν ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης
τῷ ὁαρίζεσθαι, ἅ τε παρθένος ἥϊθεος τε,
παρθένος ἥϊθεος τ' ὁαρίζετον ἀλλήλοιν.

What if I go and reach him, but he will have no pity for
me,
nor respect me at all, but in my denuded, defenceless,
state, will kill me,
just like a woman, once I should doff (5) my armor;
it is not possible, from a tree or from a rock,
to hold converse with him, like a maid and a youth,
a maid and a youth, the two so converse with each other.

The entirety of the semantics of the simile depends upon the load borne by the verb ὁαρίζω, (a) having an intimate conversation, as would go on in a romantic "getting together" and (b) likewise having an intimate conversation, as would go on when representatives of the sides meet to arrange peace and would try to come to terms to end the war, dispute, or any other matter of mutual agreement. This quite natural simile is one totally unlabored in Homer's vocabulary (and in Indo-European in general - see below). It is both a function of the prime content of the verb and, for us, a significant clue both as to this prime content and to the specialized semantic loads in the various items, derived from the base ὁαρ-. In this sense, it is the beginning of understanding both the nature of Minos's position in the order of things, as indicated by his titulary and the etymological necessity for our choice of the root portion of the words, i.e. the part beyond the prefix/preverb ὁ-.

ὁαριστής "familiar converse", "commerce of foemen", "of grappling with the foe" (6).

Ξ 216 (Concerning Aphrodite's strap):

214-217

ἐλύσατο κεστόν ἱμάντα,
 ποικίλον, ἔνθα τέ οἱ θελεκτήρια πάντα τέτυκτο·
 ἔνθ' ἐνὶ μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἔμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστὺς
 πάρφασις, ἥ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα φρονεόντων

She loosened the pierced strap,
 multi-formed, whereon she had all charms crafted,
 here there is love, and there is desire, and there is
 intimate getting-together,
 allurements which robs of their sense even the keenly
 understanding.

P 228 (Ares, as Hektor, to the allies):

227-228 τῷ τις νῦν ἰθὺς τετραμμένος ἢ ἀπολέσθω
 ἢ ἐσώσῃτω· ἢ γὰρ πολέμου ὀαριστὺς.

Therefore whoever now turns straight for it, let him either
 perish
 or be saved; for such is the close-encounter in war.

N 291 (Idomeneus speaking to Meriones):

290-291 ἀλλὰ κεν ἢ στέρνων ἢ νυδύος ἀντιάσεις
 πρόσω ἱεμένοιο μετὰ προμάχων ὀαριστῶν

But either the chest or the belly would it hit
 as you propelled yourself forward through the conflict of the
 warriors.

The word which I have here rendered as "conflict" could just as well (leaving aside the feeling for its naturalness by the native speaker of English) be translated "congress, meeting, encounter". On a poetic, rather than a lexical basis, this "close fitting-together" of the warriors in 291 is matched in 290 by the "close meeting" (or "encountering" or "hitting") of the missile. The last two considered loci have clearly shown the other face of the base ὀαρ-, the negative possibilities of rather close contact. We have followed the derivatives of this base from "wife", through different kinds of "conversing"

(joyous and treaty-seeking ones) to two aspects of "contact/meeting" (the seductive and the fray of battle). In each case, whether the matter is one of lovers (spouses as Hektor and Andromakhe, or the youth and the maid of the simile) conversing at close range, or various kinds of situations in which adversaries encounter each other close at hand (in actual conflict and death-bringing battle or in conversations for a cease-fire or other kinds of "peace"), the single basic meaning of ὄαρ- is "meet, fit closely with another". From this prime semantic content the meaning embedded in ὄαρ "wife" is one which requires no special etymological sleights-of-hand to explain its derivation: "closely fit, attached, etc." → "wife" (7).

Where now are we left with the semantics (and etymological connection) of ὄαριστής, Minos's titular and the proper subject of the present inquiry? The locus of this hapax in Homer is

τ 179

178-179 τῇσι δ' ἐνὶ Κνωσός, μεγάλη πόλις, ἐνθα τε Μίνως
ἐννέωρος βασιλεύει Διὸς μεγάλου ὄαριστής

And among them is Knossos, the great city, where Minos
reigned nine years, the ὄαριστής of Great Zeus.

Lattimore renders :

and there is Knossos, the great city, the place where
Minos
was king for nine year periods and *conversed* with great
Zeus.

[emphasis mine here and following. YLA]

Fitzgerald offers :

And one among their ninety towns is Knossos.
Here lived King Minos whom great Zeus *received* every
ninth year *in private council*.

Cook has :

And among these is Cnossos, a great city, where Minos
the intimate of great Zeus, ruled nine years as king.

Hull gives us :

In it was Cnossus, the great city where
Minos ruled, Zeus' *confidant* at nine.

Cunliffe defines it as "one who holds familiar converse, is admitted to intimacy, with another"; the English Autenrieth gives as the translation "bosom friend". It is disquieting that the two far better known and much used modern English translations, Lattimore and Fitzgerald, are both quite poor in the renderings by circumlocutions with a verbal phrase whereas Cook and Hull come closer to the essential content with their resp. "intimate" and "confidant"; likewise, the difference in the renderings of Cunliffe and the English Autenrieth, resp. verbal phrase and "bosom friend" (8). Bound up tightly with the way to render ὄαριστής is the question of ἐννέωρος on which Stanford notes in his commentary:

its etymology...seems obvious (ἐννέα, ὥρη), but its precise meaning in this sentence is elusive - "when nine years old", or "during nine years", or "after nine years". And it is uncertain whether it is to be taken more closely with ὄαριστής as Plato construes it in *Laws* 624, or with βασιλεύς, which seems more natural.

Both the significance of Minos's titulary and the nature of these "nine years" are matters that we will take up again in section V.2-3 below.

II. The Etymologies

II.1. The Prefix δ-

Boisacq, Pokorny, and Chantraine, all concur that the stem ὄαρ- is a compound of a prefix δ- + a verbal root (on which, see section III below). For Pokorny (1959: 56) the adnominal and adverbial particle meaning "nahe bei, zusammen mit" *ǵ, ǵ, is related to the pronominal stem *e-, o-. He also cites Risch's (personal correspondence) view which sees the δ- with which we are concerned as being the Aeolic phonological result of *s_gm-, which is the etymon in standard Greek of a ἄ- copulative of our subtitle.

Boisacq (9) (1916: 681) holds to the same analysis and origin as Pokorny later enunciated. Chantraine (1974: 770) doubles by 100% the Greek inventory of the prefix in that he sets up (only to compound the confusion) a 1° δ- "préfixe copulatif équivalent à ἄ-... Forme de ἄ- copulatif avec vocalisation différente que l'on considère habituellement

comme éolienne, ce que confirmerait pour ces mots la psilose" and 2° δ - "près de, avec" having no solid etymology and whose very existence he regards as dubious; yet he is not quite sure whether $\delta\alpha\rho$ should be assigned to this 2° δ - or to 1° δ -.

The data, i.e. the lexical items, presented in these works strongly suggest that, despite their authors' assignment of origin for the prefix, a prefix δ - (< IE *e-, o- (10) or the like) did have an authentic continuous position in a small number of semantically significant Greek frozen lexical items. Although the prefix is unproductive in the Greek language, the semantic load and nature of those words in which it remains embedded is such that, even when we take into account that for many of them the attestation is limited to Hesychius, we can still be secure we are dealing with preserved, inherited, material, certainly not with innovation or phonemically distinctive development of the same item that elsewhere appears as α - (11).

Whether or not we accept any particular scholar's proposed connections, we are entitled to speak - merely as a taxonomic description of the surface data in Greek - of ("alpha privative"), "alpha copulative", "halpha copulative [sic]", and "omicron associative". The last-named will be further specified in following sections as will also the likely separate origin of "alpha" and "halpha copulative".

11.2. The Rest of δ - $\alpha\rho$ -

The discord on selecting the etymon for the rest of the item, to wit that part after the omicron associative, is severe. Boisacq writes with surety:

hom. $\delta\alpha\rho$,... f. 'compagne, épouse' < i.e. *o- 'ensemble'... + *sɾ:
gr. εἶρω, ptc. pf. pass. ἐερμένος, 3. sg. pppf. pass. ἔερτο...,
cf. *ἔωρ f. < i.e. *sue-sōr= lat. soror..., i.e. *ser- 'attacher',
spécialisé pour marquer le lien sexuel [emphasis mine. YLA]... De
là hom. $\delta\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ 'vivre en commerce intime', poét. $\delta\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$
m. ord. pl. 'entretien familial', $\delta\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$ m. 'compagnon
familier'... $\delta\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$... f. 'commerce intime, relations, troupe de
gens vivant ensemble', poét. $\delta\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ m. ord. pl. 'commerce intime,
relations, discours, chant'.

Thus, Boisacq offers a derivation $*o-sr > *o\bar{h}ar >$ the attested *oar*, from the same IE root which yields Greek $-\epsilon\lambda\rho\omega$ "nouer, etc." and its syrrhizoid congeners, all of which he lists on p. 229 where he argues, in a lengthy fn. 2, against Sommer's attaching most of these congeners to the root $*wer-$ instead of the root $*ser-$. The listing is Boisacq's "I. $\epsilon\lambda\rho\omega$ (< $*\sigma\epsilon\rho\lambda\omega$)" and the $*ser-$ being dealt with is the equivalent of Pokorny's 4. *ser-*. The $*wer-$ involved is the equivalent of Pokorny's 1. $\mu\epsilon r-$. Boisacq's "II. $\epsilon\lambda\rho\omega$ (< $*\Phi\epsilon\rho\lambda\omega$)" derives from the equivalent of Pokorny's 6. $*\mu\epsilon r-$. The part of Boisacq which I have emphasized and Pokorny's remarks on that part of his 4. *ser-* (p. 911) will become important in the framework of section 5 below.

Chantraine, reaching an extreme counsel of despair in attempting to (a) summarize the semantics of the sundry words from the base $\delta\alpha\rho-$ within Greek and (b) determine extra-Greek connections of this base, if any, tells us:

Plusieurs étymologies, dont aucune n'est démontrable, ont été proposées. On admet, dans les hypothèses A à D, pour la voyelle initiale la valeur d'"ensemble" en la rapportant à 1 $\delta-$ ou 2 $\phi-$. Pour le second terme on a supposé: A. le radical $\alpha\rho-$ de $\alpha\rho\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\chi\omega$ (Brugmann,...); B. $\epsilon\lambda\rho\omega$ "enfiler, attacher" (Bechtel,...); C. $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\lambda\rho\omega$ "attacher, atteler" (Fraenkel,...); D. un second terme $*sr-$ nom de la femme répondant au $*s\bar{o}r$ de lat. *uxor, soror*: $*s\bar{o}r$ serait attesté en avest. dans *hāiriši-* "femme, femelle", et la forme au degré zéro figurerait au second terme des noms de nombre féminins, avest. *tišrō*, etc. (Benveniste,...); E. Szemerényi qui ne croit pas à l'existence d'un indo-européen $*sor$ "femme" rapproche $\delta\alpha\rho$ de hitt. $*-asar$ "femme" et avest. *hāirišt* en posant i.-e. $*\eta ser/*\eta sr$.

A further discussion of even less likely theories from Linear B proceeds before Chantraine comes to his final, most damning of all conclusions:

Il n'est pas sûr que $\delta\alpha\rho$ et $\delta\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ soient apparentés.

Attitudinally, as against Chantraine's despair and indecision, but

factually, against Boisacq's sureness and confidence, Pokorny summarizes views and comes down with a sureness and assertiveness equal to Boisacq's but determined against the latter's choice (p.55-56, s.r. I. ar-):

gr. ἀραρίσκω, Perf. ἀράρα 'füge zusammen', ἄρμενος 'angefügt, passend', ὄαρ 'Gattin' (wohl nach Brugmann... (12), Schwyzer..., hierher mit Präfix *o-, kaum zur Wz. *ser- oder Wz. *yer-, ἄ-φέρω); dazu ὄαρίζω 'habe vertrauten Umgang'; auch 'plaudere vertraulich'...

Mit Dehnung θυμαήρης 'wohlgefällig' (this last= the dialectically and accentually differing from θυμαῖρης which Akhilleus applied to Briseis, "the wife fit-for-[his]-soul" in I 336, quoted above).

At this point, we need to return to the question and suggestion of a solution, stated on the first page of this article: is there truly in etymology - in items where severe phonological breakdown has already occurred before the earliest attestation, as in Greek with its loss of both digamma and the sibilant in many instances - only chaos, and no real solution but only a heap of subjectivity with each investigator able to say to his fellow, with full justification, "well, that's your opinion"? I firmly dissent from this view; in the present case I suggest that we do have the Ariadne's thread of paragraph one of this paper - to fulfill condition (a) there, we must first disengage ourselves from Chantraine's feelings that the several ὄαρ- items may even not be connected; there is just not requisite reason for such despair. But, also we must view the most likely and reasonable nature of the semantic development of the sundry words from this base. A reasonable prime meaning which has adequate explicatory puissance to cover the gamut of all the words' major usages cannot be a sexual one as Boisacq proposes; this also excludes, without any further ado, Szemerényi's lexical element for "woman, female" from any role in the ὄαρ- semantic field. Fortunately, for this stem, we have a fulfilled condition (b) as well, which comes from the extended notion of "Wörter und Sachen" process as I have previously utilized it in Arbeltman 1981: 893, where basically the data of the actualities, or the realities of the situation themselves opt for an extreme narrowing of the etymological possibilities, a stage we will first be in an

adequate position to effectuate in section V.

III. X, the Ὀζος of Ares

III.1. Ὀ- Copulative ("Associative") and the Choice amongst Homophonous Roots

The set of graphemes Ὀζος forms in Homer, in a number of occurrences, half of a fixed syntagm "X, Ὀζος Ἀρηος"; "X" in this position is the name of a warrior and contextually the syntagm is reasonably only understood as descriptive of his function in the scheme of things. The semantics, if not the precise usage, suggests itself: a soldier is a "follower, associate, 'devoté', functionary, and such" of/in the service of the war god (13). Thus, Ὀζος Ἀρηος = "adherent of dWar", "one of Ares' crew". Thus, an "associate" not so much in the sense of "equal fellow", but rather in the secular and/or religious sense of "follower (/and devoté of/worshipper of)".

Both the classificatory separation of this II. Ὀζος "compagnon, serviteur" from I. Ὀζος "pousse, branche, rejeton" and the quite evidently correct etymological combination of prefix and root, making up II. Ὀζος are already established in Boisacq: "< i.-e. *o-zdo-, c.-à-d. *o- 'avec' + *sed- 'aller' dans ὀδοσ v. slav. *chodŭ* 'marche'. Schulze... Johansson... Brugmann..."

Cunliffe too leans toward separating the two homophones: "(1) A branch or a shoot... (2) A scion or a child (but in this sense perh. another word ὀ- = ὀ-2 + ζ- = ὀδ-, ὀεδ-, root of ὀδός, 'a companion or follower'): Ὀζος Ἀρηος..."

Chantraine (1974: 777) carefully and well distinguishes the meanings of 1 Ὀζος "branche, rameau" and 2 Ὀζος "compagnon", but offers only the information that the two homophones must have the same etymology:

1 Ὀζος "branche, rameau". Et.: Vieux terme indo-européen, identique à l'arm. *ost*, gén. -*oy*; en germ., got. *asts*, v.h.all. *ast*: avec voyelle *ō* dans anglo-sax. *ōst*, etc. Depuis Brugmann,...

analysé en *o-zd-os, composé de 2 o- "ensemble" et *sd- vocalisme zéro de *sed-, cf. ἔζομαι: on évoque tout naturellement lat. *nīdus* "nid" de *ni-zdo-...

2 ὄζος dans l'expression ὄζος Ἄρηος que Hsch. glose ὁ κλάδος τοῦ πολέμου et que les modernes traduisent volontiers "rejetons d'Arès", cf. déjà en ce sens E. *Hec.* 123; toutefois ὄζος ne signifie pas "rejeton": plutôt "compagnon d'Arès", cf. *Et...* *Et.*: Ὄζος doit être identique au précédent, composé de ὁ- "ensemble" et du degré zéro de *sed-.

Pokorny (p. 884-887), who schedules sed- "gehen", but as category B of sed- "sitzen", thereunder says "gr. ὁδός 'Weg', ὁδίτης 'Wanderer', ὁδεύω 'wandere'; aksl. *chodъ* 'Gang', *choditi* 'gehen'...". However, before this introduction of the s. "B" scheduled items, he has as a penultimate entry s. "A", listing a main sub-entry o-zdos " (ansitzender) Zweig, Ast', s. dort; auch gr. ὄζος 'Gefährte, Diener' aus *o-zdos '*Beisitzer'; oder eher zu B. *sed-?" (14). In addition to his wavering on whether our ὄζος is a "Beisitzer" or a "Beigeher", Pokorny minimally does ascribe our ὄζος to the root sed- (whether A or B, as he sees it). On the other hand, he removes the other ὄζος from even being listed here (with good reason), ascribing it to a separate lexical existence already in Indo-European without prejudice to its ultimate compound nature. If this is so, then our ὄζος must be considered in the category of what Gusmani calls "rekomponierte" (15) Greek proper formation from the self-name elements already embedded in the inherited compound. 1° whether this "cohort" of Ares, our ὄζος Ἄρηος, is a "with-goer" or a "by-sitter" of/with Ares and 2° whether Ares is a real god or but an abstraction for "War" ultimately makes very little semantic difference for us. The warrior is, at all events, conceptually, in Pokorny's rendering a "Gefährte" of the war god, one who "fares" (German "fahren") with him, a fere of War (N. Eng. "fare" in this sense and "fere" ["companion, spouse", < OE *gefēra*, as an item] are both labelled as "archaic").

Of the various accepted compounds with associative ὁ-, we have dwelled on this one since the relationship of the soldier to the god Ares is to some extent similar to the essential in the relationship of Minos, Crete's king, to the god Zeus.

Even if "Ares" is only a poetic "abstraction" for war, the relevance to what the soldier is, is as significant as when Milton's *L'Allegro* says:

And if I give thee honor due,
Mirth, admit me of thy crew (16).

The δζος belongs to Ares' crew. For present purposes, we label this the "minor association", while that of Minos to Zeus we will call the "major association" in terms of the "associations" in the terminology we are considering here.

In § 2 of the first page we spoke of comparing two sets of words; what was intended was that of the family of δαρ- and that of the family of the δζος [Ἄρηος]. Before getting too far afield from the main topic here, it is probably best to simply say that the other items likely related to this δζος are all listed in the dictionaries cited. Any further discussion of them here would only impede progress of the investigation of the "associative" relationships we are concerned with.

IV. Mates and Copulative Prefixes

IV.1. *The Lexical Items*

While the stem δαρ- has a broader continuum of semantic application to several kinds of immediate (major, direct) attachment including the spousal one (used, as we have seen, in variation with ἄλοχος), ἄλοχος itself and ἄκοιτις (f), ἀκοίτης (m) are much more specific and limited, their type of "attachment" having reference etymologically to the marriage bed alone and semantically only to the conjugal/marital/spousal relationship.

Formally analyzed, these two words, like δαρ-, are constructed of a copulative prefix + a verbal root. Their limitation to marital (bed) application is a consequence of the semantics **inherent in the (synonymic) verbal roots, forming the second element in each word.** These roots are specifically sexual, "to lie (alongside of, in bed)"; the copulative prefix in any lexical item implies only "association" anywhere along the spectrum of attachments. The word specific meaning is in no way dependent on the specific copulative prefix used, δ- copulative

(or "associative") in ὄαρ-; but in ἄλοχος and ἀκοιτ-, ἄ- (alpha) copulative, from a purely synchronic, descriptive analysis of Homeric and Classical Greek.

It is far from certain, indeed, whether this ἄ- copulative is itself of a unitary source and whether that source is one with ἄ- (halpha) copulative. Greek, in general, has a well-recognized prefix ἄ- (halpha) copulative, universally acknowledged as < IE *s_gm-. Well-known examples are ἄτερος, ἕτερος (17) "one or the other of two, other, different", ἀκόλουθος "follower, attendant" ("of the same path", from κέλευθος "road, path" with ἄ- copulative affixed), and ἀδελφός in Attic, (ἀδελφεός in Homer and numerous other dialects) "brother" (< *s_gm- g^{Welbh}- "of the same womb", thus originally, "uterine siblings") (18). Now, although in two of the last three examples we have actually seen ἄ- (just as we do in ἄλοχος and ἀκοιτ-), not ἄ- which have seen only in ἄτερος, the prefix is always deemed to be either surface ἄ- or, at least, deep-structure ἄ, the surface ἄ- being generated either (a) lexeme-specifically in that the lexeme has undergone dissimilation of aspirates (Grassmann's Law) or (b) analogically to some of the (a) items.

For some of the cases, this is relatively easy to detect, e.g. ἀδελφ(ε)ός has a morphologically nearly identical, entire-compound cognate *sá-garbhya-*, rendered by Pokorny 'eodem utero natus'; (the minor difficulties with the exact correspondences between the Sanskrit and the Greek are summed up well in Chantraine, s.v.). In such a case, the cognateness of the Greek and the Sanskrit words is just about as much beyond decent challenge as it is in a set like Greek ἄ-πλοῦς "simple", Latin *simplicis* (both from *s_gm- + *plo-*, Pokorny's 3. *pel-* "falten", thus "einfach", with the Greek and Latin words not only supporting the etymology of one another, but also having extra support in the sequence with resp. δι-πλός and *du-plus*, *tri-plus*, etc.).

To conclude here, when confronted with the cognates, that the absence of the /h/ initial in ἀδελφ(ε)ός should not be due to the phonetic operation of Grassmann's Law, that there is any less cognateness to the "brother" Sanskrit-Greek set than there is to the Greek-Latin "simple" set would be something not far from

preposterous. However, when we go from step to step, to account for an $\acute{\alpha}$ -copulative in a word like $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\iota\tau$ -, one which has no aspirate later in the root, we are on less firm etymological soil. For instance, in our two present "spouse" words, for $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$ Chantraine (p.634, s.v. $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$) says: " $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$ où l' $\acute{\alpha}$ est issu de $*s\eta\mu$ - 'celle qui partage le lit, épouse'..., désigne l'épouse légitime...". Here we are supposed, after first knowing to seek the compound s. $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, to understand the implied reference to Grassmann's Law. In the case of $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$, Chantraine says: "'celle qui partage le lit, femme', légitime ou non... Et.: Ces mots sont issus de $\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\eta$ 'couche' avec $\acute{\alpha}$ -copulatif, où la psilose (pour $\acute{\alpha}$ - de $*s\eta\mu$ -) peut être soit dialectale, soit due à l'analogie de $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$ ". LSJ's entry surrenders any (etymological [or deep-structure]) distinctions at all and produces a single etymon for $\acute{\alpha}$ -, $\acute{\alpha}$ -, and $\acute{\omicron}$ -copulative: " $\acute{\alpha}$ -, properly $\acute{\alpha}$ - since it represents $*s\eta\mu$ -, and so in $\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\acute{\rho}\omicron\varsigma$ (19): but freq. $\acute{\alpha}$ - by dissimilation from following aspirate, as $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$, and hence by analogy in $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$, etc., q.v.: sts. in the form $\acute{\omicron}$ -, as in $\delta\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, $\delta\gamma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$, $\delta\zeta\upsilon\epsilon\varsigma$ ".

IV.2. W. Winter's η -Copulative (Close Local Contact)?

W. Winter (1952: 186 ff.) questioned the unitary origin of the prefix $\acute{\alpha}$ -, so-called "psilotic", dialectal, or analogical, and the prefix $\acute{\alpha}$ -. After giving a concise history of the doubts and solutions of prior scholars, he dismissed the dissimilation (Grassmann's Law), the psilotic dialect, and the analogy explanations for this fairly well-represented prefix as "hard... to see why; a strange development..., [a] difficult assumption, an ultima ratio" (20). He proceeds on the premise that "the particular IE phoneme represented by $\acute{\alpha}$ - must be identified on the basis of evidence from other languages than Greek". Quite tellingly does he note that "even more difficult is the assumption that $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\iota\varsigma$ was an analogical formation patterned after $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\chi\omicron\varsigma$...". He adduces a Tocharian morpheme which he descriptively labels a "prefixed extension" which occurs in the variants in Tocharian B, $a(n)$ -/ $e(n)$ -/ on -. He traces this prefix to $*\eta$ -, a homophone of the privative $*\eta$ -, with the meaning "expressing CLOSE PERSONAL CONTACT". He particularly analyzes (wi) $e\check{s}er\check{n}\bar{a}na$, which W. Krause had rendered as "(die) zwei Verschwisterte".

Winter concludes that the word is an adjective containing a suffix meaning "belonging to" added to the root *ser*, which already existed in the form preceded by "the prefix **ḡ-* correspond[ing] in its function to Gmc. *ga-*, Latin *co(n)-*, etc.". It functions in many of the same usages as Gmc. *ga-* and the Tocharian *ešerñāna* "sisterly ones" has its exact parallel in German *geschwisterlich*.

He concludes that Greek *ἀ-*, in some adduced vocabulary items, represents this same IE **ḡ-* "together with" in some of these Greek words, esp. *ἀκοιτις*, *ἀκόλουθος*, *ἀκάρος* (corresponding exactly to German *Gehirn*, [alongside the more common *ἔγκαρος*]); and he finds a striking semantic correspondence in

Goth. *galisan*: Lat. *colligere*: Greek *ἀγείρω* (21).

Although the evidentiary data is meagre and the putative cognate exists only in one single other IE language, Tocharian, the case he has built seems to possess a reasonable degree of cogency and to be much better than the *LSJ* type of etymology here (all three prefixes deriving from one single source, viz. **sḡm-*) (22).

It is quite probable that in all three Greek "spousal" words, we have the representatives of the IE prefixes, resp. **sḡm-* (**sḡm-loghos*), **ḡ-* (**ḡ-koitis*), **o-* (**o-ar* [or, pace others,

o-ḡ
**o-sḡ*]) (23).

V. Minōs, the Ὀαριστής of Great Zeus

V.1. The Root **ar-* and Precisely What Does Ὀαριστής Mean?

Formed with whatever prefix, the essential feature that distinguishes *ἀλοχος*, *ἀκοιτις* from *ὄαρ* is the root-semantics, i.e. the former two are "co-lyers", while the latter one is "co-fitted, co-suited, matched-with" and, as stated above, its meaning "spouse" is but one specialized point on its continuum of meanings, a continuum which includes - as but another lexically specialized item - *ὄαριστής* (24).

On p. 419 above, I emphasized Boisacq's remark on the semantics of $\sqrt{\text{ser-}}$ which he supported for $\delta\alpha\rho-$ (< prefix $\sigma-$ + $s\zeta-$) and I referred to Pokorny's (p. 911) exposition. Now, it is to be noted that none of the items in Pokorny's list refers to human liaisons, political, sexual, religious, or otherwise. They are all material items, various kinds of jewelry, etc. With a final paragraph Pokorny notes:

Ein mit unserem *ser-* ursprungsgleiches *ser-* für 'geschlechtlichen Verkehr; Frau' sucht man in aisl. *serða* st. V. 'Unzucht treiben', *soðenn* und *stroðenn* 'muliebria passus' (ags. *seðan* ist nord. Lw.), ahd. *sertan* 'geschlechtlichen Umgang haben', cymr. *serth* 'obscenus', *serthedd* 'obscena locutio'; wenn ir. *serc* 'Liebe', bret. *serc'h* 'Kebsweib' einzureihen ist, ist ein westidg. *ser-* 'geschlechtlich verkehren' anzuerkennen; über unsicheres Idg. **sor-* 'Frau' s. M. Mayrhofer bei Brandenstein Studien 32 ff.

Now since the spectrum of the semantics of $\delta\alpha\rho-$ excludes any sexual liason based root, effectively the root **ser-* (known only from Germanic and Celtic in this sense) is not a suitable candidate. Similarly, the meaning "woman", whether from this selfsame root or from Szemerényi's **ḡser/ḡsɛ* cannot be at all relevant.

Again, on p. 419 above, I noted that many of the derivatives of $\sqrt{\text{ser-}}$ "attacher" as seen by Boisacq, had been assigned to a $\sqrt{\text{wer-}}$ by Sommer.

Chantraine had offered, or better "scanned" six proposals and despaired of any of them being demonstrable:

- | a. | b. | |
|-------------------------|--|--------------|
| A. $\sqrt{\text{ar-}}$ | $\alpha\rho\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omega$ | (Brugmann) |
| B. $\sqrt{\text{ser-}}$ | $-\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$ | (Bechtel) |
| C. $\sqrt{\text{wer-}}$ | $\alpha(F)\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$ | (Fraenkel) |
| D. $\sqrt{\text{ser-}}$ | } not represented in Greek otherwise | (Benveniste) |
| E. $\sqrt{\text{ḡsɛ-}}$ | | (Szemerényi) |
| F. (wo-)ar- | ("même finale que dans $\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho$ (25); [il] pense que le mot serait emprunté au substrat") (Ruijgh). | |

This list represents an amalgamation of (for A-C) the words Chantraine actually cited (column b) with the standard root most

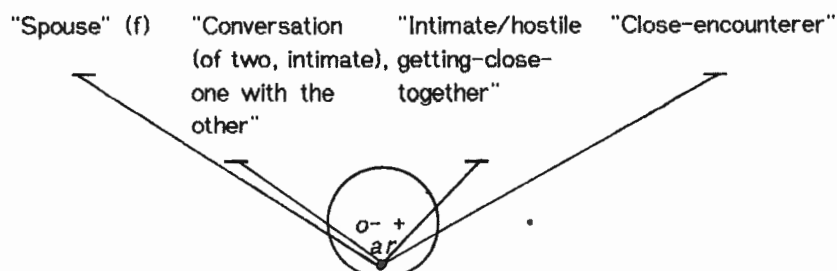
often given for these items, which I give for identification only. Chantraine, for instance, does not accept any etymology for ἀείρω as being established. It should also be noted here that Boisacq (p.1119), in that part of a book that few of us ever take the time to investigate, the "Additions et corrections", lists: "hom. ὅαρ- 'zusammengefügt, *verbunden mit, *intim verkehrend mit' < préf. ὁ- = i.-e. *o- 'avec' + R. αρ- (ἀραρεῖν ἄρμος ἄρμόζω ἄρῆμος (26)), cf. δάμ-αρτ-, selon Brugmann IF. XXVIII 293 sq."

It shall not have escaped notice that I have more than once and more than subtly adumbrated, throughout this paper, that the internal semantic spectrum of the complex ὁ-αρ- itself, to me, leaves only /ar- as the source (27). Of all the several possible roots of the underlying phonemic structure which could have conceivably yielded the surface configuration of the phonemes and graphemes /ar-/, ἄρ- within alphabetic Greek (from Homer on), only /ar-, not /ser- or /μer-, covered the requisite semantic spectrum as an inherent and unalienable element of its being, such as to yield the ὁ-αρ- set of words.

It will behoove us here and now to quickly recall this spectrum, displayed previously:

ὅαρ	ὁαρίζω	ὁαριστής	ὁαριστής
"Spouse" (f.).	"Converse, have a conversation"	"Intimate getting together, (war's)	For the time being, we can render
	(ἀλλήλοισιν "with each other, two").	close encounter, conflict (of war-rriors)".	here: "Close-Encounterer (of Great Zeus)".

The entirety of the semantic spread within the field cannot be reduced to developments of "dalliance", sexual (m → f) relations, conversation, or to conflict ("commerce of foemen", as we saw it put above), all of which relationships the cited loci displayed.



All lead back to a root whose prime semantic component we may be allowed to call "close encounter of the *ar*- kind".

If Chantraine had considered or perceived that which is common to all the meanings and seen that this communality is more basic than any semantic differences the items possess, he would not have reached the etymological despair I quoted on p. 419 above.

This semantic sphere, close-and-friendly as well as close-attacking-and-hostile, lies also as the prime root meaning that leads both Hebrew and Aramaic (and other Semitic languages) to have derivatives from the קרב / that, on the one hand mean "near, close, kinsman" and the like, and, on the other hand mean "battle, war" (28). There are numerous similar semantic situations in both IE and Semitic which I hope (D.v.) to explore in detail a planned book.

The noun derivative from the root קרב which means "kinsman" is translated in Lithuanian bibles by a significant derivative of the IE **ar-* viz. *artimas* (/artymas) :

משער...לשער והרגו איש את-אחיו ואיש את-רעהו ואיש את-קרבו
Ex. 32:27

<i>artima</i>	<i>prietelį</i>	<i>brolių</i>	<i>nuo vartų lig vartų</i>
<i>artyma</i>	<i>gentį</i>	<i>brolių</i>	<i>nuo vienu vartų iki kitų</i>

I have given two different Lithuanian translations, resp. that of Skvireckas (1955) and that of the British and Foreign Bible Society (1949), because their renderings (which I have here cited merely as glosses and sinistrotgrade to match the Hebrew) of the first phrase has differences which are important. In various loci the IE Lithuanian

word *artimas* renders Hebrew *qārōb* "the near one, kinsman" as it does here (and in other phrases I forbear from burdening this paper with); in other loci, it is the regular rendering for the Hebrew *רע* as in Lev 19:17 "thou shalt love thy neighbour (*rC*) as thyself" (see in extenso Arbeitman 1981: 924 et passim). Lithuanian *artimas*, however, is not used to render Hebrew *רע* when the latter forms the second element in the syntagm *רעך ... איש*, used idiomatically to express "one... the other; each other", (lit. "[a] man... his fellow /match/like").

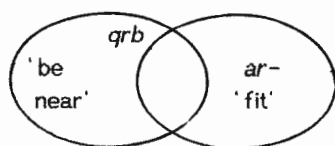
Now, in the two Lithuanian versions of the Ex. passage above, we find the second one being less verbatim, if not quite paraphrastic. The rendering of the first version is both literal and verbatim in its: "from gate to gate", the second one renders, using the regular Lithuanian phrase (but, in this case not in the Vorlage, either Hebrew or Vulgate (29)): "from one gate to [the] other". What is important about these several Lithuanian words in our present investigation is (a) the phrase "one... the other" and its like has two renderings in Hittite: the one rendering is *kaš ... kun* (**kos ... kom* (30)), lit. "*hic ... hunc*" (31), employing the same root element as in the Lithuanian *vienas ... kit-*. In the Lithuanian, this element (of demonstrative origin) is used only as the second item of the syntagm, but cf. the Latvian equivalent *cits ... cit-*, root-identical to the Hittite (not stem-identical) and usage identical (see Arbeitman 1981: 916-917, 957 et passim). Alongside *kaš ... kun* and, indeed, more common is the Hittite syntagm *araš ... aran* (32) (**aros ... arom*) which is root-identical to the Lithuanian *artimas*; let us note that, from a morphological perspective alone, both Lithuanian *kitas* and *artimas* display stems extended with a dental as against the plain root seen in their Hittite cognates resp. *ka-* and *ara-*. Tumuli of comparative data suggest validation of the PIE (or "Indo-Hittite [IH]) antiquity of the Hittite use of both roots in the ancient syntagm function "[the] one... [the/an] other"; the former still has in Baltic (Lithuanian and Latvian, in different degrees) its root cognate preserved as a semantic cognate as well. The similar usage for the latter of the two as well has fallen victim to Common Proto-Indo-European loss, this usage being preserved only in Hittite. Whether the original usage was *ara-* ... *ara-*, as Hittite has it, or to the usage with **ko-* ... *ko-*, this being confirmed by the Latvian identical usage of the root cognate item, *cit-*... *cit-*, or whether the usage was rather e.g. 1 ... *ara-*, more like the Lithuanian usage

viena- ... *kit-* (cf. Arbeitman 1981: 917 et passim) is probably no longer actually determinable as both usages may be of the most basic kind of IE antiquity (although I have offered some speculations on this in Arbeitman 1981: 932-933).

All-in-all, whether in its Lithuanian usage "near one, neighbour, kinsman, fellow" or its Hittite usages "[the] one... [the/an] other", the prime fact about this IE root **ar-* (whose extra-Greek and Lithuanian cognates we have not even mentioned except for a quote from Bolsacq, quoting Brugmann) is its dimension as a "transactional" seme. I will allow myself, in the remaining space, to list but few of the IE cognates, both for the sake of space and because, having listed, classified, and analyzed these, in great detail, in my 1981 paper, I deem it more necessary and meaningful here to let the argument proceed to that which we want to develop concerning the position and title of Minos of Crete.

In my 1981 paper I examined the semantic equivalency of Semitic, Hebrew and Aramaic, resp. רָע, חֵבֵר and IE **ar-* in its multifarious usages, with results as noted two paragraphs above, to wit, Lithuanian agreed with the usage "neighbour, fellow etc." as a lexical item, whilst Hittite agreed with the entirety of the syntagm, "[the] one... [the] other, each other, etc.", the Hebrew אִישׁ ... רָעָהוּ (Targum חֵבֵרָה ... אֲנוּשׁ (גִּבּוֹר)) had full semantic phrasal equivalency in Hittite *araš ... aran*; item for item, however, the Hittite has one step more, i.e. as though the Hebrew and Aramaic had resp. רָע ... רָע* and חֵבֵר ... חֵבֵר*

To the picture here, we have now added the overlapping semantic fields of IE **ar-* and Semitic **qrb*.



In various degrees, each of the roots

Semitic	IE
<i>xbr/(h)br</i> "to join, bind"	<i>ar-</i> "be attached,
<i>rCh</i> "to yoke, be yoked"	fit" (intr.) and
<i>qrb</i> "be near, approach"	"fit" (tr.),
	"join"

is primarily semantically "transactional", indicating action or state of n_1 upon/with n_2 . This transactional-with-another dimension of $\sqrt{ar-}$ is what we have seen in all the $\delta-\alpha\rho-$ words and in the several other IE items from this root $*ar-$ thus far displayed. Built into this root is peace-and-quiet (security) and also war-and-din (too close for comfort).

Although (as stated) I can allow myself to explore only a few of the cognates here, these several will stand us in good stead. The exhibition may well be started with the final item Boisacq quoted from Brugmann, $\alpha\rho\theta\mu-$:

$\alpha\rho\theta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$

H 301-302 ἤμὲν ἐμαρνᾶσθην ἔριδος πέρι θυμοβόροιο,
ἡ δ' αὖτ' ἐν φιλότῃ διέτμαγεν ἄρθμησαντε.

Those two fought in breath-devouring strife,
and then, having joined in friendship, they went their ways.

$\alpha\rho\theta\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma$

π 427

οἱ δ' ἡμῖν ἄρθμιοι ἦσαν.

They were allied to us.

(in spite of which, Odysseus spared the fugitive from their pursuit).

$\alpha\rho\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$

Homeric Hymns: To Hermes 524-25 (Apollo swears to Hermes):

Λητοῖδης κατένευσεν ἐπ' ἄρθμῳ καὶ φιλότῃ,
μή τινα φίλτερον ἄλλον ἐν ἄθανάτοισιν
ἔνεσθαι.

The Son-of-Leto swore with a down-nod of the head that,
in alliance-and-friendship,

no other amongst the immortals would be more befriended.

Though not very literal, Evelyn-White's rendering captures well the sentiment here:

But Apollo, son of Leto, swore to be fellow and friend to Hermes, vowing that he would love no other amongst the immortals ... better than Hermes.

The selfsame sense expressed through a near identical hendiadys is declaimed by Dido in her execrating the descendants of Aeneas, with reference to her own Carthaginian descendants (*Aeneid* IV:624):

Nullus amor populis, nec foedera sunt.

These peoples shall have no love nor any alliances!

(no friendship treaties; their relationships shall be, in other words, perpetual bellicosity).

Early in 1986 *The New York Times* entitled an editorial "Back to Mir i Druzhba" (33). The second of these two nouns in the Russian hendiadys is the abstract from the items used in the Slavic renderings of "the one... the other", *drugb* ... *druga* (see Arbeitman 1981: 913-916, et passim), thus "peace-and-friendship". The first word of the hendiadys, Slavic *mirb*, is, one way or the other, a derivative of the IE root **mel-* (see Arbeitman 1981: 963, summarizing Puhvel; also reference should be had to the entirety of section IX there, esp. pp.959-972 and pp.1000-1002).

As the loci have displayed, the semantic range inherent in these transactional roots, tends toward a "covenantal" component, conditions and states where relationships for non-hostility are explicated.

Broad details of the root family of **ar-* with specifics of its various usages (and specializations) for the god Aryaman, for the self-designation "Aryan", for Hittite *āra* "proper behaviour" and the same, only negativized, in Armenian, *čar* "bad", are all given in Arbeitman 1981: 911-912, 916, and for Hesychian ἀρετός*, literally defined as φίλια ("friendship") καὶ ("and") σύμβασις* ("covenant")= "friendship treaty", 928 (with the internal cross references there) and 998. In these same places are also to be found more detailed specifics concerning Slavic *drug-* and Semitic */h/xbr* (34).

V.2. The "oaristic" Function and Office

We have now surveyed the perimeters of the IE root *ar- and we have defined the spectrum of the complex base δ-αρ-. The time is here to return to the question, raised by Stanford whose commentary we have quoted on p.417 above. At the juncture we are now arrived at, I believe that, in answering the "nine-year", simultaneously the nature of Minos' "oarism" (his "oaristic" office) answers itself.

The semantic range we established for the complex Greek base (and, to a large extent, for the IE root as well) is the scope covered by "(too) close, thick with/ in league with, in alliance-relationship with". Even as we denominated the relationship of the ὄζος to Ares as "the minor association" (p.423), we noted that the relationship of Minos, ὀαριστής, to Zeus is, for our purposes, the "major association". I proceed to requote Odyssey τ 178-179, this time offering the necessary equivalent of the word I there left in Greek:

τῆσι δ' ἐνὶ Κνωσός, μεγάλη πόλις, ἔνθα τε Μίνως
ἐννέωρος βασίλευε Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής.

To return to Stanford's posing of the problem: "... it is uncertain whether it [ἐννέωρος] is to be taken more closely with ὀαριστής..., or with βασίλευε...". The answer lies in striking out from the question the "whether ... or"; you cannot have the one without the other, for they are reciprocal sine qua non's.

And amongst them is Knossos, the great city, where Minos was king during the nine-year period of his "oarism" from Great Zeus.

This is to say that as long as he ruled, he was Great Zeus's *oaristēs* and as long as he was Great Zeus's *oaristēs*, he ruled. In other words, "For nine-years he ruled, [as] Great Zeus's *oaristēs*". One way of putting it would be: "be king" + "nine-years" = *oaristēs*, etc., etc. Without putting writer and reader through all potential permutations, we can say that his "oarism" was limited to "nine-years" which was the fixed period for his rule as X; X quite transparently, in view of the semantic field delimited above and of the context, was Minos' relationship with Zeus, his stewardship over

Knossos in his capacity as **Great Zeus's Covenant-Partner**, which position 'he held only for the stipulated nine-years, for thereafter the King must die - long live the new covenant-partner.

V.3. Minōs the Steward and Zeus's Benignity

Surprisingly, the corroboration of this proposal for rendering Greek *ἀρπιστής* comes from that which we are wont to denominate as Minos's PN, to wit Minos. Evidence to be laid out shortly leads us to believe that *ἀρπιστής*, far from being a title applied to Cretan Minos by the Greeks, was actually a translational rendering by the IE Greeks of the title "Minos", a title he held (or each held?!) as steward during the nine-years, a title that states this position in an IE language used (whether alone or amongst others, whether only at certain times and only leaving PN and title relics or pervasive) in Crete before the Greek conquest and gradual Hellenization of the native culture(s). It is reasonably likely that the IE language that the title "Minos" originates in is of the Anatolian branch, possibly more closely related to Luwian than to any other documented IE language in this geographical area. But, in coming to this conclusion concerning both the Cretan title "Minos" and its translation by the Greeks into *ἀρπιστής* (with the concomitant eventual reinterpretation of "Minos" as a PN), I am not making any claims as to the ethnic, linguistic, etc. nature of Crete as a whole in any period of the Bronze age or in later periods. All I am doing is dealing with an originally complex double title "Minos (i.e. *ἀρπιστής*)", in other words, originally the Greeks said "Minos, i.e. the steward/covenant-partner of Great Zeus".

On *ἀρπιστής* Stanford (commentary ad τ 139) quotes van Leeuwen who "compares Moses' conversation with Jehovah (Exodus 33, 11; Deuteronomy 34, 10)" (35). The analogy represents an astute appreciation of relationships of this sort, broadly speaking, but it is one which remains less exact than we would wish, less exact indeed than other comparable relationships between deity and folk-leader of which we have record, relationships 1) where the human partner of this moiety bears a title indicative of his function and 2) where these relationships and functions are the *sine qua non*'s of the office that the human leader fulfills through a continuous period of time. Such a

relationship was had by the c. 800 B.C.E. East Luwian leader, Azatiwatas, who bears the titular *tiwatamis zitis tarhuntas mitas* "Man of Tiwaz and 'Servant' of Tarhuntas" (for the translation of this titular, see Arbeitman 1980: 9-11, p. 10 esp.).

The paradigm for Western civilization of such a relationship is, of course, that of Abraham to his God, whose אֱלֹהֵי he is, "Abraham, the Beloved of/the Lover of God". An Indo-European word which serves, as one of several, to render this Abrahamic titular in bible translations, is a derivative of the stem (Balto-Slavic) *mil-*: see Arbeitman 1981: 915 and 918 resp. for the use of this stem in the Czech bible and the Latvian bible translations which I used in that article. It should now be added to the Baltic information there that, in another Lithuanian version which is now in my hands (it was one of Dr. Jean Kerns' bibles) (36), this same stem, as cited above for Czech and Latvian, is employed in both the Isaiah 41: 8 and II Chron 20: 7 loci. The locus in James employs the same root **pri-* as did the Lithuanian version I cited on p.918 of the above cited study.

It should require no repetition here that the relationship that Abraham had with his God was that of covenant.

It is no accident that two branches of IE, Slavic and Baltic, have for one of their words available to render this relationship, the stem *mil-*; nor do I need at this point to presume that the reader shall have failed to perceive a degree of root-relationship in the three stems used: in Crete *mi-n-*, in Hieroglyphic Luwian *mi-t-*, and in Balto-Slavic *mi-l-*, resp. for Minos (traditionally as PN), the ἀρχιστῆς of Great Zeus, for Azatiwatas, the "servant/steward/worshipper" of Tarhuntas, and for Abraham, the "Beloved of/the Lover of" God. In the present article (p.423 above) we have already seen the Russian word *mi-r* "peace(-and-friendship)", ultimately derived (whether directly as native Slavic or indirectly as borrowing from Iranian) from this selfsame IE root, **mei-* (probably better denoted as **mey-*).

In my 1981 article (959 ff.) I explored in great detail the various stems which are formed from the IE root **mey-*: **meig^w-*, **mei^(h)-*, perhaps an *-r/-n* pace Puhvel, i.e. **meir-/meiⁿ-*, **mell-*

(cf. my summary in 1981: 963), all in various ablaut grades.

In the three present examples, Balto-Slavic *mil-*, Hieroglyphic Luwian *mit-*, and Cretan (an IE stratum at least, and one which left some anthroponyms and toponyms, and the titular, i.e. it need not be the language of the people of Crete) *min-*, I rather think that we are dealing with a phenomenon different from IE stem building. In a word, varied formants of a past passive participle, at least in origin, i.e. *mil-*, *mit-*, and *min-*, are all three IE expressions of a state: "endowed with (the) benignity (of/from the deity)", hence "beloved, servant/worshipper", etc.; more simply and less literally, "Covenant Partner" (of the deity).

Typologically, the phenomenon that we see in *mil-*, *mit-*, *min-*, semantically just about interchangeable, but having different suffixes (likely for one and the same function or functions whose differences are no longer recoverable, if they ever existed) is a common one:

IE $\sqrt{d^h\bar{e}}$ "set, put, place, lay", etc.

* $d^h\bar{e}$ -*lo-m* Slavic *dělo* "work, deed", etc.

* $d^h\bar{e}$ -*ti-s* Germanic **dēdiz* "deed, doing" (NE *deed*).

* $d^h\bar{e}$ -*to-m* Iranian (OP) "law" (borrowed into Aramaic as 𐤋𐤕 "law" and later in Aramaic and Hebrew "religion"). Latin (remodelled with the entire verb) as *factum* (< * $d^h\bar{e}$ -*k-to-m*, on which see Arbeitman 1987: 22-23 esp.).

* $d^h\bar{o}$ -*no-m* Germanic **dōna* "done", p.p.p., OE (*ge-*)*dōn* (NE *done*). Against which cf. the dental suffix, IE *-*to-*, in Lat. *factum* and the pret. part. of the Gmc. weak verb: e.g. OS *gimakod*.

IE $\sqrt{sey(\bar{e})}$ - "give birth" (> **swe-* "one's own", refl. stem), with varied suffixes for the p.p.p. function all with the meaning "born" in sensu "son".

**su-nu-s*: *sunus* in Germanic; Sk., Avest., Baltic, and Slavic.

**su-yu-s*: In Greek *υἱός* (only secondarily thematic as *υἱός*); Tocharian B *soyā*, A *se*; and Armenian *ustr*, listed in Pokorny as recast after *dustr* "daughter".

*(*su-to-s*): Probably not an established IE lexical item, but a participial formation within Skt. itself in the word *suta-*.

Aready in my 1981 article, p. 990, I offered this semantic and this etymological analysis for Azatiwatas' titular *Tarhuntas mitas*, and compared his relationship, as consisting of a doubled covenant, one with his god(s), the other with his people, to the Abrahamic titular as "God's Beloved" vel sim. and, on p.1002, I summed up the scheme of the usages of the various covenantal words, including IE **ar-* and **mey-*. In the toponyms that were the proper study of that article. It would have been rather inconceivable to me, at that time, that an entirely different set of two alternate names/titles borne by one individual, would prove to be not only mutually translatable, but that this set would consist of two of the same three roots that were the object of analysis in that 137 page study.

Such, however, is the situation: Μίνωζ (*mi-n-ōw-s*/Μιν-ν-ωφ-ς) is a throne name, indicative of the king's covenant relationship with Great Zeus during the nine-year period of his rule by this covenant.

The meaning of this throne name was known and understood when the Greeks settled and began assimilating the island; part of their process of effectuating this assimilation, Greek ↔ Cretan (Mycenaean civilization ↔ Minoan civilization), was rendering the titular of (the) Minos and his relationship to Cretan Zeus (37), thus perpetuating the understanding amongst the newcomers of this immutable hoary element of Minoan society-and-religion, the ruler as Covenant-Partner with a delty who the Greeks long continued to recognize that, though they call him Zeus, was of a fundamentally different nature from Hellenic Zeus (38).

ENDNOTES

- (1) Here quite obviously *δαρ* and *ἄλοχος* are synonymous alternates for "mate, wife", without regard to formal marital status or lack thereof, in spite of the differences suggested by some of the translators.
- (2) It is vital that we construe first the text ad sensum and then create the rules based on the data; not make the text say what the rule would demand. In this manner, I cannot agree with the

sense which van Leeuwen and da Costa (1895, commentary ad loc.) make the text say: "[the reading X is unacceptable] nam ἄλοχος non *Briseis* dicitur h. 1. sed *Clytaemnestra*; nunquam vox ἄλοχος de concubina usurpatur"; the comments, and understanding of the text on which those comments are based, of Leaf and Bayfield (1908, ad loc.) also diverge severely from what to me is the transparent intention of the text, as I have given it above in my translation. On line 336 they comment: "'he has his darling wife; let him rest beside her, and take his joys'; i.e. he has his own wife *Klytaimnestra*, let him be content with her". Two translations which I hold in great esteem, concur with the rendering I myself determined before consulting them. Kazantzakis and Kakridhis render 11. 335-337:

Οἱ ἄλλοι τὸ κρᾶτησαν ἀπείραχτο, μονάχα ἐμένα ἀπ' ὅλους

τὸ πῆρε, κι ἔχει τῇ γυναίκα μου τὴν ἀκριβή· μὰ τῶρα

ᾧς τὴν κοιμᾶται κι ᾧς τὴ χαίρεται.

The others keep what [they were given] intact, me alone of all he has taken mine, and he holds my fit wife. So now let him sleep [with] her and let him have pleasure [of] her.

L I. 340-343 they render:

Οἱ Ἀτρεΐδες μόνο εἰς γυναῖκες τοὺς ἀπ' ὅλους τοὺς ἀνδρώπους

ἔχουν ἀγάπη; Ποιός καλόγνωνμος καὶ μυαλωμένος ἄντρας

δὲ νιώθει ἀγάπη καὶ δὲ γνοιάζεται τὸ ταίρι του; Καὶ τούτῃ

ὅμοια κι ἐγὼ περίσσια ἀγάπησα, κι ᾧς ἦταν σκλαβοπούλα.

Do the Sons-of-Atreus alone of all men have love for their wives? What man of good temperament and with brains does not feel love and is not concerned for his mate [diminutive of ἑταῖρος not of ἑταίρα!]; and this one how much I loved her, even though she was a captive-girl.

Lattimore renders the same lines (335-337):

All the other prizes of honour he gave the great men and the princes

are held fast by them, but from me alone of all the Achaians he has taken and keeps the bride of my heart. Let him lie beside her and be happy.

L I. 340-344:

Are the sons of Atreus alone among mortal men the ones who love their wives? Since any who is a good man, and careful, loves her who is his own and cares for her, even as I now loves this one from my heart, though it was my spear that won her.

The renderings pit the poets, on the one side, against the grammarians, on the other side. It was a bit of surprise to me that my own translations eventuated to concur with those of the poets.

We may also notice that Lattimore gives "bride" for ἄλοχον, but "wives" for ἄλόχους; Kazantzakis and Kakridhis give γυναῖκα/γυναῖκες for ἄλοχον/ἄλόχους. It seems Lattimore wants to make some translation distinction between Akhilleus' war-captive ἄλοχος and the ἄλοχοι of the Akhalans, a distinction not in the Greek. In their respective renderings of I. 328 (which we have not given), Kazantzakis and Kakridhis render ὄρων by ταῖρια (plural of the ταῖρι which they add in 342) and Lattimore by "women".

- (3) About this τὴν αὐτοῦ Leaf and Bayfield (commentary ad loc.) say: "a very rare use of the article in Homer". Van Leeuwen and da Costa have in their text *τὴν αὐτοῦ*, i.e. rather than "the (f.) of him", "his (f. sg. acc. from *τῆν* < *swām ultimately) own (female)". Skipping centuries, notice the similarity to (Δαυειδ δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Σαλομῶνα) ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐρίου of Math. 1: 6.

- (4) Within what we have been discussing, the juxtaposition of the verb ὀρίζε here with γυναῖκί, is striking, limited though it be by the degree to which the hearer of that time would connect ὀρίζε and ὄαρ: would he as much as we, as readers, do? or even more to the point, as much as I, as etymological reader, do?

The words ἡ... γυναῖκί here are rendered τὸ ἀκριβὸς τοῦ ταῖρι by Kazantzakis and Kakridhis, "his lady" by Lattimore.

- (5) The Greek and English verbs, ἀποδύω and *doff* share a fascinating and relationally unusual formal opposition as to structure here. The Greek word, as often in Homer, has not yet

undergone univerbation (cf. Arbeltman 1987: 20) and, thus, appears in the form: adverb ἀπό... δύνω. The English word, however, is one of the few in our tongue to display such univerbation and has the adverb frozen as a postverb: *do off* → *doff* (similarly *do on* → *don*). The Latin equivalent has not only the verb frozen into such univerbated items, to wit *ex-u-o* "out-of-dress" and *end-u-o* "into-dress", both from a verb whose simplex is no longer recognizable within Latin, IE **eu-*, from which we know, both in Latin and elsewhere, primarily the neo-root **w-es*, e.g. in Latin *vestis*, English *wear* and Hittite *weš-*, Luwian *waš-*. The adverbial opposite of Greek ἀποδύνω is ἐν-δύνω "into-get". I needed to divide this word with a dash, for the uncanny thing about the Greek and Latin verbs for "get-dressed", resp. ἐνδύνω and *enduo*, is that while they both consist of preverb + verb, their verbal roots are in no way related, in spite of the fact that Lewis and Short (1879, reprinted forever) says s.v. *induo* (their preferred spelling), "[cf. Gk. ἐνδύνω]". In Homer only ἐνδύνω appears for "get-into", while for "get-out-of" both ἀποδύνω and ἀποδύνω appear.

- (6) These definitions are reproduced from Cunliffe, s.v., which accounts for their somewhat quaint language.
- (7) We will be considering other Greek words for "wife" as occasion will require; already we have seen the semantics of several in endnotes 1, 2, 3 and 4. The etymologies will be considered in section IV.
- (8) Kazantzakis and Kakridhis render:

Μὴ πολιτεία, Κνωσό τὴν εἵπανε, τράνῃ, καὶ βασιλιάς
της.

ὁ Μίνωας, ποῦ τὸ Δία συντρόφευε σὶὰ ἐννιὰ τὰ
χρόνια πάνω

One City-State, it's called Knosos, Grand, and its King,

Minos, who kept Zeus's company at just nine years.

The earlier translation of Eftaliotis renders:

Κ' εἶν' ἡ Κνωσό, χώρα τράνῃ, ποῦ ὁ Μίνωας τοῦ
μεγάλου

τοῦ Δία σύντροφος ἐννιᾶ, κ' ἐννιὰ κυβέρναιε χρόνους
And there is Knossos, a grand land, where Minos, the companion
of

Great Zeus for nine-years, also governed for nine-years.

The word σύντροφος (and the verb from it which Kazantzakis and Kakridhis use) means "companion, comrade, mate, chum, pal, partner", etc., etc. Etymologically it is "together-nurtured, bought-up-together" and Kazantzakis and Kakridhis bring a nice etymological pun to the passage beginning at the end of

175, where Homer has:

έν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,
έν δ' Ἑτεόκρητες μεγάλῃτορες, έν δὲ Κύδωνες
Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες δῖοί τε Πελασγοί—
they render (expansionally):

Θρέφει Ἀχαιοὺς ἡ Κρήτη.
καὶ βέρους Κρητικούς ἀντρόκαρδους, καὶ Δωριεῖς, ποὺ
ζοῦνε
σὲ τρεῖς φυλές, κι ἀκόμα Κύδωνες καὶ Πελασγοὺς
ἀρχόντους.

Crete nurtures Akhalans
and True Cretans [vero-], stout-hearted, and Dorians who live
in three tribes, and moreover Kydonians and ruling Pelasgians.

The addition of θρέφει gives us l. 175 "Crete nurtures" and l. 179 "who was co-nurtured with Zeus". Again, I urge the caveat which I suggested in n. 4 above. Notice here that the Dhimotiki "undoes" Grassmann's Law in θρέφει.

- (9) When summaries of the views of authors of dictionaries, such as Boisacq, are given, my intent is more one of ready reference and presentation, not necessarily one of true ascription to the given author as being the originator of this or that view. As often as possible, when available within the dictionary article, ascription of origination is given.
- (10) On this prefix in IE and some suggestions as to its possible appearance elsewhere, cf. my remarks in Arbeitman and Rendsburg 1981: 149.
- (11) Bader (1969: 38) offers a phonologically conditioned cause for the aberrant development of **m* (/and **p*) to *o* in various dialects. She writes: "Pour illustrer le traitement vélaire d'une sonante-voyelle, point n'est besoin de rester dans les limites de l'éolien ou de l'arcado-cypriote. Il y a déjà bien longtemps que Meillet, dans un court article (A. Meillet, *Sur une origine de grec o*, *M.S.L.* 16, 1910-1911, p.217-220) a indiqué que... hom. *ó* [pourrait remonter à] **sm-* (δπατρος)...". Naturally the view is

worthy of consideration, but I remain with *δ-* as a near synonymous, but distinct, inherited prefix and preposition for the while.

(12) For further discussion of Brugmann, see n. 29 below.

(13) Cf. the phrase of very similar semantic intent, *θεράποντες Ἄρηος*, lit. "attendants, squires of Ares", functionally "warriors".

(14) Whatever the root behind the Greek *δζος*, there is no reason to think that Slavic *spsedb* "neighbour" is anything other than "co-sitter, with-sitter" with "sit" in sensu "dwell" like e.g. Hebrew *שׁוּב*. The semantics here demand this; the fact that **sed-* as "go" does not exist synchronically in Slavic, this root having undergone an unusual sound change, **sed-* "go" appearing only in *chod-* /*xod-*/ (see ref. below), would not be a major or indeed a telling argument against its continuing in a frozen lexeme (see Sadnick and Aitzelmüller 1955: 243 [# 288] for **sed-* [*chod-*] "go" and 299 [# 795] for **sed-* [*sěd-*] "sit"). OCS *spsedb* (or *sosedb*, i.e. with or without nasalization in the prefix) < prefix **som-* (i.e. the same source as Greek *σ-*) + *√sed-* "sit" and designates an actual, living-next-to-you neighbour (not like the English "neighbour", used also for your "fellow" as in the "love your neighbour as yourself" of the English bibles; for the Slavic equivalent for this, see Arbeitman 1981: 924); it translates Greek *γείτων*, e.g. Luke 15: 6:

Greek: *συγ-καλεῖ* τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς γείτονας
(verb + pref. "with", nouns)

OCS: *so-zyvaetb drugi i so-sedy*
(verb + pref. "with", one noun + pref. "with")

Latin: *con-vocat amicos et vicinos*
(verb + pref. "with", nouns)

Gothic: *gaþaþ frijonds jah ga-raznans*
(verb + pref. "with", one noun + pref. "with").

"He calls together his friends and his co-dwellers".

While all four sample tongues have a preverb "with-/co-", the OCS and the Gothic have the same prefix in their compound nouns for "co-dweller", the OCS, as we have noted, lit. "co-sitter", the Gothic literally "co-house-er", as Feist 1939: s.v. says: "also eig. 'Hausgenosse'."

(15) No parallels or situations are exactly analogous, but the same kind of general process is what Gusmani describes in his 1981

article, except for possibly the element of consciousness which the Slavic speakers he discusses may have had of the constituent elements in their inherited and their "rekomponierte" compounds, a consciousness not likely had by the Greeks in reference to *ῥαχίς*, "branch".

- (16) A near synonym to NE *crew* (but, in common parlance, one with negative connotation generally) is *gang*, defined by *AHD* as "1. a group of people... who associate regularly on a social basis: ... 3. a group of laborers organized together on one job", where the OE meaning, identical to NHG *Gang* (and the Slavic *chodъ* from **sed-* "go"), i.e. "a going, a journey, a way, a path", has come to denote the group that follows a common path, goes together, and this without any copulative or associative prefix.

Once given *gang* as the "group/crew/troop, troupe", the individual member (the "trooper", as it were) is supplied by the "class-membership" suffix: [-*ster*]: *gangster* "gang-member" (cf. Arbeltman [1981: 956] for Heb. and Aram. expressions for "the path-of-the-fellowship of doers-of-evil").

Three other IE nouns meaning "assembly" are most appropriate for inclusion here, Greek *σύνδοχος* and *συνέδριον*, and Latin *consul/consilium*; the first, "synod", derives from *σύν-* + *ὁδός* "road", thus "together-road" in sensu "one-path" and, thus, "assembly" (*ὁδός*, as noted above, from */sed-* "go"); the second is literally "together-seat" (*ἔδ-* from */sed-* "sit"), borrowed into Post-Biblical Hebrew and Targumic Aramaic as *סנהדרין* (ן), *sanhedrin*. The Latin items form a "digressione" in Giacalone Ramat (1975: 74-75), who considers all the proposals and decides that they derive from */sed-* "sit" with Latin (due to substrate) lambdacism, but raises the question as to what kind of compound we have to do with here: "Se i *cōsules* sono dunque **cum-sodes* si presenta la possibilità di una duplice interpretazione del composto: come 'coloro che siedono insieme' con secondo membro tema radicale, come *lūdex*, *redux*, o *convīva*, oppure come 'coloro che hanno lo stesso seggio, che condividono il seggio' con nel secondo membro un tema nominale, che è testimoniato, con ampliamento -*io-*, anche in *sollum*. In quest'ultimo caso si avrebbe evidentemente una formazione parallela a quelle germaniche, con *ga-*, indicanti, come sappiamo, il possessore, in comune con altri, di un qualche oggetto materiale (si ricordino in particolare i

composti antico alto tedeschi *gisedalo* e *gisezzo* da *sedal* e da *sez*, entrambi 'seggio'). I *cōnsules* potrebbero aver tratto tale denominazione dal fatto che la loro duplice figura sostituiva la persona unica del re e che quindi due magistrati sedevano sul trono regale". This type of compound "those who have the same-seat" is a bahuvrīhi like VL *companion* "colui che ha, insieme con altri, un oggetto concreto (*pānis*)" which she explains may be a calque on Germanic *gahlaiba* or, vice versa, may be the source on the basis of which Germanic formed a calque!

Giacalone Ramat's "digression" deserved such quoting here, not only because it deals with "sit/go-together" words, three words for "assembly" or the members of a co-regnum, but because the article as a whole, not only the digression we quoted so fully, deals in important detail with the Latin and, more specifically, the Germanic copulative/associative prefix as a whole and, beyond that, with various associative/relationship words and functions. We can conclude this note with an inspection of a New Testament quote with "synhedrion", Math. 5: 22:

Greek: ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ, Ραχᾶ, ἔνοχος ἔσται τῷ συνεδρίῳ.

OCS: *iže bo ašte rečetb bratu svoemu raka povinenb estb sonmištu*

Latin: *qui autem dixerit fratri suo, racha, reus erit concilio*

Gothic: *īþ saei qiþiþ broþr seinamma raka, skula wairþiþ ga-qumþai*

In each of the four languages the compound consists of a prefix "together" + a root, respectively "sit", "take", "call" and "come" (the root of the Latin, IE **kel-* "call", is the same one seen in Greek ἐκκλησί(α)).

For the Slavic, consult Sandok and Aitzelmüller 1955: 129 (spelled *sъnъmište*) and 233 (# 195) for the etymology.

- (17) It is one of those etymological, against-common-sense, facts that we have to swallow, that Hom., Ion.-Att., ἑτερος, Doric, Aeolian ἄτερος, Myc. *a2tero* "one (*sm-*) of two (*-teros*)" are the reflexes of IE **sm-teros* (Chantraine, s.v. ἑτερος, compares suffix and function of Skt. *eka-tara*), whereas the appearance-wise, almost identical, ἑταῖρος (older form, Homer and Aeschylus, ἑταῖρος) "comrade, companion, of the same-age,

- comrade-in-arms" < *se-teros of a stem set- + suffix -αρός. This stem set- is formed to the root *se- (a simplified, one would normally say, descriptively, but actually more primitive and basic form of the reflexive **complex** root *swe-, which appears in Homeric, Doric, and Aeolian (F)έτᾱς, Homeric έτης psilotic, basic common form hFέτᾱς). The complex root *swe-, *sew-, *sewe- (p. 437) is actually *se- + *w(e)- as *dwō- is actually *di + *wi-, both complex roots sharing a common second element. From this έταῖρος derives the Mod. Gk. aphaeretized nt. (epicene functionally) diminutive ταίρι which we saw in n. 2.
- (18) A compound of identical formal and semantic make up as όγάστριος (cited on p. 425 in my quote from *LSJ*): each compound consists of a prefix "sharing, having-in-common" + a noun "belly".
- (19) Concerning ἄθροός "serré, rassemblée", etc., also sometimes signifying "en une seule fois, soudain, d'un seul coup", Chantraine says that it is generally analysed as composed of -θροός + a prefix ἄ "issu de *sm-, ce qui est sûr" [my emphasis. YLA; this -θροός] de la même racine *dher- que l'on reconnaît dans ἄθρέω [the spiritus asper here is a misprint; however, for the use of the asper rather than the lenis in this verb, see *LSJ*, s.v. On the more accepted vacillation in the spelling of the noun ἄθροός/ἄθρόος, see *LSJ*, s.v. again). YLA]. On rapproche skr. *sadhry-añc-* 'uni'. Thus, he speaks only of the same root explicitly, for s.v. ἄθρέω "diriger le regard vers", "regarder avec attention"; one feels that he perceives the likelihood of a different underlying (or etymological) prefix/preverb for the surface identical ἄ-. He cites two internal Greek verbs that are most likely syrrhozoid, to wit ἐνθρεῖν· φυλάσσειν (Hsch.) and θρήσκω· νοῶ (Hsch.), and then we come to a startling indecisive conclusion: "l'α Initial serait une prothèse, ou un représentant de la préposition ἐν, *η, cf. sous ἄ-, ou encore un ἄ copulativum" [I have done my best to reproduce Chantraine's arbitrary use or non use of the - after the prefixes he cites]. The matter of concern and interest here is that whereas for the verb ἄθρέω "look on with attention, direct one's view at" the prefix might be ἐν in the zero grade, which is what Chantraine means by the second of the three possibilities he considers. In the case of ἄθροός "crowded", etc., where he said that the

preform **s_gn-* "was sure", the most likely etymon is IE **n-* + **dher-* "hold together" et sim., but not with the **n-* representing "in" as Chantraine would have it for the verb (I), rather with another of the three IE homophonic **n-*'s: **n-* privative, **n-* "in" or **n-* "associative" or "collective", W. Winter's **n-* which means "together" and often was equivalent to Germanic **ga-* (< IE **korn*; cf. Giacalone Ramat 1975: 65-76). Section IV.2 (next) deals with this most recent addition to the IE stock of prepositions, prefixes, and preverbs.

- (20) That α - (with the spiritus lenis) is the "pre-Hellenic" (Pelasgian) equivalent of genuine Greek \omicron - < **o-*. Winter quotes Georgiev here with the cautionary note "in some cases".
- (21) Winter's trilingual comparison items here, all of the same formal and semantic make up, form a very impressive assemblage. But, now one needs to take note - for this particular Greek word - of the enticing suggestion of the lamented Warren Cowgill (1978: 29-32). Alas, one has to choose; we can't have Winter's total set and Cowgill's other connection.
- (22) Again, in the case of the relationship word $\alpha\nu\epsilon\psi\iota\omicron\varsigma$, it is seemingly the lack of a suitably probable basis for, first of all, the α - at all, and secondly for the "lack of aspiration" which leaves Chantraine rather nebulous in his explanation of the IE connections of the item: "Le mot repose sur **\alpha\nu\epsilon\pi\tau\iota\omicron\varsigma*: l' α initial présente l'ambiguïté habituelle, mais semble devoir être interprété comme une prothèse (ou un ϵ_2 ?); alpha 'copulatif' selon Schwyzler... Il est en tout cas propre au grec". By this last statement, he seems to indicate that its presence in Greek, vis-à-vis the root cognates in the other IE languages, is functionless. These cognates, as Chantraine cites them, are: "On rapproche av. *naptya-* 'descendant', v. sl. *netŭjŭ* 'neveu', tous mots dérivés d'un terme comme skr. *nāpāt* 'neveu', lat. *nepōs* 'petit-fils, neveu', etc."

Benveniste has provided a pellucid analysis of both the socio-semantic essence of the Greek word in question and also of its formal structure. This analysis is printed in his 1969 book, which was put together by an editor from a series of oral papers the master gave on Indo-European institutions; the relevant portion is 1969, vol. 1: 234: "Le terme grec apparenté *anepsios* (de **a-nept-iyō-*) signifie 'cousin', au sens où nous

l'entendons. La forme même livre un témoignage important: le sens littéral est: 'ceux qui sont co-neveux', ce qui suppose au point de départ, pour l'élément *-nept-*, non le sens de 'petit-fils', mais celui de 'neveu'. Ainsi se désignaient réciproquement les 'neveux' de frères et de soeurs...".

"Co-nephews", as these cousins reciprocally designate each other. The explanation is highly probable; thus, in want of any acceptable reason for the copulative prefix to lack aspiration if it comes from **sḡn-*, we are once again facing a good candidate for Winter's prefix **ḡ-*: **ḡ-nept-iyos*.

In Benveniste 1973: 190 there is an English translation, which - at least - employs some Greek Letters.

- (23) Winter notes cautiously (1952: 189) - the hallmark of this article is its good sense which includes first and foremost **not** trying to cover the whole field with one's personal little umbrella -: "Though an interpretation of the *e-* in *ekmem* ['we have arrived'] as corresponding to Gk. *ó-* in *ὀκέλλω* cannot be completely rejected, it is preferable to include this word [he intends the Toch. word *ekmem*! YLA] in the group under discussion here." (on p.187, fn. 6 he had said: "Forms with the prefix *ó-*, some of which one may be inclined to consider Aeolic variants of forms with *á-*, are also excluded from this paper"). The article works towards a conclusion with material still of relevance to present concerns. On p.190, he notes: "At this point we introduce a working hypothesis: the prefix **ḡ-* corresponds in its function to Gmc. *ga-*, Lat. *co(n)-*, etc. As is well known, the Germanic and Latin prefixes correspond to each other functionally not only in verbs (cf. Goth. *galisan*: Lat. *colligere*; Goth. *gaqiman*: Lat. *convenīre*, etc.), but also in the formation of collective nouns (OHG *gabirgi*, Lat. *consilium*, etc.).

By our hypothesis we are able to regard the following as exact parallels:

Toch. B *ekmam* 'we have arrived': Goth. *gaqēmum*:
Lat. *convēnimus*".

The article contains much of aid for our interrelated copulative and associative, et sim. problems; the very concluding statements offer some material which we cannot admit: "One more question is of interest in this connection: why did the prefix **ḡ-* disappear almost completely in Greek? [One might prefer the choice of

"cease to be productive and survive only in frozen old inherited words?" YLA]. ... There is reason ... to believe that it was replaced by its functional pendant ξύν-, σύν-. ... If the possibility exists that ξύν- may have taken the place of ἄ-, we can suppose that ξύν- is not Greek at all, but a loanword from some satem language (V. Georgiev has tried to demonstrate that a satem language exerted considerable influence on the Greek vocabulary. Even though there can be no doubt that he has gone too far in many details, some of his conclusions can hardly be rejected)".

Now though until fairly recently, the pinning down of σύν's familial relations has been not an easy task (see e.g. Walde-Hoffmann 1938: 252 "ganz unsicher"; Pokorny 1959: 903: "lit. sam-, sa-..., apr. san-, sen-..., sen (*sem) Prāp. 'mit' (idg. *sem); aksl. sp- 'mit' (sp-sědb 'Nachbar', vgl. ai. sam-sád- 'Versammlung'), sp-logb 'consors tori', vgl. ἄ-λοχος usw.

mit aksl. sp- ablautend ist *sbn-, sb (*s_om)... sowie sb Prāp. 'mit'; falls lit. sù 'mit' dazugehört, könnte es samt aksl. sb und gr. ξύν, σύν 'mit' auf idg. *ksu bzw. *ksun zurückgeführt werden:...". It is also to IE *sem- that the s.v. text etymology assigns the source of the English prefix "syn-" in *AHD*, for which etymological material (the text entries and the appendix) I can personally testify that Watkins is yes/no responsible. The appendix, s.r. *sem- has no listing for Greek *sun* (a not totally uncommon situation in the *AHD*).

What had occurred here is that the Pokorny reference on p.903, s.r. *sem- to some possibilities (namely IE *ksu and *ksun) for a connection of Greek ξύν, σύν with certain Slavic and Lithuanian forms, was "translated" by the *AHD* clerks into a s.v. "syn-" text etymological reference to *sem-* of the appendix of *AHD* itself; whereas in that appendix the "syn-", together with the prefix in Slavic, Russian "sputnik" and Polish "Sejm" (the cognate of the OCS translation of "Sanhedrin" given in n. 15 above), is actually given under an entry *ksun*, as per the possibility which Pokorny had adduced, quoted earlier (§ 5) in the present endnote. The basis for such occurrences by the *AHD* clerks, as I know from personal knowledge, was generally an inability to really read Pokorny's German: a reference to a word

on a page of Pokorny was sufficient to get that item translated into an entry in the *AHD*. This is why I speak of Watkins as being yes/no responsible for the dictionary.

Now when Winter speaks of borrowing of ξύν/εύν "from some satem language", I am left wondering whether he intends that this satem language sound-changed IE **kom* into *Sun* (the capital S stands for "some kind of phonetic realization of /s/" and, thus, could account for Greek graphemic alternation ξύν ~ εύν as an explanation more in line with the borrowing theory than the diachronic sound simplification would be).

At least in light of what we know today (v. infra) this final suggestion of Winter's is a little (if that much) short of preposterous. The situation turns out to be precisely the opposite: Greek ξύν eventuates, under the proper analysis, to be one of the "purest" items of the IE heritage in Greek.

The only source of this prep./pref./prev./ is now generally acknowledged to be IE *√ghes-* (as in NE *guest*, Latin *hostis*), thus **ghs-un* (and intra-Greek simplification or such, see above, ξύν- > εύν-); see Bader 1982: 131, 137 (et passim in this encyclopaedic compendium devoted to related matters and constituting pages 83-156; see refs.), where fn. 245 gives a short history of some earlier attempts and where, in the text proper, she brilliantly executes her analysis, in an extreme atomistic model, of what she perceives as the final product of a very agglutinizing and agglutinized proto-language. The stage this analysis arrives at, I make bold to say, is one that, whilst one might concede its actual validity and certainly be terribly stimulated by it all, nevertheless we must call it "earlier" than the kind of IE, or even IH, that most of us reconstruct. I have generally eschewed use of this magisterial article here in order to be able to present my own views as I have developed them from the confronted data.

The new view, however one conceives the sequence of the frozen agglutinized morphemes, also now connects, via *√ghes-* ~ *√ghse-*, resp. *guest*, *hostis* and, from **ghse-n-wos*, ξένοϛ.

The "new" derivation of ξένοϛ is at least referred to now s. *ghos-ti-* in the *AHDIER* 1985, which has replaced the now excised old appendix "Indo-European Roots", pp.1505-1550 of the first edition of *AHD*. It is my, well-founded, impression, I believe, that

Watkins is yes responsible for the output here, more than he was in the mish-mash of the appendix. In the new (1985) work, while *xenos* is cross referenced s. *ghos-ti-*, as stated, the very keeping of "syn-" s. *ksun*, alphabetically under the letter *k*, itself effectively precludes any natural identification, as *xenos* is listed under the letter *x*! Combined with this is the fact, that though the new work not only in the cross reference, but also in the entry *xenos*, adds to the statement "of uncertain origin and formation", a sober second statement: "the initial *x-* may be the zero-grade form **ghs-* of **ghos-* (see *ghos-ti-*)".

Pisani (1974), in the "Dizionario Comparativo" section, conceptualized the relationships in the following framework:

1. # 259 (p. 145) "*ghosti-*... 'straniero' come in *hospes*... (da **hosti-postis* cfr. 324), ... gt. *gast-s*...".

2. # 264 (p. 145) "*gzh-en-*. gr. ξένος ξενίτης (da *ξεν-*Fö-ç*,...) 'straniero', alb. *huaj* (**gzhēn-n-jo-*) Id. La parte radicale *gzh-* da *ghs-* va riconnessa col *ghos-* di *ghosti-* 259; cfr. anche 399".

3. # 399 (p. 164) "*eġzh (eġh-s)*. gr. έξ, έξ c. gen. 'via, fuori da'...". In my own language, this matter can be summarized as follows, tracing 3, 2, 1, from bottom up:

Root *Eēgh-* "be separate vel sim."; extended by *-s-*:

Theme I.	Theme II.	Ablaut-Grades
<i>Eġhēs</i>	<i>Eġhs-Ŵ-</i>	
3. [<i>Eēghz</i>] < / <i>Eġh-s</i> / "fuori da, foreign, outside"		é/ø-grade
2b. [<i>Eġzh</i>]-én-wos < / <i>Eġh-s-X-Y</i> / "foreigner, outsider, stanger, guest, etc."		ø/é-grade + metathesis + thematization
2a. [<i>Eġzh</i>]-ú-n- < / <i>Eġh-s-Y-X</i> / "with" (originally ablative as well as concomitant: e.g. "withdraw" as well as "go with").		ø/ø-grade
1. [<i>Eġhós</i>]-ti- "stranger, enemy, guest, host" (all < "foreigner")		ø/ó-grade

- (24) Hittite uses an adv. "(da-)bei, (da-)mit, (da-)zu" (*katta*) + verb "to sleep, rest" (*šēš- / šēšk-*) as its expression for "bei (einer Frau) schlaffen", tr. "(eine Frau) beschlaffen". See the Law Code exx. in Friedrich 1971: 132. The exx. here are of illegitimate and punishable (under certain circumstances, in other words "yes/no punishable") copulation. But the prime seme-container here, once again, is not the comitative adv./postposition *katta(n)* (with the

gen. when meaning "bei... [schlafen]") or the alternate use of the Akkadian prep. *MA.ĦAR*, but the verb itself "(be-)sleep" which specifies the nature of the relating. The long literature on whether or not this Hittite *katta(n)/katti-* be related (or not or only partially!) to IE **kom* as **k_ṛm-ta* (see Kronasser 1956: 53-54, 160, and 223) or as IH **ko(m)t_ṛm* (Sturtevant 1951: 59 and 214 et passim), and the further question of the relationship of Greek *κάσις*, *κάσιγνητος* - whether *κάσις* is but a nominalization of a adv./prep. **kati*, thus "with" > "the with-one", are parts of a subject too significant, major, and convoluted to be "ex-cathedra-ed" in a endnote here; on the other hand, to discuss that subject and its parts in detail exceeds even my own criteria for the inescapable. The loci in the Law Code itself raise numerous other and related questions, particularly concerning the composition and origins of certain other verbs which occur as further specifications of law-breaking II (*katta[n]*) *šeš(k)-*. On some of the problems of the relationship or lack thereof in the Hittite *katta* one should provisionarily consult Chantraine s.v. *κάσιγνητος* (with comparisons of the unassibilated Thessalonian *κατίγνειτος* and Linear B *kasikono* interpreted by Lejeune as "apprenti, compagnon" < "co-active, co-serving") and Tischler 1983: 475-78, 539-42, and 545-47, Benveniste 1969: 220-21 (English 1975: 177-79).

Pisani (op. cit.) gives the following conceptualization:

1. # 405 (p. 165) "*kont/k_ṛnt-*, gr. *κατὰ* c. acc. 'lungo, secondo' c. gen. 'giù da; contro', lt. *contrā* 'contro', air. *cēt* (**kant-*) 'lungo, con'. Cfr. 406".

2. # 406 (p. 165) "*kom*, scr. *kām* 'verso', ..., lt. *cum* 'con' in composiz. *com-*: ... o. [Oscan] *kúm*-... u. [Umbrian] *ueris-co* 'alle porte', air. *com* 'cum', ablg. *kū*".

3. # 52 (p. 117) "**gen-ə*. ... ppp. in *κάσι-γνῆ-το-ς* 'fratello' (con *κάσι-* 'cum' = itt. *kati* id., quindi come lt. *cō-gnātus*)..."

4. # 432 (p. 168) "*ka* gr. *καί* 'e' (accanto a cui arcaid.-cipr. *κάς* *κά* = itt. *kati* 'con' e *κάσι-* 52,...), mess. *ke*, ablg. *če* in *a-če* 'eppure'..."

As stated, this is not the place to render a definitive opinion on all these matters; but I can say that in general I find much of the scheme diagrammed by Pisani quite cogent - matters on

see Brugmann's article on June 6, 1986, i.e. well into the final period of producing this article. This set of facts is highly relevant because when I read Brugmann's article, wherein he quite properly expressed his "intuitive feel" (?) for the necessity of the root of ὄριστης being *ar-, I understood why this view of his has not become the accepted and just about only one prevailing, why - in other words - Chantraine gives it no more credence than he gives any of the other numerous proposals and, indeed, wonders whether the four main words from this root (as I view it to be indisputable) are actually syrrhizoid at all. Brugmann simply fails to adduce that which is the essential for the etymology, the panoramic continuum of the sphere of meanings, all of which lead to various kinds of "close contact" (neg. or pos., as stated already various times in this present paper). Indeed, it is ὄρ primarily that he discusses and not ὄριστης at all; nor does he even bring into his decision-making process those items that indicate conflict relationships. His instincts were right and, perhaps (???) he had the reasoning of the concepts I have just stated in his mind as he came to the conclusion he expressed, but nowhere does he make any of this explicit.

What Brugmann does do in this article (1911: 292-94) and do it brilliantly, there is no gainsaying, is to place the **pre-noun (prefix) ὀ-** in a context by first examining several other words of this semantic (i.e. the "wife" function only, of the ὄρ- words) field, and in a way as to properly prepare us for the use of it we will see in the word he is there concerned with, viz. ὄρ; this he does supremely well in spite of the fact that several recent important articles have presented alternate theories for the very item that Brugmann prepares us with. He also offers a wide field-spectrum analysis of several other families of words concerned with "domestic" relationships. Furthermore, one of the items in his preparing us with other words with associative ὀ- is non other than ὄζος "Gefährte, Diener" where he offers very à-propos: "= o-zdo- 'comes, ἀκλόουθoc'." Here there is the perfect Latin translation if one believes the Greek word to be composed of "together with" + verb "go" (the Latin is, of course, stem *comit-*, consisting of prefix *com-* + verbal root *-i-* + stem formant *-t-*). What he

does tell us of the alternate, then current, theories of the root in ḫar & co. is: "ḫar- wird teils auf *ḫ-car- (zu lat. sero), teils auf *ḫ-far- (zu ἄειρω = *ἄφερω) zurückgeführt. Wobei man davon ausgeht, dass zwischen den beiden Vokalen ein Konsonant geschwunden sein müsse. Es steht aber der Annahme gar nichts im Wege und ist mir weit wahrscheinlicher, dass der Schlussteil zu ḫararēn, ḫaroc ḫaroxo ... ḫarḫoc gehört".

- (28) On the nativeness of this noun see kaufman 1974: 30: "Words previously considered to be loanwords [i.e. into Aramaic] but now thought to be Aramaisms in Akkadian, for example, *qarābu*, 'battle', have not been included if they are treated in W. von Soden's study of Aramaisms".
- (29) The translator may have moulded his rendering after Luther's model: *von einem Tor zum andern*, to which it shows a 100% correlation.
- (30) Although the following suggestion should require properly a large exposition of its own, one that would include a consideration of all the literature and a proper refutation of the other models presented, such, on the one hand, is not possible here, whilst on the other hand, I deem it necessary to minimally, at least, note the model in which I see Hittite *kaš ... kun* within its relationship to IE. With all due apologies, I must note that I am quite confident that the frozen Hittite syntagm is preserved in another IE item within a lexicalized frozen form, viz. that which appears in Latin *reciprocus* (< *re ko pro ko) in which the two-time appearance of *ko* represents the element as we can postulate it for IH, to wit **ko-s ... ko-m*, with the entirety of the expression, as preserved in the Latin, meaning something like "back/in return to someone (after) towards someone" or a nt. form like Latin (in Greek letters) *μοῖτον ἀντὶ μοίτου*, thus an original **ko-d ... ko-d* "this in return for that (first)". Again, I note that others have sketched this conceptualization differently and here I cannot, let alone confront their ideas, even give bibliographical details. On the Latin "exchange against exchange" see my summary in Arbeitman 1981: 963, 1002.
- (31) We have to employ the Latin renderings in order for the resulting translation of the Hittite to send much meaning to us in view of the lack of case in NE in nouns and demonstratives, case being limited to pronouns (where after preps. it is already quite

desuetudinous): thus, to render this in English, we would end up with a rather meaningless "this ... this". We could switch, to exploit remaining case, to "he ... him", using the personal pronouns, or, alternately, we could go to "the one... the one" (a little better than "this... this"); finally we have the possibility of saying "this one... this one", i.e. in each set, even in want of case, adding an article or the demonstrative together with the word "one" makes for acceptable English translationese, if not for acceptable or normal English. All in all, the Latin we give in the text seems far more useful for our need.

- (32) Kronasser's (1956) several comments on *araš* are not amongst his most inspired: 83 (within the context of the non-inherited phonemic nature of the laryngeals): "Gegen eine sekundäre Entstehung vieler hethitischer *h*- kann nicht ins Treffen geführt werden, dass heth. *h* phomemischen Wert habe; das ist sicher richtig (vgl. *haras* 'Adler' aber *aras* 'Gefährte')..."; 221: "Bei *aras* 'Gefährte, Freund' wäre Zugehörigkeit mit *ἔρως* zu erwägen (vgl. lat. *amor* 'Geliebte', dt. *Liebe* in dieser Bed.)". In each case, his utilization of our Hittite word has served that which he wished to demonstrate, but contributed little to any understanding of the Hittite word we are dealing with and, amongst all the etymologies possible, the connection with Gk. *ἔρως* is a most unlikely one, although we concede that the abstract "love" can be used (and is used in many languages) for the specific, "an object of love". He repeats the etymology on p.223.
- (33) Although well-known, it should not go unmentioned that Slavic *družba*, the abstract, and (the Slavic equivalent of Hittite *ara-* ... *ara-*) *dru-g-* ... *dru-g-*, are descended from the same IE root **deru* that English (Germanic) alliance and friendship words of many forms derive from: *trust*, *truth*, *troth*, and *truce*. Latin *foedera* (English borrowing as "federation", etc.) is of one root with *fides* (English borrowings as "faith", "confident", etc.). The standard explanation for the Slavic and English covenant words (the **d(e)ru* words) is that they are extended (somewhat metaphorical) usages from original sentences such as "firm and solid as a tree (oak)" (IE **deru* "tree").
- (34) Not Hebrew or Aramaic *hbr*, but Arabic *xbr* has had a grand career in that it has been used in so many ways not only in

Arabic, but in other Islamic languages and, additionally, where these "Islamic languages" have further generated Judaic dialects or offshoots, such as Judaeo-Uzbek. In that language, Paper 1982: 342 gives a fascinating piece of inventiveness in the way languages can be used. There exists in Judaeo-Tajik (an Iranian language) a composition by R. Shim'on Ḥakham about Joseph and his brethren. He wished to show the brothers as speaking in Aramaic (instead of Hebrew) so that Joseph would not understand. In order to express the non-Hebrew, the author made use of (within his Tajik Iranian composition) the neighbouring Turkic Uzbek and wrote the brothers' conversation in this language in Hebrew letters. Within this conversation there occurs the sentence: "Because we had given our father bitter news, now the same bitter news befell us". The word used in each case for "news" (the emphasis is mine) is the borrowed Arabic *xabar*, which Paper transliterates as *ḥabar*, and which is written actually in the text as כַּבַּר. On the other extreme from this popular and pleasurable literature is the usage in Judaeo-Arabic of the term as part of a philosophical "theory of knowledge". Rosenthal 1942: 172 (reprinted in 1971: 90) tells us: "Saadya insists on the complementary unity of Reason, *Torah*..., and Tradition. This tradition (*khabr*, *naql* or *āthār*)...". Quite obviously what these different usages have in common with each other (and with the usages listed in Arbeitman 1981: 956) and with Arabic *axbār* pl. "news" as well as with Modern Kurdistan Neo-Aramaic *xawra* "comrade, fellow, friend", *mxawo:re* "to associate with s.o.", *mxawarta* "company, association, relations" (all from the inherited Aramaic root *ḥbr*, Krotkoff 1982: 161 "List of Roots" and s.vv. in the "Glossary") is this transaction communication from one to the other, whether across time as in "tradition" or in the sense of imparting information as in "news", or just in "association" and the items that go with it, i.e. the quintessential transactional conducts of daily existence.

- (35) When Stanford merely says, as he does here, "van Leeuwen compares...", with no date or further stipulation given, I presume he intends that which he lists in his "Bibliography", p.450 as a 1917 text and commentary, apparently an updated version of van Leeuwen and da Costa 1896, also listed there by Stanford and bearing the same simple title, *Odyssea*. In the latter, which alone

I have, nothing much is said ad loc. of particular use to us.

- (36) This Lithuanian bible is the version listed in my "references" as 1949, also cited on p. 423 above.
- (37) Recognizing that he was a divine being of a different order from that to which their own Zeus belonged, the Greeks did not try to fully syncretize Cretan Zeus into their own "father of gods and men". It continued to be recalled that Crete's Zeus had a birth-cave at Dikte (most likely the Psykhro of today) and a burial site on Mt. Iuktas. See the comments of Hutchinson 1962: 199-205, 218. Hutchinson believes that the indigenous Cretan god whom the Greeks denominated as Zeus was *Φέλχανος* (he writes the name as "Velchanos" p.201; see also *LSJ* pp.342 and 538).

The Cretans carved a tomb for Thee, O Holy and High,
Liars, noxious beasts, evil bellies
For thou didst not die, ever Thou livest and standest firm
For in thee we live and move and have our being.

(See Hutchinson, p. 200).

- (38) That *Φέλχανος* be a pre-Greek name of the pre-Greek Minoan deity is emphatically rejected in a cautionary article by G. Neumann (1985: 265-270). His conclusions (p.268) are that: "Der Name ist griechisch, genauer dorisch,..." and that the god, both by the Indo-European (Greek) etymology of his name and by iconographic depictions, is "The Lord of the Willow-Tree", a conception that can be, "wie die oben genannten keltischen und baltischen Parallelen zeigen, rein Indogermanisch. Nach Kreta ist *Φέλχανος* demnach erst mit den Dorern gekommen". Yet, to the ultimate identity or syncretism of this Greek (!) vegetation god with the old Minoan god Neumann remains of open mind. His concluding sentence: "Ob dieser griechische *Φέλχανος* mit der älteren Gestalt eines minoischen Vegetationsgottes zusammengewachsen ist, wie ihn J. Porter Nauert und ihm folgend z.B. Simon, *RE* XV, 1978, s.v. Zeus, Sp. 1417 f. und Hampe-Simon, p.35, Abb.55 auf dem Sarkophag von Hagia Triada sehen, muss offen bleiben. (Dieser hätte dann natürlich einen vor-griechischen, 'minoischen' Namen getragen.) Aber diese Frage muss der Religionshistoriker, nicht der Indogermanist beantworten".

To put Neumann's scepticism of Welkhanos' being anything

other than an Indo-European, Greek, Dorian theonym into its proper perspective for the ends of the present study, we only have to say that, conceding Neumann's correctness, we are deprived only of the name of the deity whom there is no doubt that the pre-Hellenic (or "pre-hellenized") Minoan Cretans worshipped and with whom Minos or any particular "Minos" (as covenant-partner) had his relationship by virtue of which he held his "oaristic" office.

The American scholar, J. Puhvel, has long been both a historian of (IE) religion and a linguist of the Indo-European languages. He has noted (1987: 129): "... the Greeks and their language have remained stable, in place, and homogeneous for three millennia, and Greek is still profoundly Indo-European, next to Luvian the most archaic form of living Indo-European language. ...

Unlike language, however, Greek religion crucially reflects the interaction of overlay and substratum". He continues two pages later (p.131): "[In addition to] the Indo-European side of Zeus ... there is also the 'Cretan Zeus', the divine child sheltered in a mountain cave, nurtured by bees and suckled by a goat, ... in truth a reflection of the Minoan-type cyclical vegetation deity or dying god whose tomb was still shown to uncomprehending mainland tourists in Classical Greece. Some were offended by the notion that Zeus, that epitome of immortality, could have died, and the poet Callimachus branded the Cretans liars for claiming so". Now this same poem, cited at the end of the previous endnote, is ascribed by Hutchinson (loc. cit.) as being "by the Cretan Epimenides in his poem on Minos quoted by Saint Paul. The fragment preserved and brilliantly restored by Rendel Harris from a passage in a Syriac commentary...".

On p. 137 Puhvel discusses "Dionysos the Cretan" who is a "recycled version of 'Cretan Zeus'... [and who] is associated with a female divine type", one of whose reflections is in the 'saga figure' Ariadne... who helped Theseus to kill the Minotaur. ... We have here the saga remnants of Minoan myth: Dionysos as the rejuvenated 'Cretan Zeus' [who] is a manifestation of the same bull-god who with Europe founded the dynasty of Minos. ... The Minotaur was the Lord of the Labyrinth ... while Ariadne presumably was the Lady of the Labyrinth... When she betrayed her lord to a stranger it amounted to deicide, for the Minotaur

was a genuine, albeit somewhat misconstrued, form of the Cretan bull-god".

These are the *dramatis dei* of pre-Hellenic Minoan Crete; if Welkhanos is a Greek name applied to a *deus ex dramate hoc*, then the Covenant-partner of Minos continues as the same entity, only anonymously until further research may achieve firmer results.

At all events, "deicide" indeed must carry different baggage when we are dealing with a King(-Priest)/Covenant-Partner, the stipulation of whose office is its finiteness, limited to nine years, and the necessity of this king dying only to be replaced by the New One.

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Th PIE telic and punctual root **sengh*ⁱ- despite first appearances was most probably diathetic: active forms meant 'hurl, cast (down)': middle forms, 'fall' (1). In accordance with its lexical Aktionsart we expect a fundamental root aorist, which we find preserved in Arm. *ankay* 'έπεσον' (Bible, common), with zero-grade root vocalism at home in the root aorist middle **sng*ⁱ⁻, as against founded and characterized pres. *ankanim*. The pattern of "strong" aorist: -*ane*-/-*ani*-present was productive in Armenian as a receptacle for inherited root aorists (Meillet 1910-11: 245, 1936: 106, Godel 1975: 123). The significant fact here is that inherited adithetic intransitives, cf. aor. 1 sg. *meṛ-a-y*, 3 sg. *meṛ-a-w* (for pre-Arm. **mer-so-m* **mer-(t)*, for PIE **mér-m* **mér-t* 'died', *hec-a-y -w* (**sed-so-m* **sed-*) 'mounted', *ag-a-y -w* (**h₂euh₁-so-m* **h₂euh₁ -*, cf. Gk. ἔεσα), 'passed the night', exhibit full-grade root vocalism (2). The evident explanation of the zero-grade continued by *ankay* is that its PIE precursor was a forme fondée, i.e. an oppositional middle. Hence act. 3 sg. **sengh*ⁱ-t → mid. **sng*ⁱ-tó (vel sim.).

Peters (1980: 101 n. 46) has rightly reaffirmed Meister's (1921: 110 n. 2) connection of Gk. pres. act. ἵκπτω 'shoot, hurl (down); harm, mar' with aor. ἔαφθῆ (έ-) 'fell' (only N 543, Ξ 419), and has also rightly indicated etymological derivation from **sengh*ⁱ-. The replacement in Greek of the continuation of IE aor. (3 sg.) **sng*ⁱ-tó by ἔαφθῆ is not difficult in view of the originally middle value of the θῆ-aorist and its productivity in later Greek as aorist to middle and deponent verbs (Wackernagel 1926: 139). The severely restricted

formulaic occurrence(s) and the disagreement of ancient authorities as to both the initial breathing and the meaning indicates an early date of obsolescence (3). A datum perhaps worth adding to the discussion is that Hesychius' gloss of ἐάφθῃ with ἐβλάβῃ fits no extant attestation (4), but does fit the Homeric sense of ἰάπτω (5). In other words the dual semantics of ἰάπτω - Hom. 'harm, mar': alibi (Hom. προῖάπτω*) 'hurl (down)' - is matched by ἐάφθῃ - Hesych. 'ἐβλάβῃ': Hom. 'fell'. This supports Peters' view that ἰάπτω is a single verb and that the Homeric usage as 'βλάβπτω' is metaphorical (6).

The pres. ἰάπτω reconstructs to proximate *si-sngʷ-jē-, which parallels ἰάλλω (as if) < *si-s/-jē- (7), τιταίνω (as if) < *ti-tg-jē- and the etymologically unclear λιλαίομαι (8). The canonical pattern *Ci-CRC-jē- is neatly paralleled within Greek by the considerably more productive type *Ci-CRC-ske- (9). Neither canon has any claim to PIE provenience: they are patently Greek innovations.

The early appearance of s-forms (προΐάψεν A 3, προΐάψει Z 487, προΐάψειν E 190 A 55) suggests that inflexional links had already shifted to derivational by historical Greek times, i.e. ἐάφθῃ seems more likely to have been an isolated archaism even by the time of the composition of the Homeric poems than a functioning component of the paradigm of ἰάπτω. In any case the old and living s-forms furnish ample leverage for the refabrication of the present *ἰάζω → ἰάπτω (10). The lack of aspiration of ἰάπτω is not difficult. Dialectal psilosis (Wackernagel 1916: 40-50, esp. 43, Lejeune 1972: § 321 with n.2) is highly likely in this non-Attic word. It is perhaps of interest that word-initial ια- is regularly smooth in ordinary Greek (11), and we can compare ἰάλλω (: Herodian ἰάλλω, further ἐφιάλτης, Aristoph. φιάλλω), ἰαίνω if to Skt. *iṣanyāti*.

Outside of Greek Armenian offers *ankanim*, which as noted above follows a productive pattern (cf. *meřay* → *meřanim* 'die', *p'lay* → *p'lanim* 'collapse', *cnay* → *cnanim* 'nascor' (also 'gigno'), *agay* → *aganim* 'pass the night', et al.) and so need hardly be inherited. Godel (1965: 26, 1969: 256-57, 1970: 142-43, 1975: 125) has convincingly recognized in Arm. *anke-nu-m* the continuation of a stem

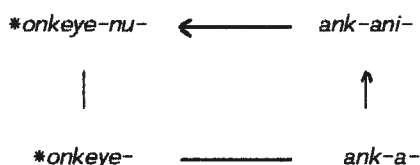
(as if < *song^h-eje-) that exhibits a pattern productive in the formation of causatives in certain IE branches. The close relationship of *ənke-nu-m* to *ank-ani-m* is supported by passages like Mth. 15, 30 *ew ənkec' in znosa aṛ ots nora* 'and they cast them down at his feet': Joh. 11, 32 *ankaw aṛ ots nora* '(she) fell at his feet', Synaxarion (6 Mehek. / 12 Feb.) Patr. Or. 21: 28 *ankar i p'orjut'wn, ənkec'er ew zmez* 'you fell into temptation, you made us fall as well' (12).

The reason for the survival of the derived causative *song^h-eje- (vel sim.) in historical Armenian lies in the existence of the entirely unrelated verb *ankanem* 'weave' (13), which blocked the formation of a normal active/transitive **ankanem* or csv. **ankuc'anem*. It is a simple case of awkward homonymy. On the other hand, the straightforward phonological continuation of PIE *song^h-eje- would appear as *awce- (14), which suggests that *ənkenum* is likely to be an innovation of pre-Armenian, in particular a replacement of the reduplicated transitive formation evidenced (indirectly) by Gk. ἰάπτω. This likelihood approaches certainty when one recalls that the *o*-causatives of Armenian and Germanic (e.g. NHG *senken*) have emerged in precisely those branches where reduplication as a purely or essentially inflectional formant has fallen out of use (15).

Like other derived secondaries the PIE causatives of the pattern *CoRC-eje-, after which *ənke-nu-* was fashioned in pre-Armenian, were praesentia tantum. Since the PIE primary praesentia tantum *bhere/o- *h₂eghe/o- are reflected in Armenian not only by the presents *bere-m ace-m* but also in the strong aorist by the displaced former imperfects *e-ber ac*, it is legitimate to expect that 3 sg. aor. *ənkēc'* continues in some way pre-Arm **onkéye(t)* (as if < PIE 3 sg. imperf. **onkéye(t)* > **song^h-eje-t*). The matter is in fact quite straightforward: **onkéye(t)* > **unké(ye)* > **ənke* > **ənkē* > **ənkēc'*. A phonological rule **e* > *ē* / __#, i.e. in absolute Auslaut, is supported by the nonoccurrence of word-final *e* save in the conjunction (*e*)*t'e* (Godel 1975: 128). No difficulty is furnished, say, by *erek'* < **trejes*, for here *e* is preserved in "covered" Auslaut (16).

The paradigm of *ənkenum* is at variance with that ordinarily exhibited by Armenian continuations of derived *-eje-presents of the

type of denom. *sirem sīrec'ī*, Itv. *līzem līzec'ī* (17). This is in all likelihood a consequence of its *inflectional* relationship to *ankanīm*: synchronically, as its quasi-suppletive transitive counterpart (in lieu of the blocked **ankanēm*); diachronically, as the replacement of the PIE reduplicated act. **si-seng^h*- (see below). Since the intransitive middle exhibited a suffixed present (rebuilt to the inherited root aorist middle) *ank-ani-*, its active counterpart was readily recharacterized with *-nu-*, a formant found elsewhere in factitive and transitive formations (18). This recharacterization entailed the displacement of the older imperfect to the aorist. Schematically,



Subsequently the analogy of other *nu*-presents with vocalic segment before the formant and canonical aorist in *-c'*- (Jensen 1959: § 286) (19), **li-nu-* → **li-c'-*, *z-ge-nu-* → *z-ge-c'-*, **xi-nu-* → **xi-c'-*, *ye-nu-* → *ye-c'-*, led to the creation of a regularized *ənke-nu-m* → *ənke-c'-i* (20). But the fundamental form of the paradigm, the third person singular, doubtless resisted for a while this secondary marking with *-c'*-. It is perhaps worth noting that the pattern of the inherited singular, **-éyom* **-éye(s)* **éye(t)*, was destined for convergence. Comparable diachronically archaic third singulars are aor. *et ed* (< PIE **(e-)deh₃-t* **(e-)dheh₁-t*): 1 sg. *etu edi* from innovated secondarily marked **edō-so-m* **edhē-so-m* (Bonfante 1942). Note especially the synchronically aberrant archaism *ekn* (= Ved. *ágan*): innovated 1 sg. *eki*. Moreover, aor. 3 sg. *eber* continues directly a PIE form: innovated and regularized 1 sg. *beri*, 2 sg. *berer*, etc., do not. Hence a paradigm aor. 1 sg. **onke(ye)-sko-m* > **ənkec'* → *ənkec'ī*: 3 sg. **onkeye(-t)* > **ənke* > **ənke* is legitimate. The final step, **ənke* → *ənkec'*, is unremarkable (21).

The Germanic type of Goth. St. III *sigqan sagq* 'sink' → csv. Wk. I *saggjan* 'cause to sink, βυθύζειν' offers nothing difficult. The extra-Germanic evidence requires the view that Goth. *sigqan* (etc.) is a reassigned aorist subjunctive middle and not a simple thematic

present as Godel (1975: 126) held. For the formal pattern cf. Ved. *ákṛta* → *kárate*, and for the process whereby PIE root aorists subjunctive came to serve as strong presents indicative in Germanic, see Bammesberger (1982). The preterite, Goth. *sagq* (etc.), could have been formed by rule at any time and so gives no evidence that **seng^h-* built a perfect in PIE. The *o*-causative was productive in Germanic, so that despite the formal match of Goth. *sagqjan* with Arm. *ənke-*, it is quite likely that each verb is an independent replacement of PIE trans. pres. **si-seng^h-* in its respective branch.

The evidence of Ved. *sídati*, Gk. *ἴζω* and Ved. *tíṣṭhati*, Lat. *sistō* probably suffices to discourage belief that the reduplicative prefix **Ci-* functioned in PIE as a causative formant per se (22). But there is good reason to view at least some stems of the type **Ci-CeC-* as transitive counterparts to intransitives in **-je/o-* paralleling and doubtless originally in complementary distribution with the familiar pattern of *N*-transitive: *ya*-intransitive exemplified by Ved. *kṣipāti* 'destroys': *kṣīyate* 'perishes, disappears', *riṇákti* 'leaves, lets go': *prá ricyate* [+ABL] 'surpasses', *muñcāti* 'frees': *múcyate* 'is free' (Insler 1972: 100-3). The alignment of, say, Ved. *chinad-* Lat. *scindō*: Ved. *chid-ya-* Gk. *σχίζομαι* indicates that the pattern originated in Proto-Indo-European. As for the pattern *Ci*-transitive: **je/o*-intransitive this is secured for PIE by **ǵen^h1-* with trans. **ǵi-ǵen^h1-ti* (vel sim.) (23) reflected by Lat. *gignō*, Avest. *zīzan-*, Ved. aor. *ájāna-* (Leumann 1962) as against intrans. **ǵ^h1-je-to-r* reflected by Ved. *jāyate* and OIr. BII *gainithir* 'gainethar' (Meid 1980: 191, n. 10) (24). A further example is **si-sal-* (Ved. *sísarti*, Gk. *ἰάλλω*): **s(a)l-je/o-* (Lat. *salīō*, Gk. *ἄλλομαι*) (25). The above-noted neological Greek type of **Ci-C_{RC}-je/o-*, then, is clearly seen to originate at least in part in a leveling of the formerly opposed structures (26).

It is to this pattern that **seng^h-* belonged in Proto-Indo-European. In pre-Greek the (potential) competition of **ἄπτομαι* ← **sng^hje/o-* and *ἄπτομαι* < **αφ-ἔ-* 'touch' would have encouraged the replacement of the former by *πίπτω*. Note that the PIE structure



is inflectional, but that its replacement in pre-Greek



is derivational. The disappearance of the former *forme de fondation* leaves us with, on the one hand, the founded aorist "passive" as an obsolete and isolated relic and, on the other, the extension in the (former) derivative of the reduplication to all forms with the consequent emergence of a newly constituted lexical root.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Pokorny (1959: 906) glosses the root only intransitively, 'fallen, sinken'.
- (2) I discuss the verbs *meřanim hecanim* in a forthcoming volume of *IF*; *agay*: $\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\epsilon\alpha$ in the forthcoming *Laryngaltheorie*, GS Warren Cowgill, ed. A. Bammesberger.
- (3) For details v. Chantraine (1983: 308).
- (4) Cf. Chantraine (1983: 308), "ce qui n'a pas de sens".
- (5) Note that Hesychius glosses $\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ with (inter alia) $\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$.
- (6) Cf. Chantraine (1983: 453-54).
- (7) The parallelism was noted by Meister. See Leumann (1950: 80-81, n. 45) for the insight that $\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omega$ is a "causative" formation to $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$.
- (8) Cf. Schwyzler (1939: 717).
- (9) $\delta\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$, $\beta\iota\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$, $\pi\iota\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omega$, $\mu\iota\mu\acute{\nu}\eta\sigma\kappa\omega$ (*-*mřh₂-*) et al. See Debrunner (1937: 253, 262-63), Schwyzler (1939: 710). It is

precisely the canonical zero-grade root ablaut of these formations that renders preforms like **h₂i-h₂ek^u-* (Beekes 1969: 129) impossible.

- (10) Cf. ἐνίπτω (Γ 438, Ω 768): ἐνίσεω, ἀπονίπτεσθαι (σ 179) following and in the same context as ἀπονιψάμενη (σ 172): νίζω. For the mechanism and further details see e.g. Debrunner 1907: 210-11, Risch 1974: 282. The Titan's name Ἰαπετός owes its -π- to nothing PIE but purely and simply to the π of ἰάπτω, of which it is the sole derivative. The formation was doubtless chronologically late: after the ι- had lost all *grammatical* force and had become incorporated into a new *lexeme* ιαπ-, now extended to all tenses and voices.
- (11) Witness the entries in LSJ⁹ 814-17 (the exceptions are nonprobative, e.g. Ἰακυνθοτρόφος for Ὑα-, ἰάλλω see text, ἰάραξ Dor. for ἰέραξ, ἰαρο-: ἱερο- 'sacred', etc.) and Pape-Benseler (1911: 525-31).
- (12) Cf. further Godel (1965: 26 n. 18) and his apposite remarks on method (1970: 142-43). That Godel's insight accords with native Sprachgefühl is evident from NHB sv *ænkenum* (I 779), "orpēs nergorcakann Ankaneloy" ('as the active of *ankanel*'). Klingenschmitt's (1982: 249 with n. 7) objection that only a (monosyllabic) IE or pre-Arm. root can occur before the formants -nu- **-c'(e)-* and that accordingly an analysis **ænd-ke-* (<**ges-*) is obligatory wrongly contradicts the well-grounded principle that archaisms are frequently found embedded in what are descriptively morphological anomalies. Armenian is rich in examples: *etu* 'I gave', *ekn* 'vēnit', *tun* (: gen. *tan*) 'house', et al.
- (13) Philo, Ad Lysimachum § 18 (Aucher 1822: 130 = Terian 1981: 220) *oroc' niwt' eln hog ē oc' ankanen ew ork' ankanen oc' niwt' agorcen* 'those whose concern is to spin do not weave, and those who weave do not work-at-spinning'.
- (14) **ong^u-* > *awc-* in *awcanem* 'anoint': Lat. *unguō*, Skt. *añj-anák-ti*, cf. *awj* 'snake': Lat. *anguis* (Winter 1962: 257-8, Solta 1965: 277⁵ with lit.). Kortlandt (1980: 99) has perceptively aligned the nonmatching reflexes, *awc(anem)* = *ank(anim)*, with earlier ablaut. Cf. already Greppin (1978: 286-7).
- (15) For Armenian see Greppin 1981; for Germanic, Meid 1967: 235.
- (16) The third singular edg. -ēr of the Imperfect must belong here

too. The receding old primaries like *berēr acēr* are not originators of the desinence: they are its late recipients. From the expanding and dominant **-e-je-*verbs, e.g. *sirem* 'love' (< denom. **sēre-je-*) *lizem* 'lick' (ltv.), we expect 3 sg. imperf. **lajgh-eje-t* > **lēzéye(t)* > **lize* > **lizē*. This last, which is identical with the third singular present, is differentiated in the marked category of the imperfect by the addition of an **-r*, the etymology and original function of which are unclear (cf. Godel 1975: 119). The subsequent creation of *berēr* after the type of *sirēr lizēr* relegated the inherited *e-ber* to the aorist. A somewhat similar process can be seen for the copula: 3 sg. opt. **(e)s-jē-t* > **ēhyē(t)* > **ey* (cf. gen. sg. *-oy* < **-ōhyo* < **-osjo*) > **ē* → *ē-r*. For the other conjugations proportions are at hand, e.g. *-ē* → *-ēr* = *-ay -oy *-uy* → *X*.

- (17) The causatives proper are rare birds. See Godel (1965: 26) who ventures *ařog(an)em, gorcem, mucanem* (besides *ənkenum*). Normier 1980: 19 takes *eluz-ane-m* < **hɣloudh-eje-*, but see e.g. Jasanoff 1979: 144. It is curious that all save *gorcem*, which is surely iterative rather than causative, form characterized presents (on *ařoganem*, older than *ařogem*, see Klingenschmitt (1982: 204)). However, neither the quantity nor the quality of the evidence justifies confidence.
- (18) Godel 1965: 26 cites *lnum* 'fill' *xnum* 'stop up, obstruct', *zgenum* 'put on clothes, wear'.
- (19) This morphological fact guarantees that *ənkenum* is a *-nu*-verb and cannot be analyzed as **ənken-u-m*, which would entail aor. **ənkeni*. Cf. *zen-u-m zen-i* (Jensen 1959: § 286).
- (20) The absence of raising (**e* > **i*) before the nasal of the present formant is not a difficulty: *e* would have been readily held by the extra-presential forms, aor. **onkeye-* later *ənke-c'* - **ənke*, inv. **onkeye* > **ənke* → *ənkea* (cf. Godel 1975: 128), as well as by the model of *zge-nu- zge-c'* -, *ye-nu- ye-c'* -. This is especially likely if the loss of intervocalic **-y-* was later than the raising of **e*: what would be the contraction product of unstressed **-eye-* in **-eye-nú-* > **-eyl-nú-* > **el-nú-* against **-eye-(sk-)* > **-ee-(sk-)* > *-e-(c'-)*?
- (21) The variation *ē* [+ STRESS]: *e* [- STRESS] exhibited - in lieu of the far more usual pattern *ē*: *i* - by *atūēs atuesu* 'fox', *ełēgn ełegan* 'reed', et al. has purely fortuitous identity with that of

ənkec'ənkec'i, pace Godel (1969: 256, 1975: 128). Klingenschmitt (1982: 249 with n. 6) offers the useful philological datum that in MS E 229 (Macler 1920) *elegn* (with -e-) twice (Mth. 11, 7 27, 29) appears "statt des späteren *elēgn*" as against *ənkec'* (with -ē-) (Mth. 27, 5 Joh. 21, 7). Moreover, to judge from the list in Jensen (1959: § 41) the variation *ē*: *e* seems (apart from borrowed names like *Movsēs*, *Nersēs*) at home essentially after *t(u)*, *atuēs* *atētk'elēgn*, and perhaps *x*, *xēt'*: *xet'i* and *xit'i*, i.e. after velar continuants. In any case the pattern is far too feebly established to model a morphologic transformation. An aberrant *ənkec'i* **ənkec'* could only have been transformed to *ənkec'i* *ənkeac'*, which occurs, after the regular weak-aorist pattern, *sirec'i* *sireac'*, etc.

(22) With Specht (1935: 52-3).

(23) The idea of original *o*-grade ablaut in the root syllable of the formation, e.g. **pí-por-ti* (Hoffmann apud Narten 1981: 11 n. 40) is intriguing, but must remain outside of consideration here. Subsequent leveling **Cí-CoC-* → **Cí-CeC-* after, say, root aor. **CéC-* would have been an open tendency not only in the separate branches but in PIE itself. Also beyond the scope of the present study are questions as to the shape of the reduplicative or as to the relation of thematic to athematic types.

(24) It is *this* form that Lat. *nascitur* replaces, pace Leumann (1962: 158, 1977: 535, 612, 614). For the morphology of **ǵenh₁-* see Cardona (1967: 762-71).

(25) On PIE **sal-* see Thieme (1961: 111, 114-115) and especially Narten (1969a: 99 et passim). As additional examples of the pattern cf. Ved. *fyarti* 'raises': Lat. *orior* 'rise', PIE **pi-pleh₁-ti* 'fills' (Narten 1969b: 153, 155 et passim): Ved. *pūr-ya-* 'be(come) full' (*pūryamāṇam* RV I 51.10d).

(26) Cf. somewhat differently Peters (1980: 38).

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[Epreuves corrigées par la Rédaction]

BCILL 42 : LINGUISTIC HAPPENING, 475-488

THE PREHISTORIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE ATHEMATIC VERBAL ENDINGS IN PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN

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1. INTRODUCTION

This article is divided into two parts. In the first part, the Comparative Method is used to establish the probable forms of the athematic verbal endings in Late Proto-Indo-European. In the second part, Internal Reconstruction is used to trace the prehistoric development of these endings in the parent language and to speculate about their possible origin.

Even though several of the Indo-European daughter languages possess dual endings, the dual will not be considered in this brief investigation since it is highly probable that the development of distinct dual forms took place subsequent to the disintegration of the Indo-European parent languages (cf. Watkins 1969: 46). Likewise, the augment, which is used in conjunction with the secondary endings in Greek, Armenian, and Indo-Iranian (cf. Meillet 1964: 242; Szemerényi 1970: 277-78), will not be considered. Watkins (1969: 40) is surely correct in seeing the augment as an extremely late, dialectal development.

2. PRIMARY ENDINGS

The so-called "primary" endings are clearly built upon the so-called "secondary" endings by the addition of the deictic particle *-i (cf. Kerns and Schwartz 1972: 4; Burrow 1973: 314). That the primary endings are ancient cannot be denied, for they are found in

all of the older daughter languages, including Hittite:

	Hittite	Sanskrit	Greek	PIE
1 sg.	<i>e-eš-mi</i>	<i>ásmi</i>	εἰμί	* <i>Hés-m-i</i>
2 sg.	<i>e-eš-ši</i>	<i>ási</i>	εἶ	* <i>Hés-s-i</i>
3 sg.	<i>e-eš-zi</i>	<i>ásti</i>	ἔστί/ἔστι	* <i>Hés-t-i</i>
1 pl.	<i>e-š-u-wa-ni</i>	<i>smás(i)</i>	ἐσμέν	* <i>(H)s-mé(n/s)</i>
2 pl.		<i>sthá</i>	ἐστέ	* <i>(He)s-té</i>
3 pl.	<i>a-š-a-an-zi</i>	<i>sánti</i>	εἰσι< *ἐντι	* <i>(H)s-é/ón-t-i</i>

Since the secondary origin of the primary endings is obvious, the following discussion will concentrate mainly on the secondary endings.

3. SECONDARY ENDINGS

The so-called "secondary" endings represent the oldest forms of the athematic verbal endings. Originally, these endings appear to have been multifunctional (cf. Kerns and Schwartz 1972: 4). The so-called "injunctive" in Sanskrit represents a remnant of this multifunctional usage (cf. Burrow 1973: 299).

The secondary endings have the following forms in the daughter languages:

	Hittite	Sanskrit	Greek	PIE
1 sg.	<i>e-š-u-un</i>	<i>ásam</i>	ἦα	* <i>Hés-m</i>
2 sg.	<i>e-eš-ta</i>	<i>ás</i>	ἦσθα	* <i>Hés-s</i>
3 sg.	<i>e-eš-ta</i>	<i>ás</i>	ἦν, Dor. ἦς	* <i>Hés-t</i>
1 pl.	<i>e-š-u-u-en</i>	<i>ásma</i>	ἦμεν, Dor. ἦμες	* <i>(H)s-mé</i>
2 pl.	<i>e-eš-te-en</i>	<i>ásta</i>	ἦστε	* <i>(He)s-té</i>
3 pl.	<i>e-še-ir</i>	<i>ásan</i>	ἦσαν, Dor. ἦν, Hom. ἦεν	* <i>(H)s-ént</i> (* <i>[H]s-ér</i>)

It is readily apparent that there are greater differences among the daughter languages in the forms of the secondary endings than in

the forms of the primary endings. This is due to the fact that each of the daughter languages has innovated. Therefore, it is necessary to give a detailed analysis of each form. This will serve to clear up any ambiguities before we proceed into a discussion of the prehistoric development of these endings.

4. 1ST SINGULAR

The form of the 1st sg. secondary athematic ending was $*-m$:

In Hittite, we find the ending $-un$. Though various attempts have been made to explain this ending, the explanation offered by Benveniste (1962: 16-18) seems to be the most convincing. Benveniste reconstructs a pre-Hitt. $*-u-m$ and connects the $-u-$ with the ending found, for example, in the Skt. 1st sg. perf. *jajñáu*. This $-u-$ was extended by $-m$ in pre-Hittite, and this regularly yielded Hitt. $-u-n$ (cf. Bomhard 1984: 109; Sturtevant 1951: 45).

Sanskrit has the ending $-am$, which represents a generalization of the prevocalic form of $*-m$ (cf. Brugmann 1916: 595-96).

Gk. $\tilde{\eta}\alpha$ represents the regular outcome of $*\acute{e}s-m$ ($\leftarrow *He-Hes-m$).

The remaining daughter languages contain both direct and indirect evidence that the 1st sg. ending was $*-m$. There is direct evidence, for example, in OLat. *siem* (\leftarrow optative $*s-y\acute{e}-m$ [cf. Skt. *s-yā-m* and Hom. $\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\eta\nu \leftarrow *é-\sigma-\iota\eta-\nu$]). There is indirect evidence in the primary endings found in various other daughter languages: cf. Lith. *esm̃*, Goth. *im*, OCS. *jesmb*, etc.

5. 2ND SINGULAR

The form of the 2nd sg. secondary athematic ending seems to have been $*-s$:

Sturtevant (1951: 141) believed that the Hitt. ending $-ta$ was derived from the 3rd sg. We will have more to say about this later (§ 12).

Skt. $\acute{a}s$ is from $*\acute{e}s-s$ ($\leftarrow *He-Hes-s$).

The Gk. ending $-(\sigma)\theta\alpha$ is a substitute for the regular ending and is borrowed from perfect forms such as $\omicron\lambda\sigma-\theta\alpha$ (cf. Buck 1955: 245). Greek also has forms in $-\zeta$ such as $\epsilon\lambda\eta\zeta$ (\leftarrow optative $*s-y\acute{e}-s$ [cf. Skt. $s-y\acute{a}-s$ and OLat. $si\bar{e}s$]). Aeolian has the primary form $\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota$.

Confirmation from the other daughter languages that the 2nd sg. ending was $*-s$ is found in forms such as OLat. $si\bar{e}s$ cited above, OPruss. $-s$ in, for example, *weddeis* "lead", and Goth. $-s$ in, for example, *nimais* "... (that you) should take".

6. 3RD SINGULAR

The form of the 3rd sg. secondary athematic ending was $*-t$:

Hitt. $e-e\check{s}-ta$ may be interpreted phonemically as $/est/$ (cf. Sturtevant 1951: 141; Kronasser 1956: 169-70).

In Skt. $\acute{a}s$ and Dor. $\acute{\eta}\zeta$, the final $-t$ has been lost (cf. Buck 1955: 245). Att. $\acute{\eta}v$ was originally the form of the 3rd pl.

The secondary ending is preserved in, for example, OLat. *sied* ($\leftarrow *s-y\acute{e}-t$ [cf. Skt. $s-y\bar{a}-t$ and Hom. $\epsilon\lambda\eta\zeta$]).

7. 1ST PLURAL

The form of the 1st pl. secondary athematic ending was probably $*-me$:

Hittite regularly has $-weni$ as the primary ending and $-wen$ as the secondary ending (with corresponding ablaut variants). According to Sturtevant (1951: 140), the Hittite ending represents the original form, which is to be reconstructed as $*-we$. It is this ending that was later assigned to the 1st dual in the non-Anatolian daughter languages. The variant endings $-meni$ and $-men$, which correspond to the Sanskrit and Greek forms, are found only after $-u-$ in Hittite. Later on (§ 13), we will have more to say about the relationship between these two sets of endings.

Skt. $\acute{a}sma$ is from $*\acute{e}s-me$ ($\leftarrow *He-Hs-me$) and requires no further comment.

The Greek endings are $-\mu\epsilon\nu$ and $-\mu\epsilon\varsigma$. The former corresponds to the Hitt. secondary ending $-men$ and the latter to the Skt. primary ending $-mas$. According to Buck (1955: 245-46), $-\mu\epsilon\nu$ was originally the secondary ending and $-\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ the primary ending. Each Greek dialect chose one or the other form to the exclusion of the remaining form.

There is a great deal of variation in the forms of the primary and secondary 1st pl. endings in the other daughter languages. However, all point to an original basic $*-me$ (cf. Meillet 1964: 229-30 for details).

8. 2ND PLURAL

The form of the 2nd pl. secondary athematic ending was $*-te$:

Though Hittite has $-ten$, Sanskrit and Greek point to original $*-te$, without nasal extension. The other daughter languages agree: Lith. primary $\check{e}s-te$, secondary $b\grave{u}vo-te$, OCS. primary $jes-te$, etc.

9. 3RD PLURAL

The form of the 3rd pl. secondary athematic ending was $*-en-t$:

All of the daughter languages point to a primary athematic ending $*-en-t-i$ (ablaut variant $*-on-t-i$): Skt. $s\acute{a}nti$, Dor. $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\iota$ (for $*\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\iota$), Umbr. $sent$, Goth. $sind$, etc. Lat. $sunt$ and OCS. $s\dot{p}\dot{t}\dot{b}$ are from $*s-on-t-i$. The secondary endings are preserved in Skt. $\acute{a}san$ ($*\acute{e}-s-en-t$, earlier $*He-Hs-en-t$) and Hom. $\acute{\eta}\acute{\epsilon}\nu$. In both the Sanskrit and Homeric forms, the final $-t$ has been lost as in the 3rd sg. OLat. $sient$ is from optative $*s-iy-en-t$ (cf. Hom. $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\epsilon\nu$).

In Hittite, the primary endings are $-anzi$ and $-enzi$. The most common form by far is $-anzi$, though $-enzi$ appears in a few verbs such as $i-e-en-zi$ beside $i-ya-an-zi$ "they make". These forms agree with the primary endings attested in the other daughter languages except that earlier $-ti \rightarrow -zi$ in Hittite (but not in the other Anatolian daughter languages: cf. Pal. $-anti$ in, for example, $a-ta-a-an-ti$ "they eat", Luw. $-anti$ in, for example, $wa-a\check{s}-\check{s}a-an-ti$ "they put on clothing, get dressed", and Lyc. $-(n)ti$ in, for example, $t\acute{a}ti$ "they put"). The Hittite secondary ending is, however, $-er$, and this clearly

does not agree with any of the above forms. Sturtevant (1951: 141 and 144) regarded this ending as a borrowing from the *hi*-conjugation. Comparable forms are found in Skt. *syúr*, Av. *hyārə*, and the Lat. 3rd pl. perfect endings *-ēre* and *ērunt* (cf. Buck 1955: 296-97). We will have more to say about this later (§ 11).

10. SUMMARY

To recapitulate, the athematic secondary endings had the following forms in Late Proto-Indo-European:

	Singular	Plural
1	* <i>Hés-m</i>	*(<i>H</i>) <i>s-mé</i>
2	* <i>Hés-s</i>	*(<i>He</i>) <i>s-té</i>
3	* <i>Hés-t</i>	*(<i>H</i>) <i>s-én-t</i> (*[<i>H</i>] <i>s-ér</i>)

11. REMARKS ON THE 3RD PLURAL

It will be noted that the form of the 3rd person plural secondary ending is anomalous. The earliest forms of the 1st and 2nd person plural endings end in an accented vowel. Even when these endings are extended by *-n* as in Hittite and Greek, for instance, they still do not match the form of the 3rd person plural. This seems to indicate that the 3rd person plural ending may have had a different origin than the 1st and 2nd person plural endings.

We may question whether the **-t* extension is original. It does not seem unreasonable to assume that the **-t* is analogical after the 3rd sg. ending. If we remove the **-t* extension, the true nature of the 3rd pl. ending becomes clear. The resulting form is **-en*. When we compare this with the Hitt. 3rd pl. secondary ending *-er*, we are reminded of the heteroclitic nominal forms. Therefore, we may surmise that the 3rd pl. ending had a nominal origin. Burrow (1973: 318) hints at the same conclusion as does Szemerényi (1970: 304):

The endings of the 3rd plural, *-nt* or *-r*, respectively, appear to be both of nominal origin (20): *-nt-* is probably related to the

participial *-nt-*; *-r*, on the other hand, has at the most a connection - not entirely clear - with the *-r* of the medio-passive formations...

No doubt, the original patterning was **-en/*-er*. As time went on, the **-en(t)* variant mostly ousted the **-er* variant. In all of the non-Anatolian daughter languages, the **-en(t)* variant is the normal ending, while the **-er* variant is preserved only in relic forms of rather limited distribution in several of the daughter languages.

We may speculate that, in order to bring about some sort of regularity within the paradigm, the 1st and 2nd person pl. endings could be extended by **-n* in imitation of the 3rd pl. form. This would explain the origin of the **-n* extension found, for example, in Hitt. *-wen(i)*, *-men(i)*, and *-ten(i)*, in Skt. *-thāna* and *-tana*, and in Gk. *-μεν*. This extension was probably always optional. The patterning was permanently disrupted when the 3rd pl. was extended by **-t*.

12. REMARKS ON THE 2ND AND 3RD SINGULAR

In Hittite, the ending *-t* is found in both the 2nd sg. and the 3rd sg. As noted above (§ 5), Sturtevant thought that the 2nd sg. in *-t* was derived from the 3rd sg. However, this may in fact have been the original form of the 2nd sg., in which case the Hittite form would be an archaism. We can envision an earlier period of development in which the 2nd sg. ending was **-t* and the 3rd sg. ending was **-s*. The implication here has to be, then, that the form of the 3rd sg. attested in the non-Anatolian daughter languages was originally the 2nd sg., while the form of the 2nd sg. was originally that of the 3rd sg. Watkins (1962: 105) hints at just such a rearrangement and discusses (1962: 90-106) the extensive evidence in the daughter languages for an original 3rd sg. ending in **-s*.

According to Watkins (1969: 119-20), endless imperatives are survivals from the time when the bare stem could be used to indicate the 2nd sg. imperative. Watkins (1969: 49-51) also claims that the 3rd sg. indicative was originally characterized by the fundamental ending zero. That is to say, the 3rd sg. was the zero-person of the indicative. Were this indeed the case, as seems likely from the

evidence adduced by Watkins, it would mean that the 3rd sg. indicative was at one time identical in form to the endingless imperative. Watkins (1969: 51-52) mentions the close relationship between these forms and suggests that the 2nd sg. endingless imperative may preserve an older form of the 3rd sg. indicative:

As will be discussed in full in Chapter IX § 107, Kurylowicz has shown that the relations of person between the indicative (representational) and imperative (appellative) planes are such that, while the fundamental *zero*-person is the 3rd sg. in the former, it is the 2nd sg. in the latter. For this reason, there exists a close relationship between 3rd sg. indicative and 2nd sg. imperative; both as functional *zero*-persons may manifest a formal zero-mark and as such be formally identical. Given the observable tendency for the imperative to preserve forms which have undergone renewal in the indicative (Lat. *legite* vs. *legitus*), the functional equation 3rd sg. indicative = 2nd sg. imperative has the consequence that the 2nd sg. imperative may preserve an older form of the 3rd sg. indicative.

What the evidence seems to be suggesting is that, at one time in the prehistoric development of the Indo-European parent language, the 3rd sg. indicative was characterized by two distinct sets of endings: (1) *zero* (that is, bare stem) and (2) **-s*. (A possible explanation for this dichotomy will be offered later [§ 14]). Gradually, the endingless 3rd sg. indicative came to be used as 2nd sg. imperative.

Finally, Watkins (1969: 32-34) claims that the full-grade is to be reconstructed for the stem in the 2nd pl. indicative. Since such an ablaut grade is unexpected here, this may indicate that the 2nd pl. indicative has been remodeled after the 2nd sg.

13. REMARKS ON THE 1ST SINGULAR, DUAL, AND PLURAL

In the historically attested daughter languages, the 1st persons singular, dual, and plural are characterized by two sets of endings. First, there are the **m*-endings. These form the 1st persons sg. and pl. primary and secondary endings found in all of the daughter

languages. Next, there are the **w/u*-endings. These are found in the 1st dual in the non-Anatolian daughter languages, in several perfect forms in Sanskrit, Latin, etc., in the Luw. 1st sg. indicative ending *-wi*, in the Hitt. 1st pl. endings *-wen(i)/-wani*, and in the Hitt. 1st sg. secondary ending *-u-n* (see above, § 4).

Even though the original patterning of these endings has been somewhat obscured, it seems that there was a tendency to use the **w/u*- endings in other than the singular. Though not absolutely provable, the original distribution may have been **-m* in the singular and **-w* in the non-singular. What is certain is that there was a good deal of confusion between these two sets of endings: both could be used for either the singular or non-singular.

14. CONCLUDING REMARKS

On the basis of the preceding discussion, we may reconstruct earlier forms of the athematic endings as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1.	<i>*Hés-m</i>	<i>*(H)s-wé</i> <i>*(H)s-mé</i>
2.	<i>*Hés-t</i>	<i>*(H)s-té</i>
3.	<i>*Hés-s,</i> <i>*Hés-ø</i>	<i>*(H)s-én/ér</i>

The ultimate origin of the athematic endings is immediately apparent: they can be nothing else but agglutinated personal pronouns (except, of course, for the 3rd plural, which has a nominal origin [see above, § 11]): **me* "I, me", **te* "you", **se* "he, she, it", **we* "we, us". Based on the assumption that the patterning of the 3rd pl. was originally similar to that of the 1st and 2nd pl., we can speculate that the earliest form of the 3rd pl. may have been **(H)s-sé*. Furthermore, there may also have been an alternate form of the 1st sg. with **w/u*-endings: **Hés-w*. This would explain the Anatolian forms.

It may be assumed that the contrast between (A) the singular,

with zero-grade endings and accented, full-grade stems, and (B) the plural, with accented, full-grade endings and zero-grade stems, is an ancient contrast (cf. Kerns and Schwartz 1968: 717). The accent must have been characterized by a strong element of stress, which brought about the reduction of the vowel of the agglutinated personal pronoun suffixes when placed on the stem in the singular and the reduction of the vowel of the stem when placed on the agglutinated personal pronoun suffixes in the plural:

	Singular	Plural
1	*Hés+me → *Hés-m *Hés+we → *Hés-w	*Hes+wé → *(H)s-wé *Hes+mé → *(H)s-mé
2	*Hés+te → *Hés-t	*Hes+té → *(H)s-té
3	Hés+se → *Hés-s	*Hes+sé → *(H)s-sé

Still to be accounted for is the origin of the endingless 3rd sg. We may speculate that the earliest Proto-Indo-European had two conjugational types: (A) a determinative (objective) conjugation, which was characterized by the 3rd sg. in *-s and which was used with transitive verbs, and (B) an indeterminative (subjective) conjugation, which was characterized by the 3rd sg. in *-∅ and which was used with intransitive verbs. If this were indeed the case (and it must be admitted that there is no way to prove this supposition), then the patterning would have been extremely close to that proposed by Hajdu (1972: 43-44) for Proto-Uralic. Moreover, if the athematic verbal endings were originally none other than agglutinated personal pronouns, as suggested above, then the parallel with Proto-Uralic would be even closer. It is worth quoting Hajdu at length:

It cannot be regarded as a decisive argument, although it is still worth mentioning, that the personal suffixes of verbs in the Uralic languages are, for the most part, agglutinated forms of personal pronouns (much the same as the possessive suffixes).

It is a weighty argument in the dispute that the Uralic languages are distinguished by a particular feature inasmuch as the verbs in them have two forms of the Sg3: one without Vx (more exactly: root + zero Vx) and another with Vx.

In the Ugric, Samoyed and Mordvin languages, for instance, a subjective (indeterminative) conjugation is distinguished from an objective (determinative) conjugation...

This type of duality can be found in the other Finno-Ugric languages, where the dual form of the determinative and indeterminative conjugation is absent. The fundamental differentiation of the Sg3 forms with and without suffixes is, of course, not so characteristic of these languages. Nevertheless, it appears undoubtedly from the examples of these languages that the Sg3 form with personal suffix co-occurs with transitive verbs, and the form without a suffix with intransitive verbs. Based on the duality covering the whole language family, and the related functional features, we may firmly assert that the verb had two forms of Sg3 as early as the proto-Uralic period. The form with the personal suffix referred to the determined object of the verb at that time. The pronoun of the 3rd person which was suffixed as a Vx in such forms was originally a pronoun with the value of the Accusative.

Thus the difference between the determinative and indeterminative conjugation of the 3rd person existed in proto-Uralic. Later, in the separate lives of the language groups, this distinction of the 3rd person was transferred to the first and second persons as well. Accordingly, determinative (objective) and indeterminative (subjective) Vxs were distinguished for all three persons.

The Vxs of proto-Uralic can be reconstructed in the following manner:

Singular		
1 st person	2nd person	3rd person
-m	-t	Indet. \emptyset
		Det. -se

As regards the function of the Vx of the 3rd person which is derived from the pronoun, there is a pronounced genetic difference. Vx1 and Vx2 (i.e. their personal pronominal

preliminaries) referred to the subject of the verb. In the series of paradigms representing the subject of the verb there was no need to specially indicate the subject in the 3rd person, since the 3rd person received sufficient identification by the absence of a personal suffix in contrast to the 1st and 2nd persons marked by Vxs. And where *-se Vx presented itself for the 3rd person, it did not refer to - in contradistinction with the other Vxs - the subject of the verb, but it indicated an indirect reference to the determinate object of the verb.

Earlier (1972: 39-40), Hajdu discusses the important role that pronouns played in the development of certain suffixes:

Pronouns might have played a decisive part in the development of certain suffixes. Thus, for example, a very characteristic set of suffixes, the various forms of possessive personal suffixes (Px), can be reduced to the personal pronouns. The Hungarian language, as well as related idioms, is able to designate the possessor also by means of Px attached to the possession:

hajó "boat, ship": *hajó-m* "my boat"
 hajó-d "your boat"
 hajó-ja "his boat", etc.

What the given examples contain in the morphemes *-m* for PxSg1, *-d* for PxSg2, and *-ja* for PxSg3 are nothing else but the results of suffixation of the personal pronouns **me* 'I', **te* 'you', and **se* 'he' of the PU language. In the Hungarian language the vowel of the pronominal element has been eroded, the **t* of the second person has become voiced, the **s* of the third person has been eroded, and the vowel sound has merged with the root-ending vowel to form *-á/-é*, which later shortened into *-a/-e* and received at the same time, in certain root-types, the glide *-j-*, this constituting now the anterior morphophoneme of PxSg3.

The systems of Pxs are realized according to an identical principle in other Uralic languages. By identical principles of realization we mean that the Pxs of all Uralic languages are derived from corresponding personal pronouns, and thus they can

be deduced from common forms of origin, and further that this Px-system contains indications, in addition to the person of the possessor, of the number of possessors (singular, plural, and in certain languages dual), and what is more, very often reference is also made to the number of possessions (the number of the possessors usually being expressed by appending a number-mark to the Px, and the number of possessions by placing pluralizing, i.e. dualizing elements before the Px, respectively).

From these phenomena we may infer that a Px-system must have existed in the PU language in which the personal pronouns were first used mainly enclitically, and were suffixed at a later stage of development: here the Pxs were represented by the singular and plural (possibly dual) forms of the personal pronouns, or by certain modified forms thereof. Accordingly, the Px-system of the Uralic period may be reconstructed as follows:

	Singular	Plural (i.e. Dual)
1.	-me	-me + Plural (Dual)
2.	-te	-te + Plural (Dual)
3.	-se	-se + Plural (Dual)

For the present, we will leave aside speculations on the further implications of the incredibly close parallelism existing between Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Uralic.

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TWO HOMONYMOUS VERBS IN SANSKRIT

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1. *javate* 'thinks'

This verb occurs once only, in *Taittirīya-Saṃhitā* 6.1.7.6 *yad dha manasā javate tad vācā vadati*, "what he thinks in his mind he speaks with his voice". There is no doubt about the meaning here, since not only is it evident from the context, but also the same statement is made in other contexts in the *Brāhmaṇas* where the verb *dhyāyati* 'thinks' is used in place of *javate* here (e.g. *Śat. Br.* 12.9.1.13, etc.).

There is a well known root *jū-* 'to speed, move speedily' from which there is made an intransitive present *javate*. As this is a medium tantum, the corresponding transitive verb has to be expressed by a different present base, in this case by *junāti* in the ninth class. In the case of *javate* the meaning 'thinks' can hardly be reconciled with the meaning 'moves', 'moves speedily' in spite of the fact that we have the compound *manojava-* 'speedy as thought'. It seems necessary to assume a homonymous root *jū-* 'to think', even though the word occurs only here. However, although this is so, there are to be found a number of nominal derivatives, which confirm the reality of this isolated form.

A nominal stem *javá-* 'thought, idea' occurs in *RV.* 10.71.8: *hṛdā taṣṭéṣu mánaso javéṣu* 'In thoughts of mind fashioned by the heart'. Here the meaning 'speed' for *javá-* is inappropriate, and the context clearly demands the meaning 'thought' or 'idea'. Since we have the verb *javate* in *TS* in the meaning 'thinks', we need not hesitate to apply the meaning 'thought' to the stem *javá-* here. The meaning of the verb and the noun in the two passages confirm each other.

Another derivative from this root *jū-*, *javate* 'to think' is to be found in the noun *jūti-*, which occurs in a passage in *Āitareya Āraṇyaka* 2.6.1 which gives a list of words which are synonyms of *prajñāna-* 'knowing'. The passage is as follows: *yad etad dhr̥dayaṃ manas cañtat saṃjñānam ājñānam vijñānam prajñānam medhā dr̥ṣṭir dhr̥tir jūtiḥ smṛtiḥ saṃkalpaḥ kratuḥ asuḥ kāma vaśa iti, sarvāṇy evaitāni prajñānasya nāmadheyāni bhavanti*. The author of this passage has attempted to bring together a comprehensive list of the Sanskrit words denoting mental activity, and though it is a long list, many important such words have been omitted, e.g., the root *dhyā-* and its derivatives and the words derived from the root *cit*. Those that are listed are mostly well known Sanskrit words, but the meanings are not narrowly confined to that of *prajñāna-* 'knowing', but are applied to the operations of the mind in the widest sense, so that words like *vaśa-* 'will', and *kāma-* 'desire', which are not actually synonymous with *prajñāna-*, are included. There was however a problem with *jūti-* since it was taken to be derived from the root *jū-* 'to speed', and in particular from the transitive use of this root in the present *junāti*. Thus Keith in his translation of this text renders *jūti-* as 'helping', since *junāti* 'to speed' might be understood as having the meaning of 'helping', but such a meaning cannot possibly be regarded as being a synonym of 'knowing', or even of mental activity in general, which is stated to be its meaning in the text. On the other hand, when we bring this *jūti-* into connection with the verb *javate* of the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, which quite clearly means 'thinks', we get a meaning 'thought' or 'thinking' which is in all respects suitable in this context.

This *jūti-* is therefore homonymous with the better known *jūtī-*, derived from the root *jū-* 'to speed', which has both an intransitive sense 'speeding' and a transitive sense 'impulsion', just as *javate* 'thinks' is homonymous with *javate* 'speeds'. In the passage in the *Āitareya Āraṇyaka* the meaning *jūti-* is known because it is stated in the text. In addition to this instance, however, there are a couple of passages in the Vedas where the noun *jūtī-* has been taken to be derived from *jū-* 'to speed', but where the context suggests that it would be better derived from *jū-* 'to think'. A notable case of this is to be found in *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā* 2.13: *māno jūtīr juṣatām ājyasya*. Here the juxtaposition of *jūtī-* with *manas-* 'mind' very strongly

suggests that *jūti-* has the meaning 'thought' or 'thinking'. The translation will therefore be "May the mind, the thought, appreciate the offering of clarified butter".

Another passage in which this meaning may be considered is *RV* 3.3.8: *prá śaṃsanti námasā jūtībhir vṛdhé*. Here the meaning 'with impulses' would be possible, as it has usually been taken, but since words meaning 'thought' such as *mánma* and *dhṛtí* are commonly used to denote hymns which have been thought out and composed, it is also possible that the word *jūti-* has that sense here, in which case the line is to be translated "They praise (Agni) with homage and with hymns for his increase".

No comparable root has been found in IE languages outside Indo-Aryan, but a derivative from it has been preserved in Pali. This is the word *javana-* which is used in the commentatorial literature in discussions of the process of cognition. According to the *PTS* dictionary this term denotes "the twelfth stage in the function (*kicca*) of an act of perception (or *vīthicitta*): the stage of full perception, or apperception". Such a final stage might be rendered as "ideation" and therefore be connected with Vedic *javate*, and the other derivatives from it given above. The dictionary identifies it with *javana-* 'speeding', but in view of the evidence adduced for a homonymous root *jū-* 'to think', it is obvious that it must be derived from that, and it provides further evidence concerning this root in Indo-Aryan. In addition the compound *javanapaññā* is reminiscent of the association of *jūti-*, derived from this root, with *paññāna-* in the *Āraṇyaka* passage.

2. *smayate* 'smears, salves'

This verb also is recorded only once, and like *javate* its source is the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*. In this case, however, there are no nominal derivatives as supporting evidence, and the meaning has to be decided by the context in which it occurs in association with its etymology. The passage in which this verb occurs is as follows:

Taittirīya Saṃhitā 6.1.3.8: *yad dhastena kaṇḍūyeta pāmanaṃbhāvukāḥ prajāḥ syur, yat smayeta nagnaṃbhāvukāḥ, kṛṣṇaviṣāṇayā kaṇḍūyate 'piḡrhya smayate prajānāṃ gopīthāya*. This is translated by Keith as follows: "If he were to scratch himself with his hand, his offspring would be liable to the itch; if he were to smile, they would become naked. He scratches himself with the horn of the black antelope and smiles, holding it for the protection of his offspring".

The meaning 'smiles' is wholly inappropriate here, and the translation also errs in not taking *apiḡrhya* and *smayate* together. The meaning required must be like that of *kaṇḍūyeta*, i.e. something done to the person. A meaning that would suit is that of smearing ointment or salve on oneself, and if this is right, a good IE etymology is available.

This verb can be connected with the IE root given in Pokorny, *IEW*, p. 966, as *smē-*, *smel-* 'to smear'. The long vowel form of this root is found in Gk. *σμεῖν*, etc. 'to smear'. The form *smel-* appears, with extension, in Goth. *bismeitan* 'to smear' and related forms in other Germanic languages. In Vedic *smayate* we have an unextended form of the *smel-* form of the base. The relation of the present *smayate* to the long vowel form of the root is similar to that of other presents of this type, e.g. *dhayati* 'sucks', *dayate* 'shares', *hvayati* 'calls' and *(ni)mayate* 'exchanges' as compared with the root forms *dhā-*, *dā-*, *hvā-* and *(ni)mā-*, for a discussion of which see my 1979: 12-13.

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BCILL 42 : LINGUISTIC HAPPENING, 493-500

ARMENIAN, SANSKRIT AND WELSH SIDELIGHTS ON *Polite*: *Politic*

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English *polite*, as is well-known, comes ultimately from Latin *polītus*, perf. pass. participle of *poliō*, *polīre* 'to polish'. And the word *politic* is partly a borrowing from some form of French *politique*, partly a learned loan from Latin *polīticus* 'relating to the state, political, civil'. It is also common knowledge - or used to be - that the Latin word *polīticus* is itself from Greek *polītikós* (πολιτικός) 'pertaining to a citizen, a *polītēs* (πολίτης)', which in turn is from *pólis* (πόλις) 'city'. Numerous ramifications in other directions in various languages need not detain us here, although some of them possess more than a modicum of interest, for example the words represented in English by *police*, *policy*, *acropolis*, *cosmopolitan*, *metropolitan*, *policlinic* (at times with confusion of *poli-* and *poly-* in the last word).

Now, although *polite* and *politic* diverge greatly semantically, despite obvious resemblances in form, they do, in parts of their semantic fields - perhaps the shadier parts - approach each other to a certain extent. The senses of 'prudent, sagacious', for *politic*, for example, come close to some of the meanings of *polite*. Resemblances in form often aid and abet semantic approximation and may, in fact, actually precipitate the process. It is therefore not surprising to find that James Dalrymple, in his translation (1596) of the work by John Leslie (also known as Lesley), *De Origine, Moribus et Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, 10 vols., Rome, 1578, confused the two Latin words *polīticus* and *polītus*:

"The Inglis men, evin as the mair politick Scottis, vses that ald

Saxone tounge" (vol. 1.85, where *politiores* 'more polished' is the Latin original).

"Vthiris of the mair politick sorte among vs" (Latin *politiores*, vol. 1.96).

"Thir verses, albeit nocht verie politic (*polit*) zit through commendation of ancient antiquite maist probable..." (3.178).

These are cited from the OED 7, 1074, where they are (possibly self-righteously?) branded as "erroneous". It is debatable whether the meager Latinity of James Dalrymple or the limitations of the "ald Saxone tounge" was more responsible for the confusion.

Classical Latin, let alone pre-Classical, seems not to have merged the words 'polite' and 'politic' in the way being discussed here, but similar developments were clearly observable in other words in Latin. *Urbs* 'city', for instance, yielded *urbānus* 'belonging to a city, to the City (Rome), civil, polite, refined'. In fact, *urbānus* revealed the kind of metropolitan arrogance familiar in later periods, constituting the antonym of *rusticus* 'country-like, rural, uncouth, boorish, yokelic, hickish'. But, to even things slightly, *urbānus* had the additional shades of 'witty, clever, shrewd, shifty, having the qualities of a city slicker'. Cicero also used the word *urbānus* in the sense of 'impudent, bold, arrogant', and who should know better than Marcus Tullius?

Civīlis (formed on *civīs* 'citizen') had a range of nuances similar to that of *urbānus*, minus the negative shades, for the most part. In Ovid, Tacitus, Vergil, Livy, Suetonius, and others, it referred to matters connected with or affecting one's fellow citizens; it applied to war: *bellum civīle*; it designated civil law; it could mean 'political'; and it marked a condition suited to one's status as a citizen - a pretty subservient one, apparently. A civil tongue was one not given to making noises offensive to the authorities. Civil could also mean 'unassuming, becoming to the attitude of a private citizen'. It also meant, in a more private context, 'considerate, decent, proper'. *Civīlitās* referred to the "science" of politics and also to the behavior of an ordinary, docile citizen: "unassumingness".

Greek πολιτικός exhibits - at least in adverbial attestations - the sense of civil(ly) and courteous(ly) and thus points to a possible bridging of the semantic gap between *polite* and *politic*. Apart from this, Greek seems not to have extended the semantic field of πολιτικός very much in the direction of 'polite': yet that extension is significant.

Latin *polītus*, as was said at the beginning of this article, was the perf. pass. part. of *polīre* 'to file, polish, make smooth, take the rough edges off'. The loan word *polītā* (which, in Classical Latin, at least, seems largely to have referred to Plato's *Republic*, as the Oxford Latin Dictionary and other Lexical works remind us, but which certainly produced plentiful progeny in Romance and, indirectly, other languages) had considerable similarity to the word for 'polish, etc.'. There seems to be some debate regarding the vowel quantity of the *iota*. If Greek πολιτεία had a short *Υ*, perhaps the lengthening occurring in Latin *polītā* was somehow the result of association with *polītus*.

While on a trip to Armenia a few years ago I was struck by the fact that virtually all the meanings mentioned thus far under *polite* and *politic* kept recurring in speech and in print in words derived from one and the same stem, and that was the one meaning 'city'. It seems that the one semantic direction not taken by any of the Armenian words known to me - or found by me - is the negative and disparaging one. This may point to gaps in my knowledge. The following Armenian words are pertinent to the present discussion. I transcribe them according to the system of Eastern Armenian phonology.

khayakh 'town, city'

khayakh-akrt hyun 'civilization'

khayakh-avari 'courteous, polite'

khayakh-avar-ut hyun 'courtesy, politeness, civility, urbanity, affability'

khayakh-a kan 'political'

khayakh-akan-a-pes 'civility'

khayakh-akan-uthyun 'politics, policy, civilization, politeness'

khayakh-avar 'polite, civil, courteous, well-bred, polished'

kḥayakh-abaroy 'polite, civil, courteous'

kḥayakh-a-kirt 'civilized'

kḥayakh-orm 'fortification, city wall, rampart'.

These eleven words could easily be trebled. In fact, the *Hay-Ruseren Baṛaran: Armyano-Russkii Slovar'*, Yerevan, 1960 has forty words based on *kḥayakh*. In none of them is the sense of 'sharp, shrewd, vile, arrogant', and the like attested. In other respects, the senses of *polītus*, *politicus*, *urbānus*, and *civīlis* are matched by the Armenian words. The 29 words in that dictionary that I have not cited have been omitted because I did not find them in Armenian literature, unlike the eleven given. But that does not mean to imply that the words are spurious, or "ghost words", because there were limitations to my time and resources (and knowledge). Nor is it likely to be accidental that no words of disparaging connotation appear among them. Now there is not much Latin in the Armenian vocabulary, although there is considerable Greek. But it emerges from the situation of *kḥayakh* and its derivatives in Armenian, that the development of the meanings 'polite, courteous, urbane', etc. was able to occur without the fortuitous existence of two words of similar phonetic shape in order for all these senses to be attained. We may be perplexed at the fact that 'polished' derives from 'city' without any such catalyst as *polītus* as was seen in Latin, e.g. But the opposition 'urban': 'rustic' may be a "natural" phenomenon – not necessarily a universal one, for the term "universal" is far too inclusive and arrogantly implies greater knowledge that we possess for most phenomena. But it can at least be called widespread.

The wealth of meanings of the average Sanskrit noun, adjective, or verb is often a source of amazement. Sometimes the semantic shades include diametrically opposed senses and most of the conceivable meanings in between. A professor of mine, half a century ago (one under whom our late honored friend Ben Schwartz also studied) once said: "Practically any Sanskrit noun can mean 'elephant, love, steadfastness, hate, presence, and absence'." It often looks as if that were so. But we have to weed out those words that were the creations of the lexicographers, when we can do so, and then the number of meanings decreases conspicuously. Still, confining ourselves to the validly attested senses of *nagaram* n., *nagarī* f. 'town, city'

we find sufficient variety nonetheless (the forms in *nāgar-*, with long *ā*, show the *vr̥ddhi*-grade in derivatives): cf., for instance:

nāgarīya-s 'urban, civil'. (A form *nagarīya-s*, with short *a*, also occurs).

nāgara-s 'town-born, town-bred; civic, civil; polite, clever, sharp; bad, vile, afflicted with the vices of a town', as noun, 'citizen, husband's brother', etc.

nāgaraka-s, *nāgarika-s* 'town-born, town-bred; polite, courteous, courtly; clever, shrewd, cunning'; as noun, 'citizen, a courteous man; a gallant, one who has contracted the vices of a town, a thief, an artist, the chief of police (with echoes, accidentally surely, of the connection *police* and *πόλις*)'.

nāgarīyaka-s 'belonging to a town or city, civic'.

nāgarīṭa-s/*nagavīṭa-s* 'libertine, rake; paramour; matchmaker'.

nāgaryam 'shrewdness, cleverness'. (Classical and epic Sanskrit show these shades, Vedic does not).

Some of the meanings which have been omitted here are perhaps accidental homonyms of different etymological origin, rather than instances of polysemy. *Nāgarakas* meant 'dry ginger' in addition to the senses derived from 'city'. This is certainly of extraneous origin, despite the admittedly spicy nature of some of the situations referred to. And *nāgarī*, the Sanskrit written character (*dēvanāgarī*), has long defied convincing etymological analysis.

Interestingly enough, the Sanskrit word *pur*, *pura* 'city', which has been regarded as a cognate of Greek *πόλις* by some, despite the debatable connection (since *πόλις* may be from *πιόλις*, etc.), does not show the same development of meanings as the synonymous *nagaram*. *pāura-* 'civic' (as noun, 'citizen') does not acquire the sense of 'shrewd' or even 'urbane', although certain evidence in Middle Indic makes it possible that some such semantic direction had been taken at one stage of Sanskrit, since in Pali, e.g., *pōriya-* means, among other things, 'polite'. We cannot always be sure about such formations in Middle Indic languages. Some are invented.

The Welsh word for 'city', *dinas*, is a derivative of *din* 'fort, fortress, fastness, stronghold'. It reflects a Celtic form **dūno-*, as does Irish *dūn* 'defense, stronghold'. This is reminiscent of Greek

πόλις, which also meant 'citadel', etc. Gaulish *-dūnon* in a Latinized version *-dunum* is familiar in many names on the Continent as well as in Britain: *Lugudunum* 'Lyons', etc. The word is cognate with Old English *tun*, Eng. *town*. A Welsh adjective *dinasol* has the meanings 'pertaining to a city or borough, civic, urban, municipal', but also 'urbane' and 'civil' (of manners and conduct). *Dinasrwydd* (*dinas* 'city' + *-rwydd* suffix '-ness', etc.) means 'politeness, civility, courtesy'. *Dinesig* (an umlauted form of *dinas* plus suffix *-ig*) means 'belonging to a city or town, municipal, urban, urbane, courteous, gentle, noble, superior'. *Dinaseiddrwydd* (*dinasaidd* 'civic' + *-rwydd*, noun suffix) = 'civility, urbanity, politeness'.

Interestingly enough, both the Welsh word for city, *dinas*, and the adjective *dinesig* 'municipal, etc.' are attested at a date long before there were any communities in Wales that could remotely be called cities. There had been relatively important towns in Britain in Roman times, and it is conceivable that somehow the senses of Latin words like *urbānus*, etc., were transmitted to British Celtic. At any rate, the notion of the city as a seat of refinement made its way, by whatever route, to Wales long before there were cities. The ideas of the city as a source of corruption of rustics who went there apparently did not arrive.

Ireland did not acquire any such words as "urban, urbane", or the like from *dūn*, which has retained the ancient sense of 'fort, strong-hold, fortress, castle'. It also means 'mansion' and 'residence', but the sense of 'city' does not emerge. The Irish word for 'city', *cathair*, has no derivative adjectives with anything approaching the sense of 'urbane, polite', or the like. And *baile* 'town', while found in the name of the capital city, *Baile Átha Cliath* [bɪˈaːkl̪ˠi̯əh] 'Dublin', does not mean 'city' nor, of course, does it produce adjectives meaning 'urban, municipal', let alone 'urbane'. It even means 'the country', too.

It is conceivable, though hardly demonstrable, that the Roman occupation of Britain, including Wales, had something to do with the semantic development in Welsh of the words discussed above. Ireland, of course, knew no Roman occupation and could have therefore remained immune. (But Wales was from the fifth century on also in

contact with England, and some bilingualism prevailed from early times).

The whole matter is part of a much vaster chapter: the words for 'polite, urbane', etc. in Indo-European languages (and, no doubt in other languages also). When we think, at random, of French *courtois*, German *höflich*, *höfisch*, and also of the way in which their antonyms are formed, not merely those constructed with negative prefixes, but also the suppletive opposites, corresponding to Latin *rusticus*, Old Fr. *vilein*, German *tölpelhaft* (from *dörperhaft*), E *boorish* (German *Bauer*, Dutch *boer*, etc.), we have an inkling of the size of the field.

If there is a temptation to conclude that the connection of *court* and *courteous* (German *Hof*: *höflich* and, in now unrecognizable shape and sense, *hübsch*) is a product of chivalry, the explanation is obviously only a partial one. The Sanskrit, Armenian, and Latin situations reveal a far earlier origin (or origins, independently). The contrast between rustic boorishness and urban refinement, whether real or fancied, is found in very ancient times. Paradoxically, as has been shown, even in Wales, where there were no cities at the time of the oldest attestation of the words cited, the equation of *urban* and *urbane* was recognized and accepted. But cities in India and the Near East are of extremely venerable age. (Intriguingly, while the terms based on the words meaning 'city' are sometimes either laudatory or condemnatory, as context demands, it is difficult to find adjectives referring to country and rustic life in a praiseworthy manner, however corrupt the cities may have been considered).

Something of the same distinction may seem to be present in Latin *pagānī* 'pagans, heathens'. *Heathen* is a loan translation of *pagānī*; the latter word is also the source of both *pagan* and *peasant*. In pre-Christian Latin, *pagānī* was applied derisively to those who were not in military service. This is brought out in Tacitus, *Historiae* III.24 and elsewhere. It might be thought (and has been) that, after the rise of Christianity, the areas in which the old religion lingered longest were the rural ones; hence the pagans were equated with non-Christians. But it seems that the military figure of speech was perpetuated. The Christians were *mīlitēs Christi*, soldiers of Christ, and those who refused to "serve" were labelled *pagānī*, as in the old

days. Gibbon points out that the term was introduced into imperial Roman laws as early as the reign of Valentinianus (364-375), and that theological writings began to apply it at about the same time. Prior to that it had been a colloquial term of abuse. (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Chap. XXI, note 174). What soldiers were doing in the ranks of a Prince of Peace, even figuratively, will probably elude many people, including me. At any rate, the alleged 'urbanity' of such *mīlitēs* was surely of a different order from that observed in the other examples mentioned in this article, save that the negative view of rustic as opposed to urban, for all the faults of the latter, is reflected even here.

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NORTHWEST INDO-EUROPEAN 'SPOON'

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I have had occasion to discuss the nomenclature of the notion 'spoon', and in particular one etymon, at several reprises; it may therefore be useful to unify my IE findings here, separate from the discussion of the detail affecting the individual branches, or dialects.

Northwest, or "European", IE had an etymon **lugā* (Hamp 1967, 1980a), which our material does not suffice to show us in Phrygian or Prehellenic, which I do not know to be attested in Tocharian, and which was replaced in Baltic by *lapinis* in Old Prussian from Germanic (Otrębski 1965, Hamp 1980a), and by *šáukštas* in Lithuanian (Hamp 1967). In Slavic this etymon gave directly by W. Winter's lengthening before mediae Polish *łyżka*, Slovak *lyžica*, and the Ukrainian derived verb *lyhaty* 'schlucken' < **lygā* (Hamp, in press). There also existed in Slavic a form **lugā*, apparently from **lughā* by contamination with **leugh-* 'wet' (Hamp 1982-83) and perhaps with **leigh-* 'lick' > Greek *λεῖχω*, Slavic *ližp* (though the palatal would not give a good fit here), which gave Russ. *lōžka*, Bulg. *lǒžica*, *lǒžička*, Cz. *lžice*, *lžička*, Croatian *žilca*, all of which escaped Winter's lengthening; likewise, the same **lughā* gives Albanian *lugë*, which also escaped Winter's lengthening (Hamp, in press).

Celtic and Italic show a pre-form **(e)lgā* revised by contamination with the base **leigh-* > **leigh-* 'lick' (Hamp 1967), from which (in the vocalism *i*) Latin drew the derivative *ligula* (Hamp 1980a). This Latin noun was contaminated in the popular speech by the verb *lingere* to give *lingula* (Hamp 1980a), which lives on in Romanian *lingură* (Hamp 1976: 184).

Otrębski (1965: 271-272) explains the Germanic set represented by OS *lepil* as a calque employing **lap-* (> OHG *laffan*) rendering Latin *ling-*.

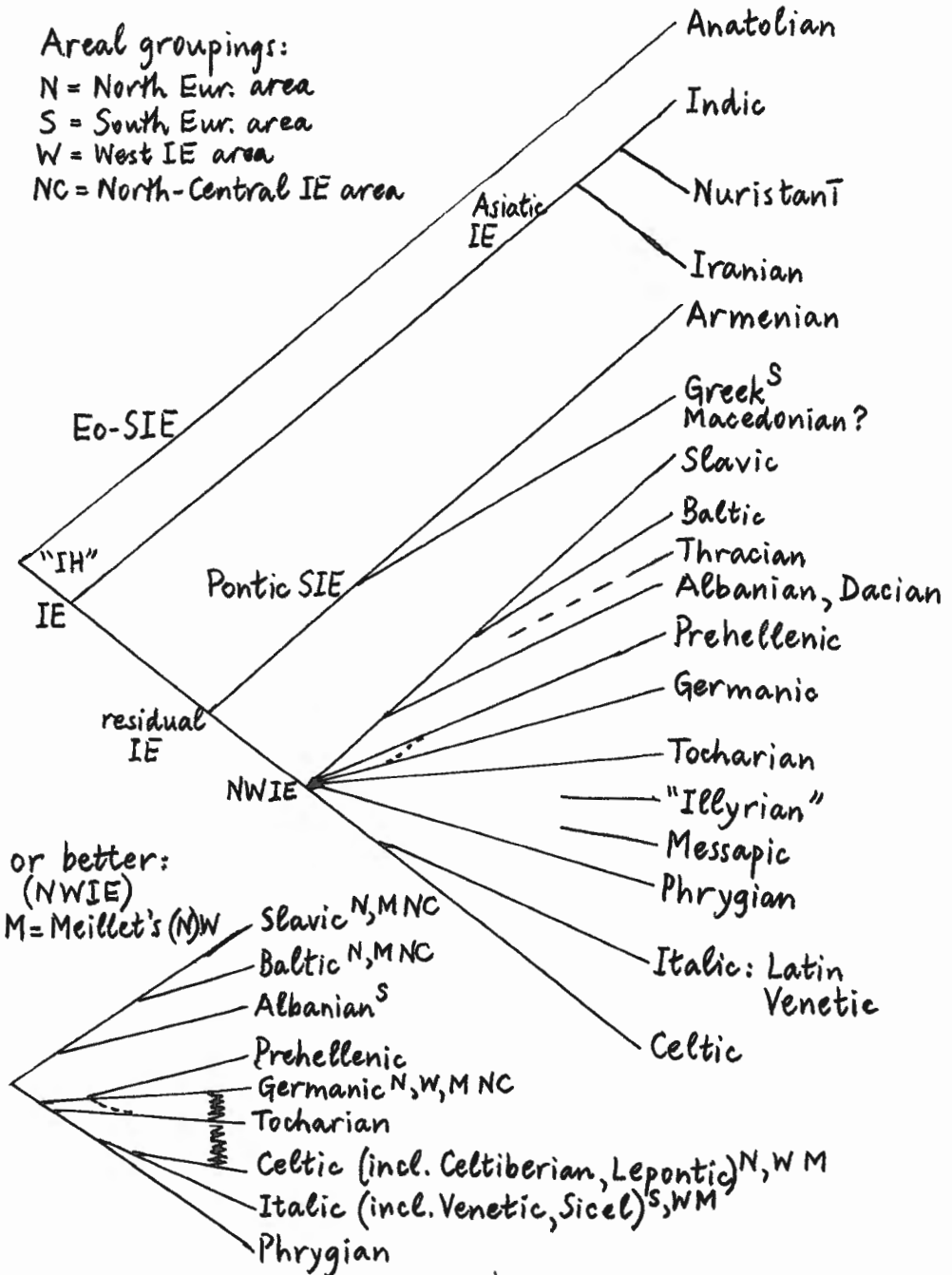
Celtic **leigā* > **lēgā* (with thematic guṇa; Hamp 1983-84) gave Welsh *llwy* and Breton *loa* (Hamp 1984), as well as the Old Irish form which is listed as *líach* in the *Dictionary of the Irish Language* but which I would list as *líag* (Hamp 1984).

Indic shows us a technical terminology, with an ancient etymon different from **lugā* (Hamp 1980b), and in Asiatic Indo-European and Armenian we find evidence in the nomenclature pointing to the manufacture of spoons from wood (Hamp 1978), just as Eng. *spoon* indicates.

I hope that the allotment of these various reflexes and replacements will also serve to clarify and present my current understanding of the dialectology of Indo-European. See the appended diagram.

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TOCHARIAN B *OKT*, A *OKÄT* "8" AND THE DEVELOPMENT
OF FINAL INDO-EUROPEAN *-ō IN TOCHARIAN

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Crucial to the resolution of the question of the development of final I.-E. *-ō in Tocharian is the assessment of A *okät*, B *okt* "8". Do these words derive from I.-E. **oktō* or **oktōu*? If from **oktō*, was it through an intermediate stage **oktu*? Were there perhaps still other stages involved? And furthermore, was the development regular or did analogy play an active part?

Winter (1962: 124, cf. also Adams 1978: 449) posits a preform **oktōu*, assuming that we have to recognize in Tocharian, as in Sanskrit, the presence of two competing dual endings: *-ōu and *-ō. The diphthong he sees reflected by -u- in protected internal position in A *oktuk* "80", whereas in West Tocharian it is regularly preserved as -e (e.g. *ñakte-ne* "two gods"). This last assumption is extremely unlikely, for no final -e is preserved in B *okt*. If there previously was a final -e in this word that later fell prey to apocope or analogy, the o-vocalism of the root morpheme would be incomprehensible. And if there was an intermediate stage with a final umlauting *-u in West Tocharian, as Winter assumes for East Tocharian, it is still hard to see how this *-u could change into B -e.

Van Windekens (1976: 330-332) also opts for **oktōu* with regular apocope of final *-ōu in both dialects via an intermediate stage *-u. Not reckoning with the operation of u-umlaut in West Tocharian, he understands B *okt* as influenced by A *okät* in regard to the o-vocalism. Apparently, Van Windekens prefers **oktōu* to **oktō*, because, in his opinion, final *-ō ought to have yielded B -o, A *zero*. Čop 1975: 142 sq. (who holds that A *okät*, B *okt* rest on a preform

*oktōm on the analogy of *septm, op. cit., p.72) is of the same opinion as Van Windekens regarding the development of I.-E. *-ō to B -o, A zero. Both scholars name as their chief witnesses, testifying to such development, the nom. sg. final B -o, A zero of the *oi*-stems and the *n*-stems.

However, in a recent article (Hilmarsson 1), I have endeavoured to show that the Tocharian *ai*-flexion, i.e. Class VI, 2, with nom. sg. -o / -lye, obl. sg. -ai, nom. pl. -aiñ, does not reflect an I.-E. *oi*-flexion. Early in Tocharian, this class apparently had an *n*-stem flexion, predominantly built on the *o*-grade, but with an *e*-grade preserved at least in the loc. sg. Some Indo-European *ā*-stems joined the paradigm of non-ablauting *ōn*-stems (Class VI, 3^b), acquiring *ōn*-stem endings in all cases, including the obl. sg. This merger was facilitated by the merger of the nom. sg. forms *-ā and *-ōn in Toch. *-o (1) (cf. *dṛǵhṽā "tongue" > Toch. *kāntwā > *kāntwo > B *kantwo*, with obl. sg. *kantwa* < *kāntwā < *kāntwānām (2)).

Those *ā*-stems that were not absorbed by the non-ablauting *ōn*-flexion remained intact for a while, it might be assumed, at least long enough to take part in an innovation shared by all remaining (*j*)*ā*- / (*j*)*ə*- stems: the introduction of the (originally dative (Pedersen) or locative (Klingenschmitt)) ending -ai in the obl. sg. (for original *-ā / *-ām). When that process was over, the *ā*-stems (not the *jā*-stems) and the ablauting *ōn*-stems joined in one paradigm (again merger because of identical nom. sg. forms), in such manner that the *ā*-stem obl. sg. -ai was imposed on the *ōn*-stems.

Now, the ablauting *ōn*-stems of Class VI, 2 had an occasional *e*-grade in the weak cases. Such forms offered a port of entrance for Class VI, 1 (that primarily comprised *e*-grade *n*-stems) to exert its influence upon the flexion of Class VI, 2. Thus the analogical proportion obl. sg. -i (VI, 1): -ai (VI, 2) = pl. -iñ, -iñ (VI, 1): X (VI, 2) yielded X = -aiñ, -aiñ, as suggested to me by M. Peters (per litteram). A further consequence of this influence was the introduction of the nom. sg. ending -lye beside the original -o of Class VI, 2.

Thus the Class VI, 2 nom. sg. B -o has nothing to do with the

I.-E. *oi*-stem nom. sg. $*-\bar{o}$, but simply reflects the *n*-stem $*-\bar{on}$ (e.g. *okso* < $*uk\bar{k}^us\bar{o}n$) and the \bar{a} -stem $*-\bar{a}$.

Furthermore, since in the opinion of Van Windekens, the *n*-stem nom. sg. B *-o*, A *zero* derives either from I.-E. $*-\bar{o}$ or $*-\bar{on}$ (i.e. both finals would yield the same result), its testimony (on Van Windekens' terms) is necessarily ambiguous and therefore not valid.

Unlike Van Windekens, Čop maintains that I.-E. $*-\bar{on}$ was dropped completely in both Tocharian dialects, and so could not serve to explain the *n*-stem final B *-o*, A *zero*, which then must reflect I.-E. $*-\bar{o}$. However, his arguments for an apocope of I.-E. $*-\bar{on}$ in Tocharian fail to convince (3), so that this final may still be considered to be the source of the nom. sg. B *-o*, A *zero* (or rather, the one source, the other being the \bar{a} -stem final $*-\bar{a}$ > CT $*-\bar{a}$ > $*-o$, cf. above).

Beside the (alleged) *oi*-stem and *n*-stem finals, Čop adduces some further examples to illustrate the development I.-E. $*-\bar{o}$ > B *-o*, A *zero*. However, these are not compelling either. Thus, an *s*-stem final $*-\bar{os}$ is not necessary to explain B *luwo*, A *lu* "animal". If the cognate Olcel. *lús* "louse" (an etymology suggested by Pedersen 1941: 72 and accepted by Čop; differently Van Windekens 1976: 267-268) is taken to represent an earlier neuter *s*-stem (becoming feminine in Germanic under the influence of *mús* "mouse" as suggested by Pedersen), it would seem that a zero grade of the root vocalism has been generalized in an originally proterokinetic paradigm (cf. Schindler 1975: 265 on *sej*-roots with *s*-suffix, i.e. the type Gk. $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$, Skt. *kravíṣ*). Projecting Olcel. *lús* and its Germanic cognates into Late-Indo-European, one might reconstruct a sg. $*luHs$ with the plural $*luHs-H_2$. These preforms gain in credibility by the fact that they help to explain the Tocharian words in question. I.-E. $*luHs$ (sg.) would yield Proto-Toch. $*lwās$ > CT $*lwā$, and I.-E. $*luHsH_2$ (pl.) would result in CT $*lwāsā$, which yields the attested B pl. *lwāsa* quite regularly. The CT sg. $*lwā$ is reflected in the adjective B *lwāññe*. A by-form is *luwāññe*, indicating a "forme de fondation" $*luwā$ beside $*lwā$. It might be suggested that the form $*luwā$ derives from $*lwā$ through the insertion of an anaptyctic vowel: $*lwā$ > $*lāwā$ > $*luwā$, cf. for the change \bar{a} > *u* before *w*: B *ñuwe* (beside *ñwe*), A *ñu*

"new" < **ñāwæ* < **neμos*. Thus, for a certain stage in Common Tocharian a paradigm with sg. **luwā* / ← **lwā* and pl. **lwāsā* seems to be ascertainable. In the singular of this neuter paradigm, a secondary distinction took place between the nominative and the oblique through the introduction of the form *luwo* in the nominative, formed on the analogy of *suwo* "pig". This was facilitated by the parallel adjective formation represented by B *swāññe* < **suH-* (like B *lwāññe* < **luH(s)-*). Also, if B *suwo* < CT **suwo* reflects I.-E. **suH-ōn* (or a corresponding Tocharian creation), as suggested by Winter 1965: 192, its (unattested) obl. sg. would probably have been B **suwa* < CT **suwā* < **suwānām* (apocope of final *-ām* and further apocope of the now final *-n* as in all words not denoting rational beings, cf. footnote 2). That is to say, parallel adjective formations, *swāññe* and *lwāññe*, plus parallel obl. sg. forms, **suwā* and **luwā*, facilitated the introduction of a new nom. sg. *luwo* on the analogy of *suwo*. Thus B *luwo* need not derive from Čop's **luμōs*, which in any case would probably have resulted in B **luwu*, or rather **lu(w)*, cf. the pret. ptc. final B *-u* < **-uōs* as discussed below.

Furthermore, Čop proposes that adverbs like B *wasto*, A *wāst* "doubly" and B *ālo* "otherwise" represent ancient abl. or inst. sg. forms in I.-E. **-ōd* or **-ō* resp. However, these forms can be interpreted as original neuter plurals in I.-E. **-ā* (> CT **-ā* > *-o*). Other examples of a development I.-E. **-ō* > B *-o*, pointed out by Čop, are more hypothetical.

Thus both Van Windekens' and Čop's various arguments for positing a regular change of I.-E. **-ō* to B *-o*, A zero have been found not valid, and I.-E. **oktō* would therefore still be at our disposal to explain B *okt*, A *okät*.

But there are further grounds to decline a derivation from **oktōu*. First, phonologically it is rather unlikely that an original long diphthong would be apocopated in West Tocharian, where most Indo-European finals are preserved, unless, of course, one takes refuge in analogy. Second, A *oktats* "eightfold, consisting of eight parts" can only derive from CT **æktātsæ* (reduction of *ā* to *a* in the second syllable as in *āknats* < **āknāts-*, cf. Krause-Thomas 1960: 45), with an initial *o-* analogous to the regularly umlauted *o-* of *okät*. This adjective was

formed by adding the suffix $*-tjō-$ to the cardinal, which can only have had the form $*oktō$ and not $*oktōu$. This must have taken place before final $*-ō$ was reduced to $*-u$ (as witnessed in A *oktuk* "80", a later formation). The corresponding B *oktatse* can be interpreted as identical with A *oktats* (as would be methodologically optimal), if one assumes the accent has been moved from the penultima to the initial syllable, cf. B *oktyäkne*. On the other hand, if B *oktatse* has $-a-$ from $-ā-$, this would be a secondary formation to *okt*.

Thus A *oktats* indicates I.-E. $*oktō$ and not $*oktōu$, and it seems redundant (though not inconceivable) to assume that both variants survived in Tocharian. We shall therefore now consider the question of $*oktōu$ answered and move on to the problem of $*oktō$ and its development in Tocharian.

Did I.-E. $*-ō$ develop into Toch. $*-u$, as certainly appears to be implied by A *oktuk*? Such assumption seems to be corroborated by forms like A *wu* masc. "two" < $*djuō$, AB *ku* "dog", if from $*kjuō$, and the pret. ptc. ending B $-u$ < $*-juōs$, except that these forms pose a new problem: Do they show regular development, or is the change $*ō > u$ here conditioned by the preceding $*j$? Thus e.g. Adams (1978: 447 fn.4, 1980 (81): 440) assumes that I.-E. $*ō$ yielded Proto-Toch. $*ū$ in final syllables, but only when adjacent to $*w$. Adams is not impeded in this view by A *oktuk*, for this form he derives (1978: 449) from $*-ū < *-ōu$. However, we have seen that the Tocharian words for "8" derive from a form with a final I.-E. $*-ō$ and not $*-ōu$, so that A *oktuk* does in fact contradict the development outlined by Adams. Furthermore the influence of $*w$ upon an adjacent $*ō$ can be doubted. Thus B *suwo* "pig" from $*sujuōn < *suH-ōn$ (Winter 1965: 192) does not give credence to such an assumption (cf. also B *māskwo*, *traiwo*, *tsārwo*, *kāwo*, etc.), but indicates that I.-E. $*-ōn$ resulted in CT $*-o > B -o$, A zero unconditionally. AB *ku*, therefore, hardly derives from I.-E. $*kjuōn$ which one might expect to have yielded CT $*kwo > B *k(w)o$. Final $*-ōn$ quite likely developed in a manner parallel to final $*-ōnts$ in a monosyllable as it did in polysyllables. Thus B *po* "all", deriving from CT $*po < I.-E. *Hj pōnts$ (4) would indicate that $*kjuōn$ must be eliminated as a possible precursor of AB *ku*, leaving $*kjuō$ as the only candidate (5).

Thus, without attaching any special significance to the $*\mu$ that happens to precede the final $*-\bar{o}$ of the forms in question, the following development seems appropriate and compatible with that witnessed in A *oktuk*: I.-E. $*\kappa\mu\bar{o}$ > CT $*kwu$, which, with loss of $-w$ before $-u$ (there can hardly be any question of an apocope of the final vowel in a monosyllable and subsequent vocalization of $*-w$ to $-u$), yielded the attested AB *ku*; quite parallel was the development of I.-E. $*d\mu\bar{o}$ to CT $*wu$ which is regularly represented by A *wu*; the pret. ptc. nom. sg. $*-\mu\bar{o}s$ yielded CT $*-wu$ for which there are two possibilities of further development: either CT $*-wu$ was simplified (loss of $-w$ before $-u$) to $-u$ (as assumed by Penney 1976-77: 79), or $*-wu$ lost its final $*-u$ and the remaining $*-w$ was subsequently vocalized to $-u$ (this issue will be debated below).

It is often assumed that the non-appearance of a final vowel in B *okt* must be due to a replacement of the regular reflex of I.-E. $*-\bar{o}$ by $*-\bar{m}$ > CT $*-\bar{a}\bar{m}$ on the analogy of $*sept\bar{m}$ at some point in Proto- or Common Tocharian, cf. Pedersen 1941: 221, Čop 1975: 72, Penney 1976-77: 89 fn. 50. However, there are certain indications that such replacement did not take place at all.

First, the decads 70 and 80 have in Tocharian the forms B *suktañka*, A *ṣāptuk* and B *oktañka*, A *oktuk* resp. It seems clear that in West Tocharian *oktañka* is formed on the model of *suktañka*, whereas in East Tocharian *ṣāptuk* is formed on the model of *oktuk*. It is least complicated to assume that these levellings took place dialectally and, therefore, that the underlying Common Tocharian forms inherited by both dialects were approximately $*ṣāptāñk\bar{a}$ and $*oktuk\bar{a}$ (cf. however below for a modified interpretation of the latter). This, of course, does not exclude the possibility that $*okt\bar{o}$ had been levelled to $*okt\bar{a}\bar{m}$ already in Common Tocharian, but in an East Tocharian system $*okt\bar{a}\bar{m} : *ṣāpt\bar{a}\bar{m} : *oktuk\bar{a} : *ṣāptāñk\bar{a}$ it seems rather unlikely that it was the system-breaking $*oktuk\bar{a}$ that carried the weight to change $*ṣāptāñk\bar{a}$ to $*ṣāptuk\bar{a}$, when a change of $*oktuk\bar{a}$ to $*oktāñk\bar{a}$ would seem much more natural. If, on the other hand, $*okt\bar{o}$ had not been levelled to $*okt\bar{a}\bar{m}$ in Common Tocharian, but still had the form $*oktu$ in Early East Tocharian, the influence of $*oktuk\bar{a}$ upon $*ṣāptāñk\bar{a}$ would be more acceptable. This piece of circumstantial evidence (if it can be called that) thus indicates that

**oktō* had not been replaced by **oktäṃ* in Common Tocharian, and therefore that West Tocharian also must have known a form **oktu*, at least at the earliest stage of its development.

A second argument against the assumption of a replacement of **oktō* by **oktäṃ* appears, if my contention is justified that I.-E. *-ō, before yielding Tocharian *-u, went through an intermediate stage *-ō̄. That stage is in one case found directly preserved in a secondarily protected final position, i.e. in the verbal nouns of the type B *kekamor* "arrival", *yāmor* "karman", A *kārsor* "knowing", *tārkor* "permission". These verbal nouns are derived from the pret. ptc. through the addition of an *r*-suffix. The pret. ptc. final has the form -u from *-wu < *-yūs and the final -or of the verbal noun is comprehensible only if one assumes an intermediate stage with an ō̄-vocalism. Thus, without further suffixation *-yūs yielded *-wō̄ > *-wu > -u, whereas *-wō̄ + r(V) yielded *-wor (ō̄ > o in non-final position) > -or (w is dropped before o, cf. B *ost*: A *wašt*).

Moreover, there are two parallel instances of analogical development that would further substantiate the assumption of an intermediate stage *-ō̄. First, the obl. sg. A *koṃ* "dog", for expected **k(w)äṃ* (cf. B *kwem*), cannot be explained as Van Windekens (1976: 238) suggests as having suffered the influence of a West Tocharian **koṃ* from I.-E. **kun-* (cf. Gk. κύνα). The West Tocharian obl. sg. form is attested as *kwem*, and, in any case, I.-E. *u is never unconditionally reflected by o in Tocharian, cf. Hilmarsson 1984 (85). Neither can Schindler's explanation (1967 (68): 244-245) solve the problem of A *koṃ*. He suggests labialization of the vocalism of **kwaṃ* to *koṃ* through the effect of the preceding labial. However, there is no evidence for a rounding of A a to o through the effect of a preceding labial, cf. Hilmarsson 1985, fn. 5, where Schindler's examples are refuted. On the contrary, there are enough examples showing that such rounding did not take place, e.g. *stwar* "four", *kaṃ* "melody" < **ghyano-*. A *koṃ*, therefore, has to be explained differently. This might be achieved by assuming that I.-E. **kūō*, before yielding Toch. **kwu* as maintained above, went through an intermediate stage **kwō̄*. In East Tocharian the nominative vocalism was generalized in the entire paradigm with the result that the expected obl. sg. **kwan* was replaced by **kwō̄n*. The nom. sg. **kwō̄*

further developed into **kwu* > *ku*, whereas the obl. sg. **kwōn* yielded **kwom* > *kom* (i.e. **ō* in non-final position yielded *o*). This paradigmatic levelling must have taken place after the dialectal separation of East and West Tocharian, for B *kweṃ* was not affected by it, but before final **-ō* turned **-u*.

Second, the inflexion of the pret. ptc. types *yāmu* and *kālpau* is comprehensible, if one assumes that the *ō*-vocalism of the nom. sg. (**-uōs* >) **-wō* has been generalized in the oblique forms. That is to say, in the type *yāmu*, obl. sg. *yāmoṣ*, the nom. sg. **-uōs* resulted in Tocharian **-wō* (later > **-wu* > **-u*) whose vocalism was generalized in all other cases to yield the suffix from **-wōṣ-* (the palatalization of *-s-* to *-ṣ-* does not concern us here), which in turn developed regularly to **-woṣ-* > *-oṣ-* (*w* dropped before *o* as in B *ost*: A *waṣt*). In the thematic type *kālpau*, obl. sg. *kālpoṣ*, the nom. sg. final **-o-uōs* resulted in Tocharian **-æ-wō* > B **-ewō* > **-ewu* > **-owu* (*u*-umlaut) > *-ou* → *-au* (cf. *kāskōl*_u beside *kāskau*, *ktowä* beside *ktau*, Krause 1952: 7). With the *ō*-vocalism generalized in all cases, the obl. sg. received the form B *-ewōṣ-* > **-ewoṣ* > **-owoṣ-* (*o*-umlaut) > **-ooṣ* (*w* dropped before *o* (6)) > *-oṣ-* (contraction).

If these considerations are correct and these examples genuinely bear witness to an intermediate stage **-ō* in the development of I.-E. **-ō* in Tocharian, one must conclude that the stage **-u* was reached only in dialectal times, for A *kom* vs. B *kweṃ* indicates that the stage **-ō* (which preceded stage **-u*) was not only Common Tocharian but also dialectal. Thus A *oktuk* must be a dialectal creation, based on a form **oktu*, whereas, had it been a Common Tocharian creation, one would have expected **oktāk* (cf. *oktats*) if older than the change **-ō* > **-ō*, or **oktok* if younger than that change.

Logically this means - and we now return to the question of the replacement of **oktō* by **oktām* - that the numeral 8 still had not exchanged its proper final for the **-ām* of the numeral 7 in Common Tocharian. That analogical change, if it ever occurred, would have been a dialectal one. However, it should be borne in mind that the *n*-stem obl. sg. seems to have had the form **-ā* already in Common Tocharian, for both dialects have apocopated not only the ending

*-äṃ < I.-E. *-m̥ but also (in words not denoting rational beings) the stem-final *-n- preceding it, - a process that would hardly have taken place independently in both dialects. That is to say, 1) A *oktuk* is a dialectal creation indicating that **oktu* was still the "forme de fondation" in early dialectal times; 2) *-äṃ was apocopated already in predialectal times; therefore, **oktu* cannot have been replaced by **oktäṃ* ever.

A further blow to the analogy hypothesis is delivered by the form of the numeral 7 in West Tocharian. Obviously, B *ṣukt* has been influenced by *okt* in its consonantism. But also its vocalism betrays the influence of 8. The -u- (for expected -ä-) must be explained as due to rounding. The rounding factor can hardly have been the originally following -p-, as assumed by Pedersen 1941: 222, for rounding of -ä- through the effect of a following labial consonant in West Tocharian yielded -o-, cf. B. *kokale* (A *kukäl*) "wagon", B *pokkāka* (A *p̣kākās*) "call". Slightly modifying an idea of Adams' (1978: 448), one might therefore derive B *ṣukt* from **ṣäktu*, formed on the analogy of **oktu*.

Furthermore, if B (**ṣäktu* >) **ṣuktu* was refashioned on the model of **oktu*, the development to B *ṣukt* / *okt*, i.e. the apocope of the final *-u must be considered regular, for there is no model, on the analogy of which that change could have been effected. An apocope of final *-u, although from I.-E. *-ō / *-ōs, is also what one would expect, even in West Tocharian, if one is to judge by the apocope of final *-u from I.-E. *-u / *-us, for there is no immediate reason to believe that these two reflexes were anything but identical (assuming that length was not a distinctive factor in Tocharian at such a late stage), e.g. both cause u-umlaut, cf. B *okt* < **oktu* < **ektu* and *or* < **oru* < **eru*.

In Indo-European the thematic 1. sg. ending was *-ō. It has long been debated, whether this final might be reflected in West Tocharian in the form of 1. sg. subjunctive ending -u, cf. B *yoku* "I drink", *āyu* "I give" etc. Pedersen (1941: 229, and esp. 1944: 38) and van Brock (1977: 82-83) subscribe to that view, and Lane (1976: 140-142) supports it, although he feels it cannot be proven, cf. also Watkins (1969: 203) et al. Others have not been convinced, e.g. Čop (1975:

168-171) who suggests a derivation from I.-E. $*-\mu i$. Van Windekens (1982: 259-261) argues that the $-u$ here reflects a Tocharian $*-wi$ from an earlier $*-mi$ through the analogical effect of the 1. sg. preterite $-wa$. Adams (1978a: 287 fn. 35) claims that the change of I.-E. $*-\bar{o}$ to B $-u$ is a doubtful affair, for in his opinion I.-E. $*\bar{o}$ falls together with I.-E. $*\bar{a}$ in all environments (except after w), and the expected reflex of I.-E. $*-\bar{o}$ would be Toch. $*-\bar{a}$. That ending, he claims, has been substituted by an original perfect ending $*-w\bar{a}$ (> $-u$) from $*-wi$ < $*-\mu i$. However, it is my contention (following Winter, Normier et al.) that I.-E. $*\bar{a}$ and $*\bar{o}$ did not merge in Tocharian in general, and that a merger of these two sounds in an absolute final position, therefore, would not be a natural assumption (7).

Adams' proposal that I.-E. $*-\bar{o}$ should have yielded Toch. $*-\bar{a}$ will therefore be regarded as not valid. On the other hand, his suggestion that the 1. sg. subjunctive $-u$ reflects an original perfect ending $*-w\bar{a}$ < $*-wi$ < $*-\mu i$ is not dependent on that, for this perfect ending may well have supplanted an original $*-u$ < $*-\bar{o}$ (8).

The discussion above, concerning B *okt*, was brought to the conclusion that this word derived regularly from I.-E. $*okt\bar{o}$, and that I.-E. $*-\bar{o}$ yielded CT $*-\bar{p}$ > AB $*-\bar{p}$ > $*-u$ > zero. If that is correct, the 1. sg. subjunctive $-u$ cannot be derived from an I.-E. 1. sg. thematic pres. $*-\bar{o}$, unless it were to be assumed that $-u$ here was retained because of its functional load as a first person marker. However, an explanation on the lines suggested by Čop, Van Windekens or Adams (cf. above) would perhaps be a more probable alternative. Further investigation of that problem, is irrelevant to the matter under debate in this paper.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Differently from Winter (1981: 938), with whom I principally agree regarding the question of the development of I.-E. $*\bar{a}$ in Tocharian (> A *a*, B *o*, cf. footnote 7 below), I hold that in an absolute final position I.-E. $*-\bar{a}$ yielded CT $*-\bar{a}$ which further developed into CT $*-o$ > B $-o$, A zero, cf. B *scono* "hate" <

*šcuno < I.-E. *steudnā, prosko "fear" < *præsko < I.-E. *prokskā, kantwo "tongue" < *kāntwo < I.-E. *dṇḡghyā (but šana "wife" < *šānā < I.-E. *gʷenə₂), cf. Hilmarsson I, fn. 13 for a more detailed discussion.

- (2) Regular apocope of final *-ām plus a further apocope of the now final *-n: this latter apocope was probably not a regular sound change, but might be seen as an inversion of the rule that words denoting rational beings receive a final -m in the obl. sg. (cf. Krause-Thomas 1960: 108-109), i.e. words not denoting rational beings drop their final *-n in the obl. sg. (except B kweṃ, A koṃ "dog").
- (3) Čop's evidence (1975: 50-60) for a development I.-E. *-ōn > AB zero is disputable. Thus: a) B yal, A yāl "antelope" might derive from an I.-E. neuter *el-n, for this word is a neuter in West Tocharian, and the East Tocharian masc. forms, attested only in the singular, do not rule out a genus alternance (Van Windekens 1976: 591 is misleading in this respect); b) A *kru "hollow stilk" (loc. sg. kārwaṃ), B gen. pl. kārwaṣ has a relation to Lat. crūs "shinbone" as Čop suggests (differently Van Windekens 1976: 236). However, Arm. srunkʰ "shinbone" probably derives from I.-E. *krūsni- (Solta 1960: 431) and not from *kruyōn as Čop proposes with reference to the Tocharian forms. An I.-E. *kruhs "hollow stilk/bone" (> Lat. crūs) would yield CT *krwā(s) > *kārwā > A kru regularly. The stage *kārwā is seen in the adj. A kārwāši, B kārwāṣṣe, whereas B gen. pl. kārwaṣ has a secondarily shortened -a- on the analogy of the nom. pl. ending -wa; c) B āk "zeal, ardour" need not derive from I.-E. *agōn (cf. Gk. ἀγών "assembly, contest") as Čop suggests, nor can it correspond to Mlirish āg "battle" (u-stem) or Skt. ājī- "fighting-match" as proposed by Van Windekens 1976: 158, if the root vocalism here is I.-E. *ā, for this would have resulted in B *ok (cf. footnotes 1 above and 7 below). However, Indo-European probably had a root noun *ag- as borne out by Skt. āje "to drive" (inf.), Lat. agī "to act" (passive inf.), ambāgēs "going around, winding", indāgēs "surrounding and driving of game" (with a secondary long vowel in the root, cf. Watkins 1962: 20) and the Armenian action noun suffix -ac (secondarily thematized), cf. Hilmarsson 1983: 12-13. Toch. B āk may well represent this action noun directly, i.e. I.-E. *ag-; d) AB ku

"dog" will be discussed below.

Other examples adduced by Čop to prove the apocope of final I.-E. **-ōn* in Tocharian are quite hypothetical.

- (4) For a discussion of B *po*, *pont-*, A *pont-* and their relationship with Gk. $\pi\alpha\nu\tau-$, cf. Hilmarsson 1985, fn. 5.
- (5) One might want to refrain from positing an *n*-stem final in *-ō* for this one word, while all other *n*-stems in Tocharian are reconstructed with a final **-ōn* (e.g. B *okso* < **uk_hsōn*), but the phonological arguments just mentioned seem compelling. Besides, a single language branch may preserve forms with and without a final **-n* in the *n*-stem nom. sg., cf. Melchert 1983: 10 with fn. 25, citing Lat. *liēn* beside *homō*. It should also be noted that this Tocharian word for "dog" is quite singular in another respect: it is the only Tocharian *n*-stem reflecting an alternation of *-ō-* and *-o-* grades, cf. nom. sg. **k_hō* > AB *ku*: obl. sg. **k_honm* > B *kwe_m* (for A *ko_m*, cf. below).
- (6) The preservation of *-w-* before *-o-* in verbal forms like B *klowotār* need not necessarily contradict such development, because here the *-w-* may have been retained due to paradigmatic pressure, cf. pret. *klāwa*.
- (7) I.-E. **ō* appears regularly as CT **ā* > A *ā*, B *ā* / *a*, except that **-ōn(t)(s)* yields CT **-o* > A *zero*, B *-o*, and **-ō(s)* yields CT **-ō* > AB **-ō* > **-u* > *zero* as argued above. Examples: A *āknats* (< **āknāts* through reduction of *ā* to *a* in a second syllable before a consonant, cf. Krause-Thomas 1960: 45), B *aknātsa* "ignorant" < CT **æ(n)knātsā* (*ā*-umlaut of the first syllable) < I.-E. **p_h-gnō-*, cf. Gk. $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\nu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, $\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\varsigma$ "ignorant"; A *klyom*, B *klyomo* "noble" < CT **klyumo* (*o*-umlaut) < I.-E. **kleumōn(t)(s)* (for the change **eu* > *'u*, cf. Penney 1976: 76).

On the other hand, I.-E. **ā* appears regularly as CT **ā* > A *a*, B *o*, except that final **-ā* yields CT **-ā* > **-o* > A *zero*, B *-o*. Examples: 1) the class sign of Pres. Class IV, A *-a-*, B *-o-* (A *aratār*, B *orotār*), 2) the adjectival nom. pl. fem. ending A *-am*, B *-ona* from CT **-ānā* with **-ā-* from I.-E. **-ās* and **-nā* (representing I.-E. **-nə*) later added, 3) A *pracar*, B *procer* "brother" < I.-E. **bhrātēr* (but A *mācar*, B *mācer* "mother" with *-ā-* on the analogy of A *pācar*, B *pācer* "father"), 4) A *wašt*, B *ost* (< **wost*) "house" < I.-E. **wāstu*, cf. Skt. *vāstu* "house", 5) A *poke* < **pakwe* (rounding of A *a* before *kw*), B *pokai* (obl. sg.)

"arm" < CT **pākwa-* < I.-E. **bhāghu-*, 6) A *yoke* > **yakwe* (rounding A a before kw), B *yoko* / *yokiye* "desire, thirst" < CT **yākwo* < **yākwa* < I.-E. **jākūā*, cf. Av. *yās-* "to demand, crave" < **jākū-sk-*, Skt. *yāc-* "to entreat" < **jākū-*, Toch. B *yāsk-* "to beg" < **jākū-sk-*.

- (8) Although I.-E. **i* and **u* appear to have yielded CT **'ä* and **ä* resp., it would seem safest to assume that in absolute final position I.-E. **-i(s)* and **-u(s)* yielded CT **-i* and **-u* resp., for the *u*-umlaut in words like AB *or* "wood" < **æru* would otherwise be incomprehensible, cf. also the *u*-stem A *cmol* "birth" < **cmalu* (Van Windekens 1976: 252), pl. *cmolu*, as against B *cmel*, pl. *cmela*, a consonant stem, which shows that the *u*-umlaut was operative well into the dialectal stages of Tocharian.

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INDO-EUROPEAN NUMERALS AND NUMERAL SYSTEMS*

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1. Introduction

The Old Hittite Foundation Ritual (CTH 414) edited by Benjamin Schwartz (1947) documents the early shadowy period in which Indo-European (IE) speakers began to mix with the non-IE inhabitants of Anatolia. It is quite likely that contacts with non-IE speakers outside the homeland in fact served as the impetus for the development of our present decimal system. It therefore seems appropriate to dedicate this study of IE numerals, which emphasizes the anthropological side of an issue too long deemed solved on the basis of phonological issues, to his memory.

1.1. The Traditional Decimalist View of PIE Numerals

Changes in the IE numeral system are often explained as primarily phonological changes in the form of otherwise inherited decimal numerals (cf. Brugmann 1911: 1 ff.; Sommer 1950; Szemerényi 1960; Schmidt 1970 e.g.). This decimalist position, since Sommer, has assumed that the numeral system underwent only morphophonological changes during the prehistoric period between Proto-Indo-European (PIE) and written records, that *ḱm̥tóm '100' always meant '100', because its reflexes in written records by ca. 800 BC mostly do. Szemerényi's (1960) handbook on the PIE numeral system codifies this position, that the Indo-Europeans already had the decimal system in pre-historic times. If we date the influx of Indo-Europeans into Anatolia to the third millennium BC, as recent studies suggest (Mellaart 1981), according to the decimalist position our migrating

ancestors brought a developed decimal system into Anatolia before 2000 BC.

Despite the information to be gained from use of the etymological method, Indo-Europeanists must not allow neo-grammarians' successes to blind them to the value of evidence from anthropological comparison of systems. Friedrich's study of kinship systems (1966) and the archaeological evidence for beech and birch trees in ancient times (1970) are two notable examples of anthropological checks applied to linguistic theories of pre-history. As regards the PIE numeral system, isolated studies have drawn attention to anthropological aspects as well. More than fifteen years ago Polomé (1968) identified Hittite *panku-* 'totality' with PIE *PENKWE* 'five' [note 1], drawing attention to Bantu finger counting systems where the name for the numeral 'five' and the word for 'whole, totality' (i.e. 'whole hand') are the same. More than ten years later Carruba (1977: 304-305; 1979: 192-95) found in Lycian *c̣mma* 'five', possibly cognate with Hittite *ḫumant-* 'all', an exact semantic parallel to Polomé's earlier discovery (Note 6). Nadia van Brock (1972) too suggested that Greek *πύξ* 'fist', formally cognate with **PENKWE* beside length measure *πυγμή* and *πᾶς* 'all', reflects an older system.

While alternatives to the decimalist position are by no means new (cf. Szemerényi 1960: 2-3 with references), new Anatolian data and general linguistic, anthropological, and archaeological work on the subsystem of numerals (Greenberg 1978; Schmandt-Besserat 1983 *passim*) suggests constraints on the comparative method. Barschel's (1980) morphological objections to *panku-* / *PIE PENKWE* should be reconsidered with Carruba's (1979: 195 ff.) analysis of Anatolian *u*-stem numerals, as well as van Brock's (1972) patterns associated with Gk *πύξ* 'fist'. The PIE decimalist position is indeed open to serious question if one considers the multiplicity of limit numbers attested in the dialects together with indisputable changes in the IE numeral systems which, I suggest, reflect layers of semantic reinterpretation. Beside the range of semantic variation in attested reflexes of the PIE word for '100' and the decade suffixes (twen-TY, thir-TY, four-TY), obvious changes have taken place in the attested limit numbers, in the form for 'four' (and 'five') and in the

grammatical treatment of the lower digits. Such changes are what one might expect to find as relics of the evolutionary history of a number system.

1.2. Other Numeral Systems

Numeral systems today vary widely from the ten-based decimal system to systems without a base, or with other bases such as '5', '20', or '60'. In systems with lower bases (or none) the lexical unit for the largest or limit number in the system may also mean 'many'. So a language with 'four' as limit number has lexical units for 'one', 'two', 'three', and 'many' where the same word expresses both 'many' and 'four'. Likewise, where 'five' is the highest number, 'many' and 'five' are the same. The Sumerian ternal count operates with PEŠ 'three' as limit number and base: BE (variant GE), 'one', DAH (variant BE-BE) 'two', PEŠ 'three', PEŠ-BE (variant PEŠ-BALA, where BALA means 'beyond') 'four', PEŠ-BE-BE (variant PEŠ-BALA-GE-GE) 'five', PEŠ-PEŠ 'six', as high as PEŠ-PEŠ-PEŠ-PEŠ 'twelve' (Diakonoff 1983: 90) [note 2]. But beside its limited ternal count, Sumerian quite early had a well developed sexagesimal system (ca. 3000 BC with proto-literate precursors in both Sumerian and Elamite) [note 3]. Contrary to expectations based on our use of the decimal system, however, the conversion factors on which the Sumerian sexagesimal system operated were not successive powers of a base, but rather factors 6, 30, 12, 60, and 30 where 6 ŠE made 1 ŠU-SI, 30 ŠU-SI a KUŠ, 12 KUŠ a NINDAN, 60 NINDAN an UŠ, and 30 UŠ a DANNA, just as in English distance measure 12 inches makes a foot, 3 feet makes a yard, 5 1/2 yards a rod, 40 rods a furlong, 8 furlongs a statute mile (Friberg 1984: 113).

The Paiela (New Guinea), by contrast, have a baseless body count system. Using lexical items 'small finger' for '1', 'ring finger' for 2..., 'thumb', 5..., 'shoulder', 10..., 'eye', 13, 'nose', 14, 'other eye', 15, ... 'other thumb', 23..., 'other small finger', 27, they arrive at the limit number '28', *pondo*, as two clenched fists (Biersack 1982: 813-15). A typology of such variant systems (Greenberg 1978) shows that changes in numeral systems will include, not only changes in the phonological shape of archaic forms and resultant reshaping in the paradigm (Szemerényi 1960: 35), but also semantic reinterpretation of

inherited forms, motivated by substantive changes in the system itself. Characteristically, to increase the limit number or change the base, the numeral system of a language may also borrow lexical units and their values from another language, or reanalyze its own lexical units to correspond with new numerical values (Greenberg 1978: 288-90). English, for example, has reanalyzed its traditional 'ton' of 2000 pounds with the new metric value of 1000 kilograms (2256+ pounds). The traditional ton is now the 'short ton', the metric ton the 'long ton'. Similarly early Germanic operated with the 'long hundred' (120) now replaced by the decimal hundred (see below).

2. Limit Numbers in Older IE Languages

Attested IE limit numbers increased independently in the dialects. In recorded Greek history the largest number changed from less than 'hundred' (to the degree that the Homeric *ἐκατόμβη* was not yet '100': see below) to 'ten thousand'. And Sanskrit extended its highest number well beyond a million, using forms of non-IE origin (Burrow 1973: 262), yet Latin *mille* meant '1000' but also 'innumerably many' (Ernout-Meillet 1967: 403). Although the more frequent limit number of the older dialects was '1000', this was probably only the situation with the onset of extant written records, and represents a new stage of technological development [note 4]. Only recently in fact has our 'million', also synonymous with 'large number, infinitely many' given way to the new highest atomic lexical unit, 'googol' (ten to the power 100 or 1 plus 100 zeros). Changes in the size of the limit number and value of the base suggest that the PIE numerical system was developing dialectally during the period of the breakup, and that we do not know what the actual limit number was. Questions as to what the numerical value of the highest common PIE number might have been, and what bases may have preceded 'ten' in the dialects need further study using methods of internal reconstruction to augment standard phonological comparison.

In questioning the standard position, that the IE dialects inherited a decimal system from PIE, I explain attested asymmetries, not as subsequent complications arising from sound change, but as relics of successive layers of semantic reinterpretation. Most important of

these is the form * $\check{R}\check{M}\check{T}\acute{O}M$ [note 5]. Because of its widespread role in both '100' (Greek (ἑ-)κατόν, Latin *centum*, Old Irish *cēt*, Gothic *hunda*, Lithuanian *šimtas*, Old Slavic *sъto*, Skt *śatám*; Pokorny 1959: 192) and the decade formative (e.g. Gk -κοντα, Lat. -*gintā*, Lith. -*dešimt*, Skt -*śat-*), scholars for whom change was primarily sound change derived formal * $\check{R}\check{M}\check{T}\acute{O}M$ from *(D) $\check{R}\check{M}\check{T}\acute{O}M$ 'ten' (see below). While phonologically plausible, if early reflexes of * $\check{R}\check{M}\check{T}\acute{O}M$ do not mean '100', can we assume that this form persisted with unchanged meaning from PIE to the present? Besides the function as decade formative * $\check{R}\check{M}\check{T}\acute{O}M$ variants [note 5] have reflexes in (a) Homeric ἑκατόμβη 'sacrifice, large unit'; (b) Lycian reflex *sñta* 'unit'; and (c) Anatolian reflexes of *KOM-YO- 'all, five' (see below).

2.1. The Evidence for Anatolian Numerals

Unfortunately, Hittite '100' is lost beneath Akkadographic *ME* '100', so that our closest Hittite reflex of * $\check{R}\check{M}\check{T}\acute{O}M$ is *humant-* 'all', more properly a reflex of *KOM-YO- (Carruba 1979: 192-94) [note 6]. Of the digits, most secure are *me(y)u-* 'four' (see below), 'two' and 'three' in ordinal forms *duyanalli* and *tarrıyanalli* beside *terıya-* 'three' (Güterbock 1957: 1-3) [note 7]. From the Mitanni horse training texts words for the odd numbered laps that a horse should gallop or trot reveal Indo-Iranian compounds, **tri-wartanna* 'third lap', *panza-wartanna* 'fifth lap', *satta-wartanna* 'seventh lap', and *na-wartanna* (**nawa-wartanna*) 'ninth lap' (Kammenhuber 1961: 293 ff.). Although Indo-Iranian *panza-* occurs as 'fifth' in a Hittite text, it is rather *panku-* 'all, totality' that is the Hittite reflex of *PENKWE. Parallel to Polomé's correspondences, *PENKWE 'five' and Hittite *panku-* 'all, totality', Carruba has also discussed possible relations between *cñma*, plural *cñmēt* and Hittite *humant-* 'all'. Such Hittite evidence quite likely recalls stages when 'five' was a unit number, perhaps differentiated for counting or measuring different kinds of units.

While in the early period of Lycian decipherment Meriggi (1936: 266-68) had already identified the form *cñma* as 'five', to the more obscure form *sñta* he assigned the meaning '100' on the basis of comparison with IE forms like Lat *centum* and Skt *śatám*. Since then Carruba (1977: 304-05; 1979: 192-95) has reinterpreted *sñta* as

'unit', based on the context *c̃mma s̃nta wawa* '5 units of young oxen' [note 8]. Semantically, *s̃nta* 'unit' would be comparable to Homeric use of ἑκατόμβη as '(unit of) sacrifice' (see below). Accepting Carruba's interpretation of *c̃mma s̃nta* '5 units' and Meriggi's formal identification of *s̃nta* with *ḱMTóm implies that Lycian preserved separate reflexes of an earlier PIE form, one with *centum*, one with *satəm* correspondences: *KOM-YO- *c̃mma* and *KON-TO *s̃nta*. This would not be surprising in an area with so many different attested Indo-European dialects (from Hittite Hattusa alone come texts in Palaic, Luwian, and Hittite, not to mention the non-IE languages Hattic, Hurrian, Akkadian, and Sumerian). The earliest Anatolian reflex of *ḱMTóm would then be *KOM-TO 'unit' beside *KOM-YO- 'all, five', synonym of PIE PENKWE reflexes, and quite likely a preliterate Anatolian limit number. *KOM-YO persisted in its association with meaning 'whole group' as PIE ḱMTóm 'unit', but lost its original numerical value 'five' when PIE PENKWE reflexes replaced *KOM-YO- in the numerical value.

2.2. The Homeric *hekatombe*

Greek (ἑ-)κατόν occurs in Homeric Greek as both numeral '100' and round number 'many'. This is perhaps clearest in the compound ἑκατόμβη, literally '100 oxen', that, in the Homeric poems (which reflect the oral composition of an earlier preliterate society), never really meant '100' of anything. It once refers to a sacrifice of 12 cows for Athena [note 9], another time to a sacrifice of an unspecified number of sheep and goats (Iliad A 65-67), yet another to a sacrifice of choice lambs (Iliad D 101-103, 119-121), but never to the sacrifice of a literal '100 oxen'. What it consistently refers to is a unit of slaughter or large group. Homeric scholarship commonly records parallel compounds ἑκατόμ-πολις 'with a 100 cities' (Crete B 649) and ἑκατόμ-πυλος 'with 100 gates' (Thebes I 383), where ἑκατό(μ)- is merely a round number, not a literal '100', and Schwyzler (1968: 593) adds that post-Homeric Attic substitutes χιλιόμβη '1000-oxen' for the Homeric 'hecatomb' whose archaic sense in fact persists today in modern French *hekatombe* 'murder of a large number of people'. Homeric reflexes thus suggest that the common IE form *ḱMTóm underwent a semantic shift from 'unit, large unit, many' to the specific large unit '100'.

3. Change and IE Numerals

Changes in the IE numerals include changes in the form and meaning for the Germanic decade, changes in the form for the digit 'four', and changes in the grammatical treatment of the digits.

3.1. The Decade Formative and Germanic *HUND

The essential problem which Sommer and Szemerényi tried to overcome was the lack of dialect agreement in formation of the decades. It was difficult, for example, to see how Old English *fif-tig*, Old High German *finf-zug*, Latin *quīnquā-gintā*, Greek πεντή-κοντα, and Sanskrit *pañca-sat* reflected PIE *PENKWE-KONT-* '50' in the same way that Old English *hund-seofon-tig*, Old High German *sibun-zo*, Latin *septuā-gintā*, Greek ἑβδομή-κοντα, and Sanskrit *sapta-tī* reflected PIE *SEPTM-KMT-* '70'. As decade formative one gets widespread agreement for a **ĀMTÓM* variant [note 1] only in Greek, Latin, Celtic, and Armenian. But even Greek and Latin, while not nearly as radical as Germanic or Sanskrit in the difference between formations for '50' and '70', also show a break. The Greek and Latin decade form is suffixed to the ordinal form of the digit beginning with '70', to the cardinal form in the earlier decades. But because decade formatives Greek *-κοντα*, Latin *-gintā*, Sanskrit *-sat*, Armenian *-sun* in *trīx-κοντα*, *trī-gintā*, *trim-sat*, *ere-sun*, reflect variants of PIE **ĀMTÓM*, the origin of **ĀMTÓM* itself is usually sought in the abstract derivative of *(D)KMTOM*, **DEKMT* 'ten' or **(D)ĀM-T(Ó)-* 'decade', with loss of *d* in the initial consonant cluster (Brugmann 1911: 29; Meillet 1937: 413-14; Pokorny 1959: 192; Szemerényi 1960: 67-69; 115-17; Schmidt 1970: 115 ff.; but see too Lehmann 1986: 339 T5 *taihun*). The chief virtue of this phonologically plausible solution is that it allows **ĀMTÓM* reflexes to mean both '100' and '10'. But only Lithuanian *-dešimt*, Old Slavic *desętb*, beside (newer) Albanian *-dhjetë* attest the 'ten' form as decade formative as well. This match in an also quite regular paradigm is undoubtedly late, probably only since the spread of the decimal system. Its regularity in Lithuanian, moreover, parallels the regularity in the teen formations, which throughout show the '(digit)-left' pattern (cf. Germanic 'one-left' of 'eleven', 'two-left' of 'twelve', but 'thir-teen' ...).

Frings (1962: 7 ff.) has pointed out that simple **ĤMTÓM* reflexes do not occur in early Germanic. Reflexes occur as decade formative and in compounds (Old Icelandic *hund-rað* '120', cf. NE 'hund-red', literally 'HUND-count' which extended as 'twelve-ty' to the 'long hundred': see table [note 10]), but not alone as decimal '100'. Germanic decade formation is complicated further by dialect varying distribution of Germanic **TEGU-* beside **HUND*. Besides the obvious extension of the decades to 'ten-ty', 'eleven-ty', and 'twelve-ty' that **TEGU-* provides, it also serves as basis for the break between the lower decades (20-60) and upper decades (from 70). So upper decades use **HUND*, lower decades **TEGU-*, except in Old Icelandic *-tigi* (Gordon 1962: 293) and Old English *-tig* (Campbell 1959:284-85) where **TEGU-* is generalized.

Table 1. Germanic decades

DECADE	GOthic	OI	OLD ENGLISH	OLD SAXON	OHG
50	<i>flmf *tigus</i>	<i>flm-tigl</i>	<i>fif-tig</i>	<i>fif-tig</i>	<i>flmf-zug</i>
60	<i>saihs *tigus</i>	<i>sex-tigi</i>	<i>slex-tig</i>		<i>sehs-zug</i>
70	<i>sibun-te-hund</i>	<i>sjau-tigi</i>	<i>hund-seofon-tig</i>	<i>ant-sibunta</i>	<i>sibun-zo</i>
80	<i>ahtau-te-hund</i>	<i>átta-tigi</i>	<i>hund-eahta-tig</i>		<i>ahto-zo</i>
100	<i>taihun-te-hund</i>	<i>tíu-tigir</i>	<i>hund-tēon-tig</i>	<i>hund</i>	<i>zehan-zo</i>
OR	<i>hunda</i>				
110		<i>ellifu tigir</i>	<i>hund-ændlæf-tig</i>		
120		<i>hund-rað</i>	<i>hund-twelf-tig</i>		

Gothic *hunda* too shows traces of an earlier nondecimal hundred in I Corinthians 15:6 *fimf hundam taihuntewjan* '5 hundred of the ten series' making explicit Greek πεντακόσιοι '(decimal) 500'. As to problematic Gothic *-te-*, Frings (1962: 20 ff.) and Lühr (1977: 62 ff.) convincingly showed that Old Saxon *-ta*, Old High German *-zo*, as well as Gothic *-te-*, essentially reflect the same morpheme. Whether it was the ordinal **-te/o* or original preposition 'to' is beyond the scope of this paper. The cognate relation, however, argues for Gothic *-te-hund*, not *-tehund*, variant of *taihun* 'ten'. Lühr's analysis clearly shows it as parallel with Old Icelandic *tíu tigir*, Old English *hund-tēon-tig* 'ten-ty' of the long hundred system rather than as (10-10's), decimal paraphrase of **HUND* as decimal '100' [note 11].

Whether one finds the origin of nondecimal patterns in Germanic to be North Sea innovations (non-IE: cf. Frings with references), IE relics of duodecimal, vigesimal, and sexagesimal counting are unmistakable. Linguistically 'dozen' and 'score' recall '12' and '20', until recently factors of the English pound: 12 pence to a shilling, 20 shillings to a pound [note 12]. The foot still has 12 inches, the year 12 months, and time, like the circle, uses '60': 60 seconds to a minute, 60 minutes to an hour or a degree, 360 degrees in a circle, 24 (2 x 12) hours in a day. In Germany the long hundred still measures fish quantities (cf. Menninger 1969: 154). Although archaic in the numeration system of English, the score (cf. 'four score and seven years') has persisted in French upper decades where *soixante* '60' is the highest atomic lexical unit before *cent* (PIE $\check{R}MT\acute{O}M$) '100'. So French has *soixante-dix* '60-10' for '70', *quatre-vingt* '4-20(s)' for '80', *quatre-vingt-dix* '4-20(s)-10' for '90'. Compare too Danish where the major leaps are from '40' to '60' to '80' with numbers between reckoned in relation to these points. So '50' is 'half-sixty'. Formally, the unit 'score' was preserved as Crimean Gothic *stega* '20' (but Gothic *twai* **tigus*, Old English *twēn-tig*); cf. also Old Irish *tri fichit fer* '3 score men' (which Pedersen 1913: 134-35 thought was a Celtic innovation); and older Albanian *nji-zēt* '20', *dü-zēt* '40', *tre-zēt* '60', older IE vigesimal relics according to Osthoff and Brugmann (1890: 5 f.). English 'shock', German *Schock* 'heap, pile of 60, 60', too recall the older base '60'. The fact that Albanian *-zēt* is a reflex of $\check{R}MT\acute{O}M$ adds now the value 'score' to attested values of $\check{R}MT\acute{O}M$. Mechanisms by which a decimal system becomes generalized include replacement or reinterpretation of older words for a '12' unit as newer '10' unit and vacillation in meaning of a base morpheme between older value '20', newer '10' (Greenberg 1978: 289-90). Early Germanic decade formation may well have been based on '20', later reanalyzed as '10' with the spread of the decimal system. Both $\check{R}TEGU-$ and $\check{R}HUND-$ then may have been successively reinterpreted, as was the Greek reflex of $\check{R}MT\acute{O}M$. Variants of $\check{R}MT\acute{O}M$ as decade formative in Germanic $\check{R}TEGU-$ and Skt *-tī* now need further examination in the context of Crimean Gothic *stega* 'score' and the role of abstract formations in attested numeral systems, as well as historically attested base reanalyses.

3.2. Changes in the Form for PIE 'four'

Although one reconstructs PIE 'four' as *KWETWER- on the basis of Greek τέσσαρες, Attic τέτταρες, Latin *quattuor*, Sanskrit *catvāra-*, Old Irish *ceth(a)ir*, Gothic *fidwōr* (Pokorny 1959: 642-43), scholars long ago questioned the original uniqueness of *KWETWER- as the form for 'four'. Internal examination of the form 'eight' suggested that Gothic *ahtau*, Sanskrit *aṣṭáu* were perhaps original duals. Although there is no real evidence for reflexes of a PIE *OĀTŌ(U) 'four' [note 13], Loewe's (1936: 190-205) supposition, that *KWETWORES early replaced an *OĀTŌ(U), is consistent with the new Anatolian evidence. While Anatolian has not produced the conclusive form for which PIE *OĀTŌ(U) 'eight' is dual, it does offer a new form for 'four', Hittite *me(y)u-*, Luwian *mauwa* (Güterbock 1957: 1-3). Hittite *me(y)-u-* 'large quantity, multitude; four' would be a *u*-stem noun from *mai-*, *miya-* 'grow, increase', a form with productive relations in IE (cf. PIE root *me-* 'large', with suffixal derivatives, Hittite *mekki*, Greek μέγα, Gothic *mikil*: Carruba 1979: 195-96). The new Anatolian forms, particularly if they can be related to Mycenaean Greek [note 14], show that IE did know competing forms for 'four', if not the one that formal dual 'eight' presupposes. PIE *KWETWER- thus has replaced at least one other form for 'four'.

3.3. Changes in the Grammatical Treatment of the Digits

Characteristically, the lower digits tend to share more features of adjectival concord than any of the higher numerals. Both Greek and Sanskrit show case and number inflection in the numerals 1-4, but not thereafter. Latin by contrast declines 1-3 for case and gender, but not 4-100. In Germanic, Old Icelandic follows Greek and Sanskrit in declining 1-4, Old English and Gothic less so with only 1-3 fully inflected for gender, while Lithuanian inflects all nine digits for case and gender. Loewe (1936: 191-92) noted that PIE iteratives in *-s* apply only with 2-4: cf. with Lat 'winter' (PIE *-ghima*): *bimus*, *trimus*, *quadrismus* 'two, three, four winters'. This offers Latin evidence, where it is otherwise lacking in the inflectional pattern, for a break after 'four'. In favor of a PIE 'four' count, Loewe (1936: 192-99) also noted formal breaks in the teen formations after 'sixteen' in

Armenian, Old Icelandic, and French. Armenian formed '11-16' as *tasán* compounds (e.g. *me-tasan*, 'eleven'... *veš-tasan* 'sixteen'), but 17-19 as periphrastic: *eut'n ev tasn* 'seventeen', *ut' ev tasn* '18', *inn ev tasn* '19'. Compare also Old Icelandic '13-16' with *-tán* (*þrettán* '13', *fjórtán* '14', *flimmtán* '15', *sextán* '16'), but in '17-19' *-tján*: *sjaut(j)án* '17', *átján* '18', *níttján* '19' (Gordon 1962: 292), and French *onze, douze, treize... seize*, but *dix-sept, dix-huit, dix-neuf*. Anatolian *MEIU- 'multitude, four', suggesting 'four' as limit number or base, is compatible with Loewe's old four count. And if Anatolian *MEIU- 'multitude, four' suggests recollection of a time when 'four' was the limit number, then Lycian *cñma* 'five', Hittite *ḫumant-* 'all' beside *PENKWE 'five', Hittite *panku-* 'totality' proliferate similar kinds of evidence for early base 'five'. Compare too the significance of 'five' in the Vedas, with enumerations of e.g., 'five peoples, five clans' with parallels perhaps in Umbrian among other places (Lehmann 1970: 6-9). Further study should examine the relation between early 'four' and 'five' base relics. Were these dialectal innovations from areal contacts or logical evolutionary progressions in the development toward a different base system?

4. The Cultural Context

If formal reflexes of PIE *ṛ̥mtóm*, beside their meaning '100', also have reflexes with meanings ranging from 'unit, (large) unit' (Lycian, Homeric Greek), 'five' (Lycian); 'ten unit' (decade formation); 'large unit; 120' (Germanic 'long hundred'), the form has clearly undergone semantic reinterpretation. Recall of the limit numbers in IE, beside early bases 'four' and 'five', suggests change in the size of the limit number. Forms for Anatolian 'four' and 'five', moreover, attest replacement in the lower IE numerals. Grammatical patterns which distinguish '1' through '4' from the other numerals then offer another clue to the semantic reinterpretation that the IE numerals have undergone. We know from written records that ancient Near Eastern civilizations already had well developed systems at the time when Indo-Europeans were migrating into Anatolia (note 3). In the centers of these early civilizations archaeological remains begin ca. 8000 BC to yield evidence for human counting devices (Schmandt-Besserat 1983) [note 15]. These Mesopotamian clay tokens

precede the clay texts which documented the temple economy of ancient Sumer. These tokens suggest that trade objects were counted by using one-to-one correspondences between objects and tokens, without the use of a base number (our system by contrast uses base 'ten'). When the Hittites, the first Indo-Europeans to leave written records, begin to record their Anatolian animals and captives of war on clay tablets in a variant of the cuneiform script which arose in Sumer, it is about one and a half millennia later. Much ink has been spilled on the particular variant of cuneiform which the Hittites borrowed and how they brought it to their capital at Hattusa (Jucquois 1972: 62 ff.). Ünal's (1984: 72) suggestion that writing at Hattusa was imported with the spoils of war is perhaps the most sensible. Tallying what kinds of goods were taken from which conquered territories, he noted that from North Syria came captives with special skills. It is generally agreed that the cuneiform used at Hattusa was in fact a kind also used in North Syrian scribal schools, which in turn shared a common cuneiform tradition with Mesopotamia from as early as the Ebla texts that date to ca. 2500 BC. It would thus not be surprising to find that the Hittites in Anatolia began to count their captives using numbers which the more learned (and useful) of these captives also used.

5. Conclusion

Using the etymological method to express semantic change in terms of a PIE hypothesis, I suggest:

(1) PIE $\hat{K}MT\acute{O}M$ 'many; base unit; limit number':

preliterate Greek ($\hat{\epsilon}$ -)κατόμβη 'sacrifice; large unit, many';

historical Greek ($\hat{\epsilon}$ -)κατόν '100', -κοντα 'decade'; Latin *centum* '100', -*gintā* 'decade'; Sanskrit *śatām* '100', -*śat-* 'decade' (Pokorny 1959: 192; cf. also Walde and Pokorny 1930: 460; 786).

PIE *KON-TO-* 'unit of measurement'; Lycian *sñta* 'unit'.

PIE *KOM-YO-* 'all, whole': Lycian *cñma* 'five', Hittite *ḫumant-* 'all'.

PGmc *HUND* 'small unit; large unit'.

Germanic decade formative of the upper decades, except in Old Icelandic and Old English.

Old Icelandic *hund-rað* '120'; Gothic *hunda* '100' with traces of long hundred use.

(2) PIE DE-ĶMT 'two units, two wholes' or 'half a unit?' Reanalyzed in the new decimal system as 'ten': Lithuanian *dešimt*, Old Slavic *desętb* 'ten', Lithuanian *-dešimt* 'decade'.

(3) PGmc (S)TEG- 'set of units, principal unit': Crimean Gothic *stega* 'score'.

Gmc *TIGU- 'decade': Gothic **tigus*, Old Icelandic *tigir*, Old English, Old Saxon *-tig*, Old High German *-zug*, cf. parallel Hittite *u*-stem *me(y)u*- (Carruba 1979: 199-200).

(4) PIE PENKWE 'all, totality; five':

Hittite *panku*- 'totality'; Indo-Iranian (in Hittite texts) *panza-wartanna* 'fifth lap'; Greek πέντε; Latin *quinque*; Sanskrit *pañca* (Pokorny 1959: 808).

(5) PIE MĒ- 'large' (Pokorny 1959: 704):

Proto-Anatolian MEIU- 'large (nbr.), multitude': Hittite *mai*-, *miya*- 'grow, increase';

'four': Hittite *me(y)u*-, Luwian *mauwa*-.

These forms reflect changes in the individual dialect systems, changes which successively increased the limit number, and led to reinterpretation of *ĶMTÓM '(large) unit' as eventual '100'. The goal of numeral etymology might now be to try to understand how numeral systems and the IE numeral system in particular evolved into decimal. Immediate goals might include study of the role of *TEGU-, whether exclusively Germanic or also PIE (Sanskrit *-ti*?); the function of numeral abstracts in early numeral systems; relations of early bases 'four' and 'five' to later vigesimal and sexagesimal systems; and the relation between numeration ('the many') and systems of weights and measures ('the much'), often semantically reflected in count and mass noun class distinctions. Persistent relics of other systems often remain in the counting or measurement of entities in a particular semantic domain (base sixty persisting for time measurement, the 12/20 factors for counting money until recently in England). Plotting the development from one base system to another, which must have

proceeded on the basis of conversion factors from one unit to another (e.g., 12 inches, 3 feet; 12 pence, 20 shillings; 16 ounces, 4 quarts), is difficult, particularly when our modern conversion factors have mostly been regularized in the decimal system, where each new unit implies a power of itself (e.g., ten, hundred, thousand, million). But if we segment the task in terms of the functions of different bases, patterns may emerge. As functional uses of different unit numbers and their spread become clearer, it may be possible to see how calculations based on one set of numerical factors arose for one purpose, another for another purpose before a decimal base replaced each in turn.

Greenberg (1978: 291) noted that there is at least a gross correlation between a society's technological level and its numerical system. Since our data come primarily from written records, the historical data already presuppose a technological level that includes writing, a level not usually associated with preliterate PIE. In the gap between PIE and our written records thus fall major technological changes which would undoubtedly have had an effect on subsystems such as numerals. Schmandt-Besserat has argued that the evidence from Mesopotamian tokens as counting devices correlates the onset of abstract counting systems with the onset of writing in ancient Sumer in 3200 BC. At first glance such a finding would seem to imply that the pre-literate Indo-Europeans, like the preliterate users of tokens, lacked a system for abstract counting, particularly if we put them in a homeland far to the north of Mesopotamia ca. 5000 BC. It implies in fact that the Proto-Indo-Europeans could not possibly have had a decimal system.

To equate preliterate with lack of abstract counting is, of course, too simplistic. Preliterate peoples may have acquired counting systems from any number of sources, including borrowing. But in the gap between writing and prehistory we have only archaeology and comparative anthropology, the latter often contaminated by co-existence in a literate world. Does this then mean that, barring the ambiguities of archaeology, that gap is, therefore, forever closed to us? To the contrary, I suggest that literate relics of non-decimal systems in IE offer the possibility of glimpsing inside the letter-less gap between societies without abstract counting and those with it in a

systematic way. The IE evidence attests nearly 4000 years of literate counting. Beyond that the shadowy preliterate IE period before those 4000 years is also accessible through careful evaluation of relic facts like the increase in size of the limit number from erstwhile words for 'infinitely many' (Lat *mille* 'thousand'); 'multitude' (Hittite *meyu-* 'four'); or 'totality, all' (PIE *KOM-YO-* and PIE *PENKWE* 'five'). Such relics argue neither for an absence of abstract counting nor for a 7000 year old decimal system, but rather offer clues concerning the development of the decimal system. Further extrapolation from those clues will not be easy, but may be the best chance we have of filling the gap between today's decimal system and the base-less token counting of 8000 BC.

FOOTNOTES

- *I gratefully acknowledge support from a grant by Dr. and Mrs. E. Douglas Mitchell to the Indo-European Project of the Linguistics Research Center, University of Texas-Austin, and a grant from the Program for Research Tools of the National Endowment for the Humanities, an independent federal agency. Earlier versions benefitted from discussion at the Linguistics Research Center Colloquium, March 7, 1984, at the meeting of the American Oriental Society (Seattle, March 26, 1984, where it formed part of a panel on numbers), and from discussion with Denise Schmandt-Besserat, as well as comments by many others, among them W.P. Lehmann and T.L. Markey. Use of them is, of course, my own responsibility.
- (1) Reconstructions here usually reflect the e-grade of the root, also when the form in question reflects an ablaut variant.
 - (2) Discussion at the AOS panel on numerals questioned the identity of *eš* '3' and *eš* 'plural marker' on which Diakonoff's equation of *PEŠ* with 'multitude' was based. Whether *PEŠ* means 'multitude' or not, it constituted a limit number for the ternal count, a system already superseded in the Sumerian economic documents.
 - (3) The mass of Sumerian economic documents comes from the Ur III period (2050-1950 BC) in Ancient Mesopotamia, preceded by proto-Sumerian tablets from Jemdet Nasr to the north around

the beginning of the third millennium BC. Proto-literate texts from the east (Elam) are understood on the basis of common numerical notation. Although the sexagesimal system is the dominant one for most purposes, there seems also to be a decimal system as well in proto-Elamite, albeit confined to use in counting groups of animals (Friberg 1984: 118). On the state of decipherment of the proto-Elamite and proto-Sumerian numerals, see Friberg (1984: 114; 117-18).

- (4) While plausible sound correspondences have linked Greek χίλιοι 'thousand' with Sanskrit *sahāśram*, the highest number in Classical Greek was μυρίος '10,000; innumerably many'; cf. also non-IE Hebrew *ribbō* '10,000; innumerably many'. Armenian *biwr* (Meillet 1936: 101; Pokorny 1959: 446) is clearly a loan. Germanic, Baltic, and Slavic data vary enough to suggest a separate word for 'thousand', if indeed PIE had the number '100' (Meillet 1937: 414-15; but see Pokorny 1959: 446; 902; Szemerényi 1960: 1).
- (5) Peeters (1978) notes the difficulties of assuming either *ĀONT- or *ĀOMT-, more properly *-ĀONT- or *-ĀNT-. Such phonological detail, however, is irrelevant to the argument here.
- (6) Carruba notes the formal difficulties in relating semantically similar PIE *kom-yo*, PANat. *kamma*, and Hitt. *humant-*, but not the contact phenomena of multilingual contexts.
- (7) Laroche (1981: 485-86) takes such qualitative adjectives as primary, the quantitative number noun as secondary, while Kammenhuber (1961: 295) pointed out that *ter* 'three' of the horse training texts is Indo-Iranian where one might expect *tri*. Language contact in Anatolia and its reflexes in the written records thus complicate details of the Hittite evidence.
- (8) Shevoroshkin (1979: 192) translates Lycian *cñma sñta* as '10' with etymological reference to *D(E)K_M MO-. But see now Carruba's argument for '5' (1979: 203 note 20).
- (9) *Iliad* Z 90-93, for example, has Priam's oldest son, the augur Helenos, tell Hector to go have their mother choose an especially nice robe for Athena and also to promise her 12 oxen, if she will ward off Diomedes for the Trojans:
 "πέπλον... (90)
 θεῖναι Ἀθηναίης ἐπὶ γούνασιν ἡνυκόμοιο, (92)
 καὶ οἱ ὑποσχέσθαι δυοκαίδεκα βοῦς ἐνὶ νηΐ" (93).

"a robe...

and place it upon Lovely-Tressed Athena's knees
and promise her twelve oxen within the shrine".

Following that advice, Hector tells the troops (Z 113-15) to take courage, that he is going to Ilion to have their wives and elders pray and promise *hekatombs*:

"ὄφρ' ἄν ἐγὼ βῆω προτὶ Ἴλιον ἡδὲ γέρουσιν (113)

εἴπω βουλευτῆσι καὶ ἡμετέρῃς ἀλόχοισιν (114)

δαίμοσιν ἀρήσασθαι, ὑποσχέσθαι ἑκατόμβας." (115)

"until I go to Ilion and can tell the Elders,

the Counsellors, and our wives,

to pray to the deities, promising 'sacrifices /offerings'."

The ἑκατόμβας 'sacrifices' here refer to the robe and 12 oxen prescribed above by Helenos, not a literal '100 oxen'.

- (10) Nominative singular masculine **tigus* is not attested, only plural forms: Lehmann 1986: 344.
- (11) Sommer's argument that 120 as 12 x 10 belongs rather to a decimal system does not reckon with the role of irregularly spaced factors, but assumes factors are powers of the base (cf. also Friberg's 1984 account of the various conversion factors which made the Sumerian sexagesimal system optimal for early Mesopotamian tasks). Note too that 120 is precisely half a pound, where 12 pence = 1 shilling and 20 shillings = 1 pound.
- (12) The 12/20 weight system was not confined to English, but served as a standard in medieval Europe: cf. the French *livre* with 20 *sou* (Lat *solidus*) each of 12 *denier* (Lat *denarius*); cf. *douzain*, or 'twelver', synonym for *sou* (Menninger 1969: 156).
- (13) Ebbinghaus (1950: 319-20), however, positing PIE *KWbTWÓ- as initial syllable zero grade, would arrive at full grades *ÉKWbTU- and *OKWTÓU, thus phonologically uniting otherwise discrete forms.
- (14) Mycenaean records a form *me-wi-jo* 'younger, smaller' which Heubeck (1963: 199-202) identified with Hittite *me(y)u-*, Luwian *mauwa* 'four'. The Mycenaean form occurs as an adjective describing slave boys and girls (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 162-64). According to Heubeck, this dialectal comparative of Greek μῑκρός 'small', would have described the four fingers of the hand as the 'smaller (hand)', hence have led to Anatolian words for 'four'. Whether one accepts Carruba's or Heubeck's

etymology, both argue for an IE form *me(y)u-* 'four', although Carruba's Hittite comparison with *mai-* 'grow, increase' is more compatible with 'large, large number, multitude' than Heubeck's 'younger, smaller'. Markey (1984: 282 ff.) relates the Anatolian form for 'four' to PIE *MEH-* from which Greek takes its alternative word for 'hand', *μῆρη*, arguing that Anatolian 'four' represents the 'smaller hand' in finger counting. One might further pursue the semantic developments and their bases.

- (15) Schmandt-Besserat's archaeological evidence reflects a clear change in counting strategy over the periods from ca. 8000 BC to the onset of writing. Up until the protoliterate period in Sumer ca. 3300 BC there is some variation in token shape. Between 3300 and 3100 BC a proliferation in kinds of shapes occurs, followed after 3100 by a dramatic reduction to two shapes. Changes in the distribution of artifacts used for counting during the protoliterate periods of Mesopotamia beside the later IE linguistic evidence from written records (ca. 1700 BC, but only continuous for IE from ca. 800 BC) both point to changes affecting numeral systems of the PIE periods (ca. 5000/3000 BC).

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BCILL 42 : LINGUISTIC HAPPENING, 543-557

SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THE ORIGIN OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN OPTATIVE AND SUBJUNCTIVE

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Traditional reconstructions of Proto-Indo-European ascribe to the language independent optative and subjunctive categories, cf. Brugmann 1904: 551-557 and Meillet 1964: 223-226. In athematic verbs, the optative is believed to have been formed by the modal suffix **-yē-* "in sg. 1, 2, 3 and mostly in pl. 3, and by **-ī-* in pl. 1 and pl. 2. Thus, operating with the verb **és-/s'*, the optative stem is **s-^hyē-* in the first group of forms and **s-ī-* in the second. If the indicative stem is thematic, its form with stem final *-o-* ...[was] extended by *-i-*, as **bhero-i-*" (Kerns and Schwartz 1971: 22). In athematic verbs, "the subjunctive mood was formed with... a modal suffix *-e-/o-* e.g. IE *es-o-t* (beside Indicative *es-ti*) > Skt. *asat* (beside indicative *asti*): with a verbal base ending in a primary vowel, the modal suffix *-e-/o-* was contracted to the final vowel of the base", resulting in **-ē-/ō-* (Misra 1968: 105) (1). The formal sources of these markers remained quite obscure to traditional theorists, as they still do today. Moreover, no consensus was ever reached about the original signification of these two modal categories, although Delbrück's view that the optative expressed "primarily wish (secondarily potentiality)" and the subjunctive "primarily will (secondarily future)" (Hahn 1953: 138) was and remains the most popular (2).

More recent approaches to Indo-European morphology and syntax, which emphasize the absence of these categories in Hittite, suggest that "the optative and subjunctive are IE proper neo-categories" (Kerns and Schwartz 1971: 21). On the basis of this idea, Neu (1976:

251-253) maintains that at the time of the migration of the Proto-Anatolians, the Indo-European active-voice verb showed a present form and a non-present form. After the departure of the Proto-Anatolians, this non-present category bifurcated into a preterite category and a mood category (3), and then the mood category bifurcated into the optative and the subjunctive. Of course, the idea that the optative and the subjunctive originally constituted a single grammatical category within Indo-European is not new, even though it was never widely accepted. Thus, Hahn (1953: 140) points out that in contrast to Delbrück, "others believe that the sharp distinction between the two moods is an independent development of Greek and Sanskrit. The leaders here are Morris and Oertel. Like Bergaigne, Morris... - followed by Nutting...- holds that the categories in the original language were vague and indefinite; later Oertel and Morris jointly... maintain that the undifferentiated condition of Latin, not the modal distinction of Sanskrit and Greek, represented the state of affairs in Indo-European". What is novel about Neu's hypothesis is the supposition that it was the non-present category that gave rise to both of these modal categories. Although I do not fully agree with every detail of Neu's analysis, I believe that his derivation of the optative and the subjunctive from an original Indo-European non-present formation is an accurate portrayal of linguistic history. In light of this theory and some recent proposals regarding Indo-European morphology, I now want to present an hypothesis about the formal sources of the optative and subjunctive markers of Indo-European Proper and the dialects.

Before pursuing my theory, I must outline the assumptions which underlie it. In the first place, I feel that the inflectional category of number developed late in the Common Indo-European period and became obligatory only in the dialects, cf. Shields 1982a: 63-77. As far as verb forms are concerned, "the system of verb endings clearly points to an earlier period in which there was no verbal inflection for number... For the dual and plural endings are obviously defective. We cannot reconstruct endings in these two numbers which are as well supported as are those of the singular, except for the third plural... Number accordingly was not consistently applied in late PIE and the early dialects in accordance with natural reference. Subsequently application became more regular, and number congruence was carried

out for... verbs" (Lehmann 1974: 201-202).

Moreover, I believe that the personal system of Indo-European was based on an opposition between personal (first person) and non-personal (second/third person) and that the emergence of a definitive three-way opposition of person is to be ascribed to the dialects, cf. Shields 1982a: 16-17. Erhart (1971: 113), after a detailed analysis of the formal markers of person attested in the dialects, concludes: "... es bestand wohl damals noch kein Unterschied zwischen der 2. und der 3. Person...", cf. also Schmalstieg 1977, 1980: 107-108. The existence of such undifferentiated second/third person (singular) Hittite verb forms as *tarnaš* 'you left, he left', *ešta* 'you were, he was', and *dāš* 'you took, he took' gives clear support to the idea that "the rigid paradigmatic structure for the three persons of the singular, *-m(i)*, *-s(i)*, *-t(i)*, belongs only to the latest period of Common Indo-European, and was completely achieved only after the separation of the dialects" (Watkins 1962: 105). In my opinion, the original marker of the non-personal category was **-Ø*. Watkins (1962: 90-106, 1969: 49-50) suggests that **-Ø* was the ending of the third person when he says: "Der funktionale Status der 3. Person als zéro- oder Nicht-Person hat die allgemeine sprachliche Tendenz zum formalen Ausdruck durch ein zéro-Zeichen zur Folge; das bedeutet, dass in der gegebenen syntaktischen Funktion des Prädikats eine Nominalform als Verbalform mit 3. Sg.-Endung *Ø* (zéro) aufgefasst werden kann: Nomen **nekʷt* → 3. Sg. Verb **nekʷt-Ø*" (1969: 49), while Erhart (1971: 57-58) indirectly lends support to this idea when he observes: "In einem kleinen Teil der Fälle sind die Endungen der 3. Person Sg. akonsonantisch: alnd. *a*, *e*, gr. *ei*, *e*, het. *i*, *a*, *ari*, toch. AB *Ø*, got. *Ø*, lit. *a* usw. ...; als ihre Bausteine sind der thematische Vokal und der Präsensdeterminativ *i* (bzw. *r*) zu erkennen". Such elements attest to the use of **-Ø* as a third-person desinence. Of course, **-Ø* is attested as an indicator of the second-person function in the singular imperative (e.g. Skt. *āja*, Gk. *ἄγε*, Lat. *age* 'lead').

I also subscribe to the view that throughout most of the Indo-European period, "tense and the time of the action were not indicated by means of verbal affixes" but instead "were given by means of particles or adverbs or were implicit in the aspects of verb

forms" (Lehmann 1974: 139). It was only in late Indo-European and the early dialects that "features of tense became predominant", with inflectional endings marking temporal distinctions (Lehmann 1974: 189-190). Such inflectional suffixes with temporal signification resulted from the incorporation of enclitic deictic particles into verbal suffixes. Watkins (1962: 102-103) proposes that **i*, a deictic with 'here and now' meaning, was frequently combined with various verbal suffixes, including the (second-)third person (singular) desinence **-Ø*: "This particle was freely combinable with the personal endings, as in *-m/-mi*, *-t/-ti*, *-nt/-nti*. We know furthermore that the free combinability of this particle existed down through the period of the formation of the individual dialects, since these show divergent utilizations of *-i...* We know as well that IE *-i* was combinable with a 3 sg. zero ending as is proved by the Greek thematic 3 sg. present *-ei* < *-e + i*, where *-e* is simply the thematic vowel".

As my acceptance of Neu's derivation (1976) of the optative and the subjunctive from an original non-present category implies, I believe that in Indo-European the system of spatio-temporal relations was binary in nature - that is, it was organized simply as [+/- Proximal] (4). Traugott (1978: 374) explains: "As a deictic, tense is basically a Proximal-Distal relation... In some languages [+/- Proximal] [i.e. 'now : not-now (then)'] may be the only organization of tense, without any concept of time-line... Orientation to a time-line involves division of *then* into past and future". "This development occurred only in late Indo-European and its dialects. In early Indo-European I feel that **i* expressed 'now' and that... other deictic particles denoted various degrees of distance from that temporal point" (Shields 1981a: 273).

In a series of recent articles (Shields 1981a, 1981b, 1982b, 1983a, 1983c, 1984), I have attempted to explain the origin of a variety of inflectional and derivational suffixes attested in the verbal formations of a number of Indo-European dialects by proposing that these elements derive from deictic particles (other than **i*) added to existing verb affixes, just as **i* was (5). Specifically, I maintain that after such deictics (X) were affixed to non-personal verb formations in **-Ø*, two reanalyses were possible:

- (1) **-Ø-X* > **-X*

(2) *-Ø-X > *-X-Ø.

The first gave rise to inflectional markers, the second to derivational suffixes. Because of the tendency for the (second-)third person to impose its structure on other members of its paradigm, cf. Benveniste 1971, these reanalyzed deictics were subject to analogical extension. The second process is crucial, I feel, to the origin of the optative and subjunctive markers of Indo-European Proper.

It is clear that Indo-European possessed deictic particles in **e* and **ei*. Brugmann (1916: 983) reconstructs a particle **e* on the basis of such dialectal forms as "ai. *a-sāú* 'jener', arm. *e-te* 'dass, wenn'; griech. *ἐ-κεῖ* 'dort', *ἐ-χθές* 'gestern', lat. *e-quidem*..., osk. pällgn. *e-co-* 'hic' (osk. *ekas* 'hae' usw.), osk. *e-tanto* umbr. *e-tantu* 'tanta', aksl. *je-se* 'ecce' aruss. *je-to* 'ecce' russ. *é-tot* 'der hier, dieser'..." (6). This element is also attested "als Verbalpräfix..., namentlich als Augment (gr. *ἐ-φερων*, ai. *á-bharam* 'ich trug'), als angetretene Postposition hinter Kasusformen, z.B. ai. Dat. *asvā/-a*, abg. *kamen-e* usw. ... *e* hat sich im Alnd. Gen. *a-sja*, D. *a-smāi*, im Germ. ahd. *e-s*, *imu*, im Umbr. Dat. *e-smei* durch Antritt von andern Partikeln zum Pronomen, entwickelt" (Hirt 1927: 10-11). According to Brugmann (1916: 990), "**ei* 'in dem, in dem Falle, da (lokal), so'" is attested in "griech. *εἰ εἰ-τα*, got. *ei*, wahrscheinlich auch aksl. *i*". This particle, which probably constitutes a contamination of the deictic elements **e* and **i* (Hirt 1927: 15), is also most likely found in the nominative singular masculine demonstrative form **ei* (i.e. **ei-Ø*: Skt. *ay-ám*, Avest. *ay-ām*, Lat. *īs* (< OLat. *ei-s*)). Indeed, it seems that a demonstrative stem **ei-* is found in other case-forms as well, e.g. dat.-abl. pl. **ei-bh(y)os*: Skt. *ebhyas*, OLat. *ībus*, loc. pl. **ei-su*: Skt. *eṣu*, OCS *ixъ* (Szemerényi 1980: 190). Now Schmalstieg (1973) argues that within Indo-European, word-final diphthongs were monophthongized in pre-consonantal sandhi position and that these new sandhi variants of morphemes were then specialized, generalized, or lost. One such monophthongization was the passage of **-ei* to **-ī*. In support of positing this change, Schmalstieg (1973: 107-108) says that "the elementary form **bhe* 'to be, to become' could have taken the suffix *-y* to create the morpheme **bhe-y* > **bhī* in pre-consonantal sandhi position. The form **bhī* is reflected in Lat. *fī-s*, *fī* 'becomes, is made', Gk. *φῑτν*

'shoot, scion', OCS *bi-mb* 'I would be'. Perhaps Old English *bēo*, *bīo* belong here also. Forms such as Lith. *-bite*, *-birne* are to be added here also. The short vowel of such forms is due to their use in enclitic position according to Stang, 1966, 429... Similarly the Indo-European root for 'to drink' seems to have been **pe-* or **po-* variously suffixed with *-y* or *-w*. The form **pī-* (< **pe-y*) in pre-consonantal position lives on in Slavic *pliti* 'to drink', Gk. *πίνω* 'I drink' (with the imperative *πίνε* according to Frisk, 1970: 540), Skt. *pīā* 'drunk, sucked' and *pīti* 'drinking, a draught'. The *-y-* element may also be present in the reduplicative syllable of Latin *bibit* 'drinks', cf. also Schmalstieg 1980: 21-48, 120-121. I would like to suggest that the nominative singular feminine demonstrative form **ī* (Skt. *iyām*, Avest. *iyam*, OPers. *iyam* < **ī + am*; Gk. *ἰα* (with *-α* from the accusative, cf. Brugmann 1911: 328); Lith. *jī*) represents the pre-consonantal sandhi variant of **ei*. According to Szemerényi (1980: 190-191), a demonstrative form **ī* is also to be reconstructed for the nominative-accusative plural neuter (see Szemerényi 1980: 190-191 for details). Moreover, the deictic particle **ī*, which is attested in Avest. *ī*, Gk. *-ī*, OCS *-i*, and Skt. *ī-dīś-* 'such a one, a similar one', cf. Brugmann 1916: 980-981 and Hirt 1927: 11, is probably to be related to the demonstrative stem **ī-* (Hirt 1927: 27) and can therefore be analyzed as a pre-consonantal sandhi variant of an original deictic element in **ei*.

It would seem that the deixis of both **e* and **ei* is what is traditionally called "Dér-Deixis, die allgemeinste Zeigart, bei der usuell weder der Gegensatz von Nähe und Ferne des Gegenstands, noch der von Sprecher, Angeredetem und dritter Person eine Rolle spielt, z.B. *der ist gewesen; das gib mir*" (Brugmann 1911: 312). Thus, Brugmann (1911: 333) notes that the demonstrative stems **e-* and **i-* "waren vermütlich im Uridg. in der Bedeutung von **to-* nicht wesentlich verschieden, also allgemeindeiktisch". In terms of Schmid's recent six-point scale of deixis (1972: 10), in which *P₁* constitutes the 'here and now' ("Thema: Sprecher: 'ich'") and *P₆* constitutes extreme distance from that place and time ("nicht näher bestimmt"), the deictic force of **e* and **ei* was *P₄*. The fact that deictic **e* came to be used as a marker of the late-emerging imperfect (i.e. as the so-called augment) and that the Greek particle *εἰ(-τα)* (< **ei*) continues to maintain the meaning 'then (and there)', cf. Brugmann

1916: 990, makes the original non-present temporal signification of *e and *e/ quite clear.

On the basis of these assumptions, it seems to me that a new theory of the origin of the optative and subjunctive markers can be constructed. Simply, the deictic particles *e and *e/ were among those which were suffixed to verbs in order to indicate the non-present (7). In athematic conjugation, *e was enclitically attached to the non-personal suffix *-Ø, yielding *-Ø-e, which was then reanalyzed as *-e-Ø (> subjunctive function). In thematic stems, the addition of *e to *-e-Ø resulted in *-e-Ø-e, which, of phonological necessity, became *-ē- and was reanalyzed as *-ē-Ø, cf. Burrow 1973: 346. That is, when the vowel *a, *e, or *o was followed immediately by another occurrence of itself or an occurrence of one of the other two vowels, contraction took place. "The product of contraction was everywhere ā, ē, or ō [i.e. a long vowel]. When the two vowels differed in quality, the product regulated itself after the quality of the first", with a few possible exceptions (Brugmann 1888: 106). The thematic subjunctive marker *-ō- probably results from the addition of *e to non-personal verbal forms in *-o-Ø, i.e. *-o-Ø-e > *-ō-Ø, while the athematic variant *-ō- was created from the following proportional analogy, cf. Misra 1968: 105:

$$\begin{array}{l} \bar{e} : e \\ \bar{o} : x. \end{array}$$

The question naturally arises as to why the o-grade variant of the stem-vowel, as well as the expected e-grade, is ascribed to the second/third person. Since, according to the Greek evidence, the thematic subjunctive distributes the stem-vowels *-ō- and *-ē- "the same as in the Indicative" (Brugmann 1894: 465-466), it could be argued that the variant *-ō- is itself merely a secondary analogical creation:

$$\begin{array}{l} e : \bar{e} \\ o : x. \end{array}$$

However, I have argued elsewhere (Shields 1982a: 52) that "the development of the complicated system of vowel gradation, or ablaut,

so important in late Indo-European and the dialects, ... [was] very gradual, with the ultimate origins of this morphological device stemming from a number of separate linguistic changes... whose results were eventually assimilated into a unified scheme". Under such circumstances, complete consistency would have been difficult to achieve, and therefore some vacillation in use is expected, especially in a secondary formation like the subjunctive, which tends to be archaic despite recent functional specialization, cf. Kuryłowicz 1960: 79-80. More importantly, although the thematic optative generally shows the o-grade variant of the stem-vowel in the second and third person singular, Baltic attests to the fact that an alternate e-grade form once existed in this construction: "Diese Erklärung könnte im Baltischen eine Stütze finden, wenn dort die mit *-ei-* gebildeten Imperative (ursprünglich Optative), wie apress. *weddeis*, wirklich auf idg. *-ei-*, nicht *-oi-*, zurückgehen" (Szemerényi 1980: 241). In other dialects, the thematic optative shows the generalization of the stem-variant in **-o-* (Szemerényi 1980: 241). Since the subjunctive and the optative develop from a common source, it would seem natural that the thematic subjunctive, too, once showed a stem in **-o-*. In the second and third person function. After the subjunctive marker **-ō-* came into existence, its distribution was generally defined by the distribution of o-grade in the indicative, cf. the Greek data, although specifically dialectal developments, including the emergence of the *ā*-subjunctive (see below), disrupted the pattern of occurrence. For example, in Sanskrit the distinction between a subjunctive in **-ō-* and a subjunctive in **-ē-* was lost when the vowels **ō* and **ē* merged as **ā*. The Latin data are complicated by the fact that the optative and the subjunctive never fully bifurcated and a modal formation in **-ā-* developed at the expense of one in **-ō-*, resulting in the loss of the marker **-ō-*. In Celtic, the apparent generalization of a subjunctive suffix in **-ā-* also led to the disappearance of **-ō-*, as well as **-ē-*, cf. Lewis and Petersen 1961: 288-289. All in all, the original distribution of the thematic subjunctive formant **-ō-* is difficult to assess.

The athematic optative suffix **-ī-*, I believe, represents the preconsonantal variant of the verbal construction **-ō-ei* (i.e. non-personal marker **-ō* + deictic particle **ei*) > **-ō-ī* > **-ī-ō*, while **-ye-* shows a contamination of the modal suffix **-ī-* and the

modal (> subjunctive) marker $*-\bar{e}-$ (i.e. $*-f- + *-\bar{e}- > *-y\bar{e}-$). The thematic optative formation in $*-o-i-$ derives from $*-o-\emptyset-f$ (< $*-ei$), cf. Burrow 1973: 351, which was subsequently reanalyzed as $*-o-i-\emptyset$. It is interesting to note that in Greek the particle $\epsilon\iota$ "knüpfte... Wünsche und Aufforderungen, wie das nächstverwandte ai. $ayá$ 'so'" (Brugmann 1904: 616). I believe that Greek attests to a late Indo-European Proper specialization of meaning of this particle - a meaning closely related to the indication of non-present time. It was this implication of 'wish' in the meaning of $*ei/*f$ which was central in its coming to serve as a marker of the specifically optative function.

I also want to point out that Watkins (1969: 232) reconstructs the original second/third person singular thematic optative dsinences as $*-\emptyset$, i.e. $*-o-i-\emptyset$. He says: "Der alt. Imperativ auf $-f$, refl. $-e-s$ gibt direkt die endungslose 2. Sg. $*-oi$ wieder. Im Slawischen können wir die Imperative $nes-i$ $nes-\bar{e}mb$ $nes-\bar{e}te$ von einem ebensolchen Paradigma mit 2 Sg. $*-oi$, 1. Pl. $*-oi-mo$, 2. Pl. $*-oi-te$ herleiten... Die 3. Sg. $*-oi$ mit zéro-Endung ist sozusagen belegt in der Optativform $\acute{s}áyet$, die dreimal im MS... erscheint; ein $-t$ ist angefügt zur Verdeutlichung der 3. Sg.-Funktion wie in $ašaya[t]$ und Opt. $duhŷa[t]$ ". Such an assessment lends support to the theory presented here, since the existence of a zero marker in the second/third person singular is a necessary prerequisite for its validity.

Apparently Hittite lost the non-present formations in $*-e$ and $*-ei$ ($*-f$) which gave rise to the optative and the subjunctive of Indo-European Proper. Because Hittite failed to specialize them as modal structures, it found them unnecessary when other non-present constructions became more productive. The same general explanation applies to the apparent lack of the subjunctive, i.e. the markers $*-\bar{e}-$ and $*-\bar{o}-$ in modal function, in Germanic, Armenian, Baltic, and Slavic. Since the subjunctive and the optative were never formally differentiated in these dialects, such redundant elements tended to disappear.

My theory of the origin of the optative and the subjunctive markers naturally accounts for the particular inflectional endings utilized by each modal category. In the dialects, the optative takes

only secondary endings, while the subjunctive takes both primary and secondary. Since these categories derive from a non-present formation, it is to be expected that secondary endings would have become associated with them. But in the subjunctive, "this partial use of primaries was encouraged by the future-tense implications of certain... subjunctive functions..." (Kerns and Schwartz 1971: 24), cf. also Burrow 1973: 348. That is, in very late Indo-European and the dialects, as orientation to a "time-line" became more definitive, the present-tense forms came to be the primary exponents of the future tense. But the residual future function of the subjunctive, resulting from both its general non-present origin and its specialized modal uses, led to the extension of primary endings to this category.

Before concluding, I want to say a few words about the so-called \bar{a} -subjunctive of Latin, Irish, and Tocharian (cf. "lat. *feram ferās ferat...* air. *bera berae beraid*, beide aus $*bher-\bar{a}-m$; $-\bar{a}-s(i)$, $-\bar{a}-t(i)$ usw., ... toch. (A) $-am$, $-at$, $-a\bar{s}$ usw., z.B. *kalkam* 'earn'") (Szemerényi 1980:242)). Kurylowicz (1964: 137) maintains that this formation "most certainly represents the modal residue of an old $-\bar{a}$ -preterite, well attested in Baltic and Slav. (Lat. *fuat*: Lith. *būvo*)", cf. also Szemerényi 1980: 242. But if one accepts the derivation of the other subjunctive and optative markers which was presented above, then it is clear that the origin of $*-\bar{a}-$ is really to be found in the general non-present category of Common Indo-European. In fact, it is possible to show that its origin is even formally the same as that of $*-\bar{e}-$ and $*-\bar{o}-$. In Shields 1980 and 1983b, I propose that Indo-European possessed verbal stems in $*-\bar{a}-$ (8). In support of this claim, I note, for example, that "remnants of the ancient... [\bar{a} -stem] formation are still attested... in a rather small group of verbs which survive in Greek, Sanskrit, and Irish. In Greek they are generally limited to middle voice: 1st pers. sg. middle $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha-\mu\alpha\iota$ 'I revere', $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha-\mu\alpha\iota$ 'I hang', $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha-\mu\alpha\iota$ 'I seem', $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha-\mu\alpha\iota$ 'I fly', $\xi\rho\alpha-\mu\alpha\iota$ 'I love passionately'. Sanskrit forms which show this construction include: 3rd pers. sg. pres. act. *vám-ti* 'he vomits', *svápi-ti* 'he sleeps', *śvási-ti* 'he snorts', *ródi-ti* 'he cries'; while Irish shows this stem in the pret. *do cer* 'he fell' (< $*ker\bar{a}-t$). These verbs have generally been reconstructed as consisting of a verbal root plus a suffix in $*-\bar{a}$. However, I believe 'that IE [a] and [ə] are allophones of the same phoneme, and that /a/ developed to [ə] only

under certain conditions' (Wyatt 1970: 17). Thus, the original phoneme here is to be reconstructed as *a" (Shields 1980: 262). (See Shields 1979 in further support of Wyatt's theory). Now if the deictic particle *e was added to non-personal \check{a} -stem verbal forms as a means of specifying the non-present (i.e. *-a-Ø-e), then the resulting structure, after contraction and reanalysis, would have been *-ā-Ø. Only Latin, Irish, and Tocharian specialized this formation as a modal construction; Baltic and Slavic specialized it as a preterite, and other dialects lost it completely (9).

NOTES

- (1) On the origin and nature of the ā-subjunctive, see below.
- (2) Summaries of various theories about the original meaning of these categories, including Delbrück's Sanskrit- and Greek-based views, appear in Hahn 1953: 1-51. Of course, Hahn herself (1953: 139) believes both to be original futures (i.e. *subjunctive* = "more vivid futurity"; *optative* = "more remote futurity (or potentiality)"). More recently, Gonda (1956) argues that the subjunctive indicated "visualization" (i.e. "existence in... [the mind] or before... [one's] mental eyes") (1956: 69) and the optative "contingency" (i.e. "the possibility of non-occurrence") (1956: 51), while Lehmann (1974: 130-131) similarly maintains that "any attempt to equate the uses of the subjunctive and optative in Sanskrit or Greek with the uses of their earlier forms in PIE will lead to serious misinterpretations" and concludes that the subjunctive originally indicated necessity or obligation and the optative was originally volitive in nature (1974: 184).
- (3) Obviously, the imperative category had an independent existence from a much earlier date.
- (4) Gonda (1956: 28-29) also holds this view. He says: "In Sanskrit, *tatra* 'there' when used in a temporal sense, can refer to the past... and the future... Cf. G. *πότε* 'at some time or another', *τότε* 'at that time, then' which are used in reference to the past as well as the future... Do we err greatly if we consider these words to reflect an ancient distinction: now-here : not-now-here?".

- (5) Neu (1976: 250-251) believes that the present was marked by **-i* and that the non-present was without a formal exponent. I obviously disagree with this assessment.
- (6) As Brugmann (1911: 311) says: "Vielleicht sind alle Demonstrativa einmal deiktische Partikeln, also indeklinabele Wörter gewesen".
- (7) It should be noted that the use of the deictic particle **e* as a verbal prefix with non-present signification is consonant with my theory. I would maintain that the use of **e* as both prefix and suffix attests to the importance of deictic particles as temporal indicators in Indo-European and to the fact that the position of adverbial elements within the Indo-European sentence was variable, as in attested languages (cf. Jackendoff 1972: 67).
- (8) The theory of the origin of the *ā*-subjunctive which is about to be presented represents a revision of the theory presented in Shields 1980, although I still subscribe to the other hypotheses found in that article, including the existence of *ǎ*-stem verbs in Indo-European.
- (9) Of course, Latin shows a trace of the use of **-ā-* in simple preterite function - "the isolated... *eram*... from **esā-*" (Buck 1933: 278). I should point out that my theory of the origin of the optative and subjunctive markers also provides an explanation of the apparent relationship between the aorists in **-ē-* of Greek, Baltic, and Slavic, and the optative/subjunctive suffix **-ē-*, cf. Kuryłowicz 1964: 140. In late Proto-Indo-European, "both of the ... perfective aspect forms, the aorist and the perfect, were shifted to preterite-tense forms as opposed to present-tense forms..." (Lehmann 1974: 190). Since the subjunctive and the optative moods were late Indo-European and dialectal developments from non-present verbal constructions, it is easy to see how the aorist and these original non-present formations became associated. Indeed, Neu (1976: 253, fn. 1) emphasizes "dass Präteritum und Modus am gleichen Knoten sitzen, zeigt sich auch morphologisch u.a. dadurch, dass dieselben Formantien (wie **-ā-*, **-ē-*, **-jē-/*-ī-*, **-s-* etc.) in Präterital- wie Modalkategorien auftreten..." cf. also Szemerényi 1980: 242-243.

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BCILL 42 : LINGUISTIC HAPPENING, 559-574

RELATIVE CHRONOLOGY : THE CASE OF PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN*

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In the past century and a half of historical linguistic study various models for summarizing current views on language development and language diversification have been proposed.

The first and most widely used model in historical linguistics was the family: we speak of the Indo-European group and other such groups as a language family. Therefore the Baltic and the Slavic languages for example can be called sister languages and the same is true for the Germanic or the Romance languages. We may refer to the parent language or Proto-Indo-European as the mother language. This family model is still useful to make plain the alignment of languages but there are important differences between such a language family and a natural family because its members may grow old without dying. That is the reason August Schleicher proposed his model of the family tree shortly after the middle of the last century (1861). It is more sophisticated than that of the family, permitting an impressive view of languages and their evolutions - starting from few original branches through smaller and smaller subbranches up to the great number of currently existing languages and dialects.

But the shortcoming of this model is its depiction of language as a biological organism with an independent existence: languages actually are only sets of conceptions arranged by their speakers and linguistic changes furthermore are introduced by them and are not an internal linguistic development. Particularly because of its inadequacy in explaining and describing linguistic change, the family tree model soon had to enter competition with a new theory, that of the wave model inaugurated by Johannes Schmidt in 1872. By this theory languages are spoken side by side over a given area and are influenced by

changes introduced at one single point. Afterwards these changes spread like the waves on the surface of water in a pond. Some of these waves reach the shore - influencing the whole area - others, on the contrary, ebb after only short distances.

The wave theory is preferable to the family-tree theory in making understandable the interrelationship between dialects and the changes caused by contact. Both theories however share the defect of depicting language as an onelayered phenomenon. Languages in fact are sets of social conventions too complex to become explainable by means of a simple biological or geometrical model. A new model therefore has to provide and to use data on various layers.

During the last ten years some attempts have been made to conceive the Indo-European proto-language not as an uniform reconstruction but merely as a complex organism subject to changes and innovations in much the same way as the attested daughter languages are. The idea initiated by W. Meid and enriched by E. Neu is now widely known as the space - time - model (*Raum - Zeit - Modell*, cf. Meid 1975, 1979; Neu 1976, 1984, 1985; similarly Adrados 1982; rejection by Schlerath 1981, 1982/83; compare the general discussion in Gusmani 1984). It tries to solve two major problems that traditional Indo-European comparative philology has been confronted with since the emergence of Hittite as a previously unknown Indo-European language:

The first is the way this oldest daughter-language has separated from Proto-language (or her sister-languages) and the second even more difficult problem is to reconcile the traditional view of PIE (Proto-Indo-European) with the differing facts Hittite shows (it must be kept in mind that it was not until 1917 that Hittite was demonstrated to be Indo-European; that is one year after completion of the unsurpassed (up through our own day) Indo-European-Grammar by Karl Brugmann. That means that IE philology runs the risk of neglecting one of its major principles, that is to build upon the oldest reachable stages of a given language or dialect and to analyze always the oldest attested grammatical forms.

Wolfgang Meid supposes three different stages of the assumed

Indo-European parent language. They are Early- (or Proto-) IE, Middle- (or Common-) IE and Late-IE, the last dialectally already being differentiated into an eastern and a western type: Early IE is reflected only in (attested or reconstructed) archaisms to be found in various single languages. Middle IE too has archaic structures mostly shared by the western and the eastern languages, Late IE, on the contrary, shows separate innovations in the different main branches, see fig. 1:

- stage I: Early IE: reflected in single archaisms
- stage II: Middle IE: old structures preserved in East and West, separation of Anatolian (?)
- stage III: Late IE: innovations different in East and West, therefore Greco-Aryan type vs. European type

Fig. 1. Stages of Proto-IE

These three stages have been determined mainly by analyzing the facts of the verbs, which means by comparing the verbal systems of the major IE languages.

(1) The complementary use of augment and primary terminations, for example, leads to the archaic category of the injunctive which is well attested in Vedic:

The augmented form of the Vedic Imperfect *á-bhar-a-t* is connected with the secondary termination *-t*; the unaugmented form of the present *bhár-a-ti*, on the contrary, shows the primary termination *-ti*. But the archaic injunctive in Vedic like *bhar-a-t* shows neither the augment - being the marker for the past tense - nor the *-i* which is added to the inflectional element for indicating the present. This injunctive formally corresponds, therefore, to an unaugmented past tense and expresses an action irrespective of tense or mood. It represents a very primitive verbal form, for which the context determines the meaning. It seems that this primitive Injunctive was the verbal kernel of a simple sentence during the first stage of Early IE - mainly with presential value.

The next evolutionary step took place during the Middle IE stage, namely the adding of the presential *-i-*: In the beginning this element was only a facultative formans, but in the course of time it merged with the personal endings, thus forming a new set, the so-called primary endings - in fact being genetically the secondary ones.

Not until the third stage - that is during Late IE - different verbal innovations were introduced in East and West: the eastern languages marked the past tense by using the augment **e*, e.g. Vedic *a-* in *á-bhar-a-t*; the western languages, on the contrary, were forced to renew the past tense formation because of its meagre formal distinction vis-à-vis the present formation. The lateness of these renewals is proved by the fact that they are introduced in very different ways, compare Latin *dic-e-bam* versus OHG *sag-e-ta* and so on.

(2) Another verbal complex used to establish the above described evolutionary scheme of Proto-IE is the often misinterpreted relationship between middle and perfect: in the various IE-languages two different types of middle are attested and rejectable into the Proto-language - at least into a later stage of this Proto-language. The main principle of both of them is the adding of an element *-i* or *-r* to the forms of the injunctive. The first type, the *i*-middle like Greek *ἔπειται*, that is IE **sek^W-e-to-i*, is found mainly in languages using the augment but also in Germanic. The second type, that of the *r*-middle as in Latin *sequitur* or IE **sek^W-e-to-r* was used in Celtic, Italic, Phrygian, Tocharian and Hittite. Its attestation in Hittite is important and proves its evolution during the Middle-IE stage - side by side with the *i*-type.

The basis of both types, on the other hand, was a middle-injunctive with the ending *-to* being an innovation for an older simple *-o* ablauting with the ending of the perfect, as in the well-known *-e* (as in Greek *οἶδ-ε*). But this perfect was not yet the traditional perfect as integrated into the tense-aspect-system of the classical IE-languages, but only a kind of forerunner. This 'medio-perfect' or similar was not a tense, but rather a diathesis comparable to the injunctive, and designated the state of the subject. It developed not only into the true perfect-formations of the classical

languages but also into the Hittite *hi*-conjugation, as well as into the Hittite medio-passive with similar endings.

In addition to these two topics in the verb used to determine various evolutionary stages of the reconstructed IE Proto-language, other linguistic phenomena must also be found to strengthen this conception. And there are certainly observations on very diverse levels, noted already in the past by various authors, which are usable in this respect:

(3) To begin with, the well-known gender-problem has to be mentioned, which Johannes Schmidt was dealing with in 1889. In fact, nowadays, it is still being discussed whether the Proto-language already had used a triple system, with masculine, feminine and neuter, as attested in Greek, Latin and Sanskrit, or whether this system secondarily developed out of a dichotomic system with only genus commune and genus neutrum. There are strong arguments in favor of an originally simple twofold system as postulated not only by Schmidt, but also by Meillet, and especially by Sturtevant: it is well-known that Sturtevant employed the fact that there is no feminine gender in Hittite, but merely a distinction between animate and inanimate or neuter as evidence for his Indo-Hittite hypothesis. The Hittite facts, of course, are very important in this respect, but the question should be solved without using Hittite material since the position of Hittite itself is still being discussed. The arguments found outside Hittite are convincing enough (cf. K.H. Schmidt 1979), especially the morphological merger and non-distinctiveness of masculine and feminine in older inflectional categories, for example Greek πατήρ 'father' without formal distinction from μήτηρ 'mother', etc.

A second important argument is the lack of an original plural-formation in the neuter: the primary function of the attested formans in *-ā/-a* was to form collectives as seen in Latin *loca* versus plural *loci*. This formans moreover was used to form the new feminine corresponding to the masculine in *-o-*. The fact that this kind of feminine formation is based directly on the masculine (*-e/-o- + -a > -ā*) also proves its secondary character.

The development of the feminine gender must have taken place

during the middle or the latest phase of Proto-IE because nearly all daughter languages possess it. But it is not certain whether Hittite with his twofold gender system in fact has conserved the archaic situation as Sturtevant maintained; it is not impossible, on the contrary, that Hittite shows an innovation viz. a secondary reduction, as in Armenian or in other later attested IE languages. On the other hand it seems easier to conceptualize the Hittite system as an archaism than to explain it as secondary reduction after its prior enlargement.

(4) The next topic usable in order to determine various evolutionary stages of the reconstructed IE Proto-language can be found in nominal declension (cf. E. Risch 1980): according to traditional views the IE noun had eight cases, namely nominative, vocative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative. This is confirmed mainly by Vedic, but also by Latin where the ablative has assumed the function not only of the old ablative, but also of instrumental and locative. During the evolution of the other IE daughter languages this complex system was reduced and replaced by an increasing number of independent grammatical words, prepositions and sometimes also postpositions.

The use of this eight cases is restricted in a striking manner: the vocative, for example, can be used only for living beings, the locative and instrumental, on the contrary, occur almost exclusively with inanimate things. The dative mainly occurs with individuals expressing the person for whose advantage or disadvantage the action of the sentence takes place.

It is also worth nothing that neuters - as said before - lack an original plural form; in place of this they employ a singular collective termination, identical in form with the feminine. The concordant verb consequently displays the form of the singular. Compare Greek τὰ φύλλα πίπτει 'the foliage is falling', where also the English *foliage* as a collective form concordant with the singular form of the verb. This grammatical rule is known as σχῆμα ἀτιμὸν and found also in Hittite and in the oldest texts of Vedic and Iranian.

In addition to that, it can be assumed that neuters were also

inflectionally incomplete in the singular, and even lacking a form for the nominative. This is understandable since neuters, i.e. designations for inanimate things, cannot be the subject of a transitive verb. And if, on the other hand, a neuter is the subject of an intransitive verb then there is no need for a marked form of the nominative. For this we have unmarked nominatives like Greek $\pi\upsilon\rho$ 'fire', Hittite *watar* 'water' or Sanskrit *apas* corresponding to Latin *opus*, etc. If, however, a neuter later came to be conceived as animated and should function as the subject of a transitive verb, then a formal marking had to be added, as in Hittite, where the so-called 'ergative'-suffix *-ant-* regularly came to be used in order to mark such transitions. Compare inanimate *watar* 'water' versus "animated" *wetanant-*. The same is true in the Classical languages where the nominative of the neuters has assumed the old form of the accusative (common to the masc. and nt.), that is to say, the termination *-om* as in Latin *verbum* etc.

There are, consequently, only five cases to be postulated for the neuters, without distinction of number, namely accusative, genitive, locative, ablative and instrumental.

The situation is very different with the non-neuters, that is, with masculines and feminines: these are derivable from an older common gender which distinguished between singular and plural, but has no form for locative, ablative and instrumental, the last 3 cases belonging to inanimate nouns.

From that we get the twofold case-system, postulated for an early stage of the IE Proto-language as seen in figure 2. It is preserved in Old Hittite with only slight modifications but tends to merge also here into one single combined inflectional system:

genus commune (genre animé) (→ masc. + fem.)			genus neutrum (genre inanimé) (indifferent in number)
	singular	plural	
nominative	-s, -Ø	-es	-
vocative	-Ø		-
dative	-ei, -i	-bh/m	-
accusative	-m	-ns	-m
genitive	-(e/o)s	-ōm	-(e/o)s
locative	-	-	-(e)i, -su, -Ø
ablative	-	-	-(e/o)s
instrumental	-	-	-e/o

Fig. 2. Proto-IE noun inflection.

(5) Another subject usable for our goal can be found in the derivational morphology of the noun. In seeking to determine the relative chronology for nouns and noun stems we have a major source in Franz Specht's treatment of the matter in 1944 (cf. also Lehmann 1958 and 1985). The so-called root nouns belong to the oldest nominal strata we can posit; afterwards come the resonant stems. The thematic *-e-/-o-* stems, on the contrary, belong to the latest stratum of the IE Proto-language, where we can also place the stems based on these in conjunction with a laryngeal, namely the feminine stems in *-ā*. The many other subsequent formations are only dialectal, and have to be ascribed to the various daughter languages.

Building on this recognition, Specht related nouns of specific formations to cultural data, such as the introduction of settled agriculture and the development of wheeled vehicles. The terms for 'wheel' and 'wagon' for example are widely attested, compare Latin *rota*, OHG *rat*, Sanskrit *ratha-* etc.; then Sanskrit *cakrá-*, Greek *κύκλος*, OE *hweol*, OCS *kolo* 'wheel' and plural *kola* 'wagon'; furthermore Greek *(F)ῥος*, OE *waegn*, OCS *vozb*, Latin *vehiculum* etc. The archaeological evidence points to the widespread use of wagons and chariots in the period of IE dispersion, leading into the period of dialect groups and individual dialects. That means that not

only the linguistic but also the cultural evidence points to the latest stage of Proto-IE for the origin and spread of such words with thematic stems.

It is worth noting that Hittite – as far as we know – shows no trace of one of these words for 'wheel' and 'wagon' but has an innovation based on an inherited verbal root meaning 'to turn' (namely *hurki-* 'wheel' which means – pars pro toto – also 'chariot').

Hittite has however preserved the word for 'yoke', in *yugan* corresponding to Sanskrit *yugam*, Greek *ζυγόν* and Latin *iugum*. Can this thematic formation prove intensive agricultural activities by the Early Indo-Europeans before the period of their migration? The same question arises concerning Hittite *turiya-* 'to harness', this being a denominative verb based on the etymological equivalent of the archaic Sanskrit *dhur* 'pole'. In addition to that, Hittite *hišša-* 'pole' corresponds exactly to the likewise archaic Sanskrit *īśā* 'pole'.

This bulk of lexical archaisms in the field of agricultural terms in Hittite is surprising. The lack of the common-IE word for 'wheel' and 'wagon' on the one hand, and the attestation of the three important agricultural terms, on the other hand, correspond to the assumed early splitting-off of Hittite from Proto-IE during its middle stage.

(6) Also in the field of phonology different evolutionary stages are detectable. The existence of laryngeals for example is nowadays widely acknowledged, but the number and nature of these sounds remains open to discussion (cf. Tischler 1980).

At first it is necessary to clarify that the term 'laryngeal' is a traditional term now used with a meaning as far removed from its original and etymological meaning as is the term 'guttural', which is used in both the sense of 'palatal' and also of 'velar'. It has to be kept in mind that the term 'laryngeal' is used to refer to phonemes which have no direct reflexes in the individual IE daughter languages – with the single exception of Hittite of course. These phonemes may have had glottal or laryngeal articulation but some Indo-Europeanists of today refuse to discuss this question and reduce the problem to the phonemic level. The only justifiable reason for doing so would be

lack of information inasmuch as it is of course important to deal not only with phonemic, but also with phonetic units. While Hittite was extremely important in establishing the laryngeal theory, it has not provided much information about the phonetic units symbolized in cuneiform writing.

Earlier theories about Hittite phonology postulated evidence for two laryngeals because in some words *h* normally is written singly, in other words it is usually doubled. Comparing this orthographical pattern with that of the stops, Sturtevant concluded that single *h* represents a voiced sound, *hh* a voiceless one. This assumption sounds very persuasive, since the so-called 'Sturtevant's rule' in fact works at least partially as long as stops are involved. But in the case of laryngeals it was not possible to find etymological equivalents of these assumed voiced or voiceless velar spirants outside Hittite which show the same or similar distinctive features. Similar judgment has to be pronounced on the various theories and subtheories concerning vowel-coloring of the IE laryngeals: as is well known de Saussure suggested in 1878 that special kinds of sounds ('coefficients sonantiques') had disappeared in the IE dialects leaving reflexes in lengthened vowels. Möller in 1879 connected these with Semitic consonants, and called them laryngeals. This theory was almost completely disregarded for fifty years until Kurylowicz in 1927 pointed out reflexes of laryngeals in Hittite.

Kurylowicz has shown that the laryngeals, thought to have been lost in all IE languages, survived in Hittite to a very large extent. Thus a reconstructed form like *H₂ent-* (with the *a*-colouring second laryngeal), in Greek ἀντί 'against', appears in Hittite as *hant-*; forms with the *o*-colouring third laryngeal, e.g. *H₃ est-*, that is Greek ὀστ-έον 'bone', appears in Hittite as *hašt-*; and only the postulated non-colouring first laryngeal as in *H₁ es-* (Greek εἶς- 'to be') is lost in Hittite (*aš-*) too. But Kurylowicz saw that Hittite had not only correspondences of the described types in initial position, but also those of *a-* in Hittite as well as in the other languages, for example Hittite *appa* 'after': Latin *ab*, and he felt forced (1935) to posit a fourth laryngeal for such cases. This laryngeal is *a*-colouring but leaves no other trace in Hittite.

The introduction of this fourth laryngeal by Kuryłowicz was the beginning of alarming increase in the stock of laryngeals in the following years: instead of three one felt encouraged to posit 4, 5, 8 even 10 of these undefined phonemes. But this augmentation is not the main point; much more important is the assumption that the Proto-IE vowel-system consisted of the single vowel *e*. It was Szemerényi (1967) who showed that this current doctrine is false: words like **nas-* 'nose', **sal-* 'salt' or **ghans-* 'goose' have always had *a* and are not formed with *e* + *H₂*. The same is true for words like **ghostis* 'stranger', **bhosos* 'naked' or **potis* 'master' which have always had original *o*. Proto-IE, like IE, had the full complement of the classical five-vowel triangle, *a e o i u*. As a consequent conclusion from that, it is sufficient to posit only one laryngeal for the Proto-language.

Further research done on this field has shown that the Hittite velar spirants are not found where we should expect to find them in accordance with theoretical analysis of IE phonological sequences and form categories. On the contrary, the positing of a Proto-IE laryngeal in a given reconstructed form is only provable if Hittite shows a velar spirant in the corresponding position of the actual attested form. Since the laryngeal as a phonetic unit is preserved only in Hittite and has been lost in all other IE languages, the disappearance must be dated in the middle Proto-IE stage.

After these reflections on various evolutionary stages in the IE Proto-language, the question arises, which way this evolution can be graphically demonstrated, and which way the different stages emerge from the previous ones.

The reconstructed parent language is assumed to be comparable to a living language and therefore subject to real changes and innovations. These innovations augment the complexity of a given language, since the older forms remain at least partially preserved. In our model the innovations are added to the already existing inner concentric circles like the annual rings by which a tree grows in diameter. But in real life, i.e. during the evolution of living languages, the situation is certainly much more complicated than in such a simple botanic model. Very often, for example, losses of linguistic

entities take place without replacement by others.

(7) An illustration of that would be the disappearance of the optative formation in Hittite (cf. Strunk 1984; Rix 1986).

The origin of the optative must be posited for the oldest stage of Proto-IE, because the characteristic morpheme of this mood viz. the formans **-yē-/-f-* of the athematic inflexion, shows quantitative ablaut which is very common and very well-preserved elsewhere in Hittite verbal inflexion. That is to say that the absence of the ablauting optative in Hittite is not due to the loss of this morphonological means. The way which this ablauting optative-formans is combined with the preceding root-morpheme also points to the old age of the optative, when ablaut was still in direct connection with stress: if the root shows reduced grade then the optative-marker has either reduced grade too (as e.g. in Latin *sīmus*), or it has full grade (e.g. in Old Indic *syāt*). But if the root shows full grade, then only a reduced grade of the mood-marker is possible as seen in Old Indic *bhāret*, Greek *ῥέποι*, Gothic *baīrai* etc. That is to say that two subsequent full grades are not possible in the optative formation – a significant restriction in morphology pointing to extreme antiquity.

Thus, if this category was already fully developed in the first stage of Proto-IE, then Hittite must have lost this mood after its separation from the other IE languages.

(8) Some short remarks have to be made in connection with the subjunctive, the age of which is also to be discussed. Since this mood shows no ablaut in the formation of the stem, and since the subjunctive of athematic root verbs totally agrees with the indicative of thematic verbs (**és-e/o-* in Indic *ásā-ni*, Latin *ero*, like **wēgh-e/o-* in Ol. *váhāmi*, Lat. *veho* etc.), we have to assume a younger age for this formation. The fact that the subjunctive could take primary terminations as well as secondary ones in Indo-Aryan (cf. Vedic *bhāvāt[i]*; and [dialectally] in Greek [Arkad. *ἔχῃ*, Ion.-Att. *ἔχῃ*]) also points to its more recent development. Probably this mood was developed secondarily out of a kind of injunctive of the present, at first only being marked by the thematic vowel.

Conclusion. The accumulation of conserved archaisms on the one hand and of recent innovations on the other is difficult to illustrate in a simple graphic scheme - especially since the losses of linguistic items should be illustrated too. The concluding fig. 3 therefore lists only the hitherto mentioned facts with regard to Hittite, Indo-Aryan and Greek:

No. of used example	Stages of assumed reconstructed stage I	stage II	Proto-Indo-European stage III
1	injunctive	+ i = present	e+inj.=preterit
2	medio-perfect	medio-perfect	middle vs. perfect
3	genre animé:inanimé	genus comm.:neut.	masc., fem. nt.
4	2 genders- 5 cases	merging →	3 genders-8 cases
5	(consonant noun stems)	agricultural terms, partly thematic	themat. nouns for 'wheel' and 'wagon'
6	laryngeal(s?)	one laryngeal	laryngeal lost
7	optative formed	optative installed	optative common
8	-	-	subjunctive

Fig. 3. Accumulation of archaisms and innovations.

Further investigation on various fields (as an example only I would like to mention the discussion about the PIE glottalic stops, opened by Gamkrelidze-Ivanov 1973 and Hopper 1973; cf. the rejection by Meld 1987) should complete this scheme.

NOTE

* An earlier version of this paper was given at the Symposium on Formalization in Historical Linguistics (Tallinn, November 24-26, 1986); an abstract is printed on pp. 73-75 of the Summaries of the Conference, ed. by Mart Remmel, Tallinn: Academy of Sciences of the Estonian SSR. Section of Social Sciences, 1986.

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QUELQUES NOUVEAUX EXEMPLES D'UNE DISSIMILATION N-N > L-N EN GREC ANCIEN

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O. En préparant mon ouvrage *Dictionnaire étymologique complémentaire de la langue grecque. Nouvelles contributions à l'interprétation historique et comparée du vocabulaire* (1), je crois avoir constaté que l'origine d'une longue série de mots grecs soi-disant inexpliqués ou obscurs peut être élucidée si l'on prête attention à des phénomènes phonétiques particuliers tels que des assimilations vocaliques et consonantiques, des dissimilations vocaliques et consonantiques, des haplogogues, des métathèses (2), etc.

Dans la présente *Gedenkschrift* pour le regretté Benjamin Schwartz, grand spécialiste de la grammaire comparée des langues indo-européennes et dans plusieurs travaux l'inoubliable collaborateur du légendaire J. Alexander Kerns, je voudrais attirer l'attention sur quelques éléments du lexique grec qui jusqu'ici, en ce qui concerne le problème de leur origine, ont été pourvus d'expressions telles que "étymologie inconnue", "terme tout à fait isolé", "mot obscur", "rien de convaincant", etc., mais qui à mon avis s'expliquent sans difficulté aucune à partir d'une dissimilation (consonantique) *n-n > l-n*.

J'ose espérer que ce petit article contribuera à honorer dignement la mémoire d'un savant qui a si bien mérité de la linguistique.

1. Jusqu'ici on n'a relevé que peu d'exemples en grec de ladite dissimilation: Schwyzler (1939: 259) cite *λάρναξ* "coffre" < *νάρναξ*

(Hésych.), λίκνον "van" < *νίκνον, λυμνός "nu" (Hésych.) < *νυμνός. Il faut y ajouter λέων "lion" < ancien *νέων d'une racine verbale *neu- "crier, rugir" qui s'observe e.a. aussi dans skr. *návate* "rugir, crier" et dans tokh. AB *nu-* "rugir", avec les dérivés nominaux A *nawem*, B *newe* "rugissement" et A *nawo*, B *neweu* "rugissant": cf. Van Windekens, *Orbis* XXIV (1975 : 211 ss.) et Van Windekens (1976: 320 s. et 695). Pour ce qui est de la comparaison de gr. λίμνη "eau stagnante, lac, étang" avec skr. *nimná-* "(wasserreiche) Vertiefung" proposée sous réserve par Forssman, KZ LXXIX (1964-1965: 17 s.) et qui suppose aussi une dissimilation *n-n* > *l-n*, elle ne peut être rejetée a priori, mais si on l'accepte, le terme grec doit être séparé de λειμών "prairie humide" et de λιμήν "port, rade", ce qui à mon avis n'est pas du tout recommandable.

Dans ce qui suit je tâcherai d'augmenter sensiblement ce petit nombre d'exemples grecs de ce type de dissimilation consonantique.

2. Jusqu'ici gr. ἄλκυών (ἄλκυών: Influence de ἄλς) "martin-pêcheur, alcyon *Alcedo ispida*" (à partir d'Homère) est pratiquement resté inexpiqué: cf. Frisk (1954 ss.: 75 et 1972: 27) et Chantraine (1968 ss.: 62 s.) qui, lui, compte même avec une origine "méditerranéenne". J'y ajoute que Furnée (1972: 303, note 39) a cru découvrir un suffixe -ών, -ον(ος) "prégrec" dans le terme en question.

Or pour ce nom d'oiseau, il y a une interprétation excellente à partir d'une plus ancienne forme authentiquement grecque *ἄγκυών dans laquelle il s'est produit une dissimilation *n-n* > *l-n*. Cette forme renferme le thème *ἄγκυ- de gr. ἄγκυρα (< *-υρια) "ancrage" et de gr. ἄγκύλος "courbé", thème qui se retrouve e.a. dans skr. *aṅkuśá-* "crochet". Il s'agit donc ici d'un thème **anqu-* se rattachant à i.-e. **ang-* qui exprime la notion de "courbure". L'oiseau en question a été dénommé de cette façon, c'est-à-dire "celui au crochet", d'après son bec: voir aussi les mots grecs apparentés ἄγκιστρον "hameçon, crochet" (aussi à partir d'Homère), avec le diminutif ἄγκίστριον, et les verbes dénommatifs ἄγκιστρεύω "pêcher", ἄγκιστρούμαι "être pourvu de crochets". En ce qui concerne le sens de "pêcher" de ἄγκιστρεύω, signalons que le

"martin-pêcheur" plonge avec rapidité dans l'eau pour prendre de petits poissons.

Le suffixe -ων, -ον(ος) qui dans la forme ἄλκυών < *ἄλκυών s'est combiné avec le suffixe -υ-, figure aussi dans le substantif appartenant à la même famille ἄγκών, -ῶνος (avec extension analogique du degré allongé) "courbure du bras, coude, etc." (déjà chez Homère).

3. L'explication du terme ἄφλαστον "château-arrière d'un vaisseau", "der Ausläufer des Schiffshecks, der Knauf am Schiffshintertheile", "curved poop of a ship with its ornaments" (déjà chez Homère), qui a été emprunté dans le lat. *aplustra* ou *aplustria* pl. "ornement de la poupe du vaisseau", est loin d'être établie de façon sûre: voir Frisk (1954 ss.: 195 s.) et Chantraine (1968 ss.: 147) qui tous deux inclinent à admettre une origine préhellénique.

Comme il s'agit d'*ornements*, il faut partir d'une notion qui se rapporte à cette idée: or cette notion s'observe dans une ancienne forme *ἄφνοστον qui a subi une dissimilation consonantique $n-n > l-n$ et dans laquelle il s'est aussi produit une assimilation vocalique $a-o > a-a$. Pour ce type d'assimilation, cf. Schwyzler (1939: 256) avec delph. Φανατεύς < Φανοτεύς (3). La forme *ἄφνοστον constitue un exemple d'un thème neutre en *-os- élargi par *-to- du même type que gr. ἄκοστη "orge" < *ἄκος = lat. *acus* "balle" muni du suffixe -to- (au féminin) et aussi du même type que lat. *onus* "chargé" < *onus-tus*.

L'ancien *ἄφνοστον n'est pas autre que le neutre ἄφνος "richesse, opulence" (avec dérivé ἀφνειός "opulent") élargi donc par le suffixe -to- (au neutre), et tout comme lat. *onus* signifie proprement "pourvu d'un fardeau", de la même façon *ἄφνοστον signifie à l'origine "pourvu de richesse, d'opulence", ce qui se rapporte donc directement aux *ornements* de la poupe du vaisseau. Il est évident que le pluriel ἄφλαστα a été construit directement sur le singulier ἄφλαστον < *ἄφνοστον avec ladite dissimilation consonantique $n-n > l-n$.

D'autre part, il est à souligner que ἄφλαστον < *ἄφνοστον prouve que la forme ἄφν- dans ἄφνειός (Homère) à côté de ἄφεν- dans ἄφενος (Homère) est ancienne et que ἄφνος (Pindare) n'est pas une formation inverse comme l'admettent Frisk (1954 ss.: 195) et Chantraine (1968 ss.: 146).

Pour ἄφλαστον une assimilation a-o > a-a ne s'impose plus, si ἄφ(ε)νος remonte au pélasgique, comme je l'ai déjà proposé en accord avec Georgiev dans mon premier ouvrage sur cette langue indo-européenne préhellénique (1952: 74 s.). En effet dans ce cas ἄφ(ε)νος remonterait à i.-e. *op(e)nos (cf. lat. *ops, opis "abondance, richesses", skr. ápnas- "produits, biens"), avec i.-e. *o > pélasg. a (*ibid.*: 3 s.), avec i.-e. *p > pélasg. ph (*ibid.*: 17 s.) et avec ancienne finale pélasg. -as < i.-e. *-os adaptée à la formation nominale grecque proprement dite (*ibid.*: 33 s.). Il se peut donc que ἄφλαστον continue un plus ancien *ἄφναστον < i.-e. *opnos-to- (cf. donc le type de gr. ἄνοστή et de lat. onustus) avec ancienne finale pélasg. -ta- < i.-e. *-to- grécisée (4).

4. Pour le verbe λαγχάνω "obtenir par le sort, avoir sa part de" (déjà chez Homère), avec aor. ἔλαχον, parf. ἔλογχα et des dérivés nominaux tels que λόγχη "lot", λάχος "lot, part, partie", etc. une interprétation plausible n'a pas encore été proposée: Frisk (1960 ss.: 69 s.) note "Ohne sichere Entsprechung" et Chantraine (1968 ss.: 611 s.) est encore plus catégorique avec son "Pas d'étymologie". D'autre part on rejettera aussi l'explication pélasgique < i.-e. *long- avancée par Merlingen (1962: 27), puisque le vocalisme o du parfait ἔλογχα, vocalisme qui est sans aucun doute primaire, s'y oppose.

A mon avis ce verbe est d'origine purement grecque et appartient à la racine indo-européenne bien connue *enek- qui s'observe dans gr. ἐνεγκεῖν "porter", skr. aṇṇóti "atteindre", etc. Dans toutes les formes de λαγχάνω, / initial est issu d'un ancien n à la suite d'une dissimilation avec la nasale intérieure dans λαγχάνω < *ναγχάνω, λόγχη < *νόγχη, etc. Dans λαχεῖν, λάχος, etc. / provient analogiquement des formes à nasale intérieure. D'ailleurs il est évident que même dans certaines formes à nasale

intérieure l'analogie a pu jouer.

Il faut concrètement partir d'une forme du même type que lat. *nancisci* (*nancier*, etc.) "rencontrer, trouver, obtenir", verbe qui se rattache évidemment à la même racine **enek-*. Le thème latin *nanc-*, qui représente la phase apophonique **nek-*, etc., ne s'explique que par un présent à nasale infixée (type de lat. *frangere*) avec *a* < i.-e. **ə₂* (le soi-disant schwa secundum) comme dans lat. *nactus* = germ. **nuh-ta-*. L'ancien **ναγκι-* = lat. *nanc-* du présent devenu **λαγκι-* a été influencé par la forme du parfait *λέλογχα* avec *-χ-* comme dans *ένήνοχα* de *ένεγκειν*: de là le thème de présent *λαγχ-*, qui ne repose donc pas sur aor. *λαχεϊν* d'après l'exemple de *λαμβάνω* en face de *έλαβον* comme le propose Chantraine (1968 ss.: 611 s.).

Le fait que le thème du parfait *λογχ-* ait lui-même reçu la nasale infixée du thème du présent n'a rien d'étonnant: voir lat. *nactus* à côté de *nactus* et aussi parf. *junxi*, *junctus* < prés. *jungere*. L'abstrait *λόγχη* à vocalisme *ο* régulier a aussi subi l'influence du thème de présent à nasale infixée et à *-χ-*: à l'origine ce substantif revêtait sans doute la forme **νόκη* d'i.-e. **nek-*. La forme aor. *λαχεϊν* (d'où *λάχος*) a été créée à partir de *λαγχάνω* sur le modèle de *έλαβον* en face de *λαμβάνω*, *έμαθον* en face de *μανθάνω*, etc.

Enfin on a *εἴληχα* (à côté de *λέλογχα*) d'après *εἴληφα* et *λήξομαι* d'après *λήψομαι*, etc.: cf. Frisk (1960 ss.: 69 s.) et Chantraine (1968 ss.: 611 s.).

5. De *λάχνη* "duvet, poil, toison", dit parfois de la toison des moutons (à partir d'Homère), il y a l'explication traditionnelle < **λακ-σν-α* < un plus ancien **Fλακ-σν-α*, lui-même < i.-e. **h₂lḱ-sn-ā*, avec **h₂lḱ-* apparenté à **h₂olk-* dans av. *varəsa-*, v. sl. *vlasъ* "poil, cheveu, chevelure": cf. Frisk (1960 ss.: 93) et Chantraine (1968 ss.: 624). Bien que ce **h₂lḱ(-sn-ā)* soit isolé non seulement en grec, mais aussi en indo-européen, on ne peut le rejeter a priori et il est en tout cas à préférer à la forme reconstruite i.-e. **h₂loqn-* que Merlingen (1962: 28) admet pour gr.

λάχνη dans une perspective pélasgique.

Cependant il y a une explication plus plausible parce qu'elle part d'un mot attesté en grec même et parce qu'elle est aussi sémantiquement préférable. Je crois que pour λάχνη il faut remonter à un ancien *νάχνη avec dissimilation $n-n > l-n$, lui-même issu de *νακ-σν-α̃: or ce *νακ- figure comme tel dans νάκη (déjà chez Homère), νάκος (thème neutre en *-s-: cf. le suffixe *-σν-) signifiant "toison, peau d'un mouton ou d'une chèvre" et n'ayant donc pas simplement le sens de "poil, cheveu, chevelure" de *υἱάκ-σν-α̃.

6. Le terme ληνός, dor. λᾱνός qui constitue le nom de divers objets creux, par exemple "abreuvoirs où le bétail peut aussi se baigner", "pressoir", "emplature du mât" et "sarcophage", n'a pas d'étymologie: cf. Frisk (1960 ss.: 117) et Chantraine (1968 ss.: 637). Chantraine ajoute même que l'hypothèse "d'un emprunt serait plausible".

Or ληνός s'explique excellemment à partir d'un plus ancien *νᾱνός avec dissimilation $n-n > l-n$. La racine *νᾱ- figure dans lat. *nāre* "nager", skr. *snāti* et tokh. B *nāsk-* "se baigner", gr. νήλω, dor. νάλω "nager", etc. < l.-e. *(s)nā-: cf. Van Windekens (1976: 312). Pour le suffixe -vo- je renvoie à Chantraine (1933: 190 s.) où l'on trouve plusieurs autres exemples.

A l'origine *νᾱνός > (dor.) λᾱνός, ληνός a donc désigné une "baignoire": ce sens s'est maintenu dans "abreuvoirs où le bétail peut aussi se baigner".

Voir aussi infra sous 10, le terme βαλανεῖον "établissement de bain, etc..".

7. Pour le mot λιγνός, -ύος "feu mêlé d'une fumée épaisse, fumée noire et épaisse", "dicker russiger Rauch, Qualm, qualmendes Feuer", Frisk (1960 ss.: 121) et Chantraine (1968 ss.: 639) admettent une formation à suffixe -vu-, dont en tout cas il n'y a que peu

d'exemples: cf. Schwyzler (1939: 495). Pour l'élément radical $\lambda\iota\gamma$ - ces deux spécialistes de l'étymologie grecque n'ont trouvé aucune proposition valable.

Il faut cependant aussi mentionner la tentative de Durante, AION-L VIII (1968: 24), qui (en reprenant au fond une explication de Güntert) part de gr. $\lambda\bar{\upsilon}\gamma\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ "ombreux", $\eta\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\eta$ "ombre, obscurité" et qui pose un plus ancien $*\lambda\upsilon\gamma\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ d'où $\lambda\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ à la suite d'une dissimilation $u-u > i-u$. Bien que le rapport entre $\lambda\bar{\upsilon}\gamma\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$ et $\eta\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\eta$ soit loin d'être clair (faut-il partir de $\lambda\bar{\upsilon}\gamma$ - ou de $\eta\lambda\upsilon\gamma$ -?), il faut tenir compte de la tentative de Durante. J'y ajoute que Furnée (1972: 298) aurait mieux fait de la signaler au lieu de rapprocher $\lambda\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ de $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ "souiller", ce dans la perspective de son "Vorgriechisch" où tout peut alterner avec tout, aussi bien dans le domaine sémantique que dans les domaines phonétique et morphologique.

Seulement à côté de l'interprétation de $\lambda\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma < *\lambda\upsilon\gamma\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ avec, donc, un $\lambda\bar{\upsilon}\gamma$ - dont le rapport avec $\eta\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\eta$ reste problématique, il y a à mon avis une autre qui est plus acceptable pour l'aspect morphologique de la comparaison. J'estime que $\lambda\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ sort d'un plus ancien $*\nu\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ à la suite d'une dissimilation $n-n > l-n$: ce $*\nu\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ doit être rapproché de lat. *niger* "noir" et de tokh. B *ñakre* "obscur". C'est à Isebaert, *Orbis* XXVI (1977: 382 s.), que nous devons la preuve de la parenté des termes latin et tokharien.

La difficulté de l'analyse de lat. *niger* et de tokh. B *ñakre* sur laquelle a insisté Isebaert, cesse d'exister maintenant à la suite de l'apport de gr. $*\nu\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma > \lambda\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$. En effet, on se trouve manifestement en présence d'un ancien thème en $*-r/n-$ dont lat. *niger* < i.-e. $*nigro-$ et tokh. B *ñakre* < i.-e. $*nigro-$ avec $*-r-$ constituent la forme thématisée, et dont $*\nu\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma > \lambda\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ avec $*-n-$ offre un passage secondaire aux thèmes en $*-\bar{u}-$.

8. Il y a accord entre Frisk (1960 ss.: 133 s.) et Chantraine (1968 ss.: 645) pour reconnaître que le terme $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\chi\eta$ "pointe de lance, lance, javeline" est inexpliqué. Or je crois que $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\chi\eta$ remonte à un

plus ancien *νόγχι avec dissimilation $n-n > l-n$ et se rattache à la racine de v. sl. *nožb* "μάχαιρα, couteau", vb-*nb-zā* "stecke hinein", m. irl. *ness* "blessure, plaie", < i.-e. **neǵh-*, etc. "durchbohren, stechen": pour cette racine, voir Pokorny (1959: 760).

Par son vocalisme radical *νόγχι > λόγχι correspond plus particulièrement à v. sl. *nožb*, mais la forme grecque comporte évidemment une nasale infixée. Il se peut que dans *νόγχι > λόγχι cette nasale provienne du thème de présent du verbe correspondant (cf. v. sl. vb-*nbzā*), thème de présent du type de λαμβάνω, λανθάνω, μανθάνω et aussi de λαγχάνω: voir d'ailleurs l'exemple de l'homonyme λόγχι "lot" en face du précité λαγχάνω "obtenir par le sort, etc." (cf. ci-dessus sous 4).

9. Aussi bien Chantraine (1968 ss.: 98) que Frisk (1960 ss.: 124 s. et 1972: 35) est d'avis que l'origine du nom propre Ἀπόλλων, qui désigne la divinité bien connue, n'a pas encore été élucidée jusqu'ici, ce en dépit d'un nombre imposant de tentatives, y compris celle que j'ai entreprise moi-même dans *Emérta* XXVI (1958: 33 ss.) dans une perspective pélasgique.

A présent j'estime que le nom propre Ἀπόλλων ne constitue pas un emprunt (donc aussi contre Frisk et Chantraine qui, théoriquement, admettent une origine en Asie Mineure), mais remonte à un appellatif purement grec. Depuis longtemps déjà on a reconnu qu'il faut partir d'une forme plus ancienne *Ἀπελλων: voir chypr. Ἀπείλων et dor. Ἀπέλλων. Dans la forme Ἀπόλλων la voyelle $o < e$ de la deuxième syllabe repose sur une assimilation avec la voyelle de timbre o de la dernière syllabe: on peut partir soit indirectement du vocatif sg. Ἀπολλων < *Ἀπελλον (c'est là l'interprétation traditionnelle), soit directement d'un nominatif sg. du type de dor. Ἀπέλλων comme le propose Ruijgh (1970: 313).

Or *Ἀπελλων repose lui-même sur une forme *Ἀπενλων où $n-n$ a été dissimilé en $l-n$. Ce *Ἀπενλων est un ancien adjectif s'analysant en $\acute{\alpha}$ -privatif et πενλων qui lui prouve un ancien πενλος. Pour le rapport πενλων: πενλος, voir par exemple hom. οὐρανίων: οὐράνιος, où -ων s'est donc joint à un thème

en -λο-: cf. Chantraine (1933: 165). A mon avis il faut écarter l'hypothèse de Ruijgh (1970: 313), selon laquelle *'Απελλίων présente la même finale que les comparatifs du type de χειρών < *χερῶν. L'ancien *πενίος rappelle πενία "gêne, pauvreté" qui, avec πένης, -ητος "celui qui vit péniblement de son travail, besogneux", etc. appartient à la famille grecque de πένομαι "se donner de la peine, etc.", πόνος "dur effort, peine", etc. L'adjectif privatif *ἀπενίος a donc eu comme sens premier celui de "pas pauvre, pas besogneux", c'est-à-dire "riche", d'où le nom propre *'Απενίων "le riche": il est évident que dans *'Απενίων l'emploi du négatif au lieu du positif sert indirectement à relever un superlatif (litote), de sorte que finalement on peut traduire *'Απενίων par "le très riche".

Le sens de *'Απενίων > 'Απόλλων rappelle évidemment celui de Πλούτων < πλοῦτος, nom qui caractérise le dieu qui à l'origine était lié au culte de Koré et Déméter comme dispensateur des produits de la terre (avant de se confondre plus ou moins avec Hadès); voir Chantraine (1968 ss.: 918). L'épithète "le très riche" se comprend fort bien pour Apollon: en effet les relations intimes de ce dieu avec la végétation, la vie des bergers et la nature en général sont connues. C'est donc dans cette qualité, c'est-à-dire en tant que dispensateur des biens de la nature en général qu'il a reçu son nom.

Pour terminer cet exposé je reviens sur la structure proprement dite du nom d'Apollon, notamment de sa forme thessalienne *'Απλουν qui ne se laisse naturellement pas concilier avec le prototype *'Απελλίων: en face de ce dernier, thess. *'Απλουν ne peut représenter qu'un ancien *'Απνων, c'est-à-dire avec le degré zéro πν- de la racine πεν- et avec une finale à suffixe -ων, non pas *-ίων, de sorte que l'on doit reconstruire, me semble-t-il, un ancien adjectif thématique *ἀπνος.

10. Jusqu'ici le terme βαλανεῖον "établissement de bain, (pl.) bains", "Badstube, warmes Bad", avec βαλανεύς "garçon de bains" > βαλανεύω "être garçon de bain, préparer un bain", "ein Bad aufwärmen, Bader sein", n'a pas reçu une interprétation satisfaisante. Je renvoie à Frisk (1954 ss.: 212 s.) et Chantraine (1968 ss.: 159 s.) qui, tout en tenant théoriquement compte d'une origine "égéenne",

risquent (c'est le terme employé par Chantraine lui-même) une hypothèse selon laquelle il y aurait un rapport avec βάλανος "gland", terme désignant aussi toute espèce de verrou ou de cheville: pour Frisk βάλανεϊον serait proprement un "verschlossener Raum" (mais avec ??), pour Chantraine βάλανεύς serait dérivé d'un βάλανος signifiant "la cheville bouchant le trou d'une baignoire".

Le rapport supposé avec βάλανος a été rejeté par Szemerényi, *Gnomon* XLIII (1971: 659) et JHS XCIV (1974: 145), qui, en partant d'une interprétation de myc. *qerana* "a kind of jug", reprend au fond l'ancienne explication de βάλανεϊον, etc. à partir de la racine de gr. βάλλω, etc. Ajoutons-y que Knobloch, *Lingua* LIV (1981: 41 ss.) admet aussi bien βάλλω que βάλανος comme origine, mais dans une autre perspective.

D'autre part, pour βάλανεϊον deux chercheurs ont envisagé une origine pré grecque. Georgiev (1937: 80 s.) a proposé une parenté avec les mots de la famille de lit. *balà* "Bruch, Torfmoor, Morast, Pfuhl", etc., ce qui est absolument inacceptable pour la sémantique (d'ailleurs Georgiev ne mentionne plus ce rapprochement dans ses publications ultérieures). Furnée (1979: 37) renvoie à géorg. *ban-*, etc. "waschen, baden", ce dans la perspective d'une parenté primitive entre un substrat pré grec non-indo-européen et certaines langues caucasiennes du Sud. Dans son introduction (p. 9), Furnée lui-même avoue qu'il est "dessen völlig bewusst, dass ein Vergleich zwischen dem 'Vorgriechischen' und den Kartvelsprachen ein heikles Unternehmen ist, das sowohl von Indogermanisten wie von Kaukasisten mit Skepsis und leichtem Unwillen entgegengenommen wird" (avec des exemples dans note 5). Je voudrais y ajouter que le fait que Furnée refuse catégoriquement d'admettre dans la Grèce préhellénique une langue (ou des langues) indo-européenne à côté d'une langue (ou des langues) non-indo-européenne fait preuve d'un dogmatisme à la fois peu scientifique et fort regrettable. Sur le "pré grec" en général de Furnée, voir supra sous 7.

Ma propre prise de position dans la question des éléments préhelléniques dans le vocabulaire grec a déjà été fixée il y a plus de trente ans: cf. Van Windekens (1952: VIII) où j'ai clairement tenu compte de la possibilité de l'existence d'une couche linguistique

non-indo-européenne à côté d'une couche indo-européenne.

Or à mon avis βαλανεῖον, qui a donc été l'objet d'une discussion assez serrée, mais finalement infructueuse, appartient à la couche préhellénique indo-européenne, appelée généralement le pélasgique et pour laquelle je renvoie en premier lieu à mes ouvrages portant sur cette langue et publiés en 1952, 1954 et 1960. En effet, on peut s'étonner du fait que jusqu'ici on n'ait pas vu que dans βαλανεῖον la partie -λανειον rappelle quand même remarquablement ληνός, dor. λᾶνός, terme qui signifie e.a. des "abreuvoirs où le bétail peut aussi se *baigner*", et dont je pense avoir prouvé supra sous 6, qu'il remonte à un plus ancien *νᾶνός "baignoire" < i.-e. *(s)nā- dans lat. *nāre*, etc. Si dans ληνός, λᾶνός < *νᾶνός rien ne prouve qu'il ne s'agit pas d'un mot authentiquement grec, bien qu'une origine pélasgique ne puisse être rejetée a priori, dans βαλανεῖον la partie -λανειον doit provenir du pélasgique, puisque la partie βα- tout en continuant certainement un élément indo-européen, ne peut s'expliquer à partir du grec.

En effet ce βα- que l'on trouve donc dans un composé comme premier terme à côté d'un second terme signifiant "baignoire" comme ληνός ou tout simplement "bain", et qui doit exprimer une notion qui couvre la technique du bain *chaud*, ne correspond certainement pas par hasard à v.h.a. *bāen*, *bājan* "bāhen, chauffer", d'autant plus que le même i.-e. *bhē- s'observe aussi dans v. isl. *bað* "bain (chaud)", v.h.a. *bad* "bain" < germ. commun **þapa-* "bain chaud" < i.-e. *bhəṭ- to-, avec la même phase apophonique que dans βα- et dans -λανειον. Pour i.-e. *ə₁ > pélasg. *a* et pour i.-e. *bh > pélasg. *b*, cf. Van Windekens (1952: 5 et 15).

Le sens premier de βαλανεῖον a donc été celui de "baignoire (à eau) chaude" ou "bain chaud".

NOTES

- (1) Leuven, 1986.
- (2) J'ai eu le privilège de pouvoir donner un exposé général sur ces questions dans mes conférences, "Essais de solution de quelques

problèmes lexicaux en grec ancien", tenues à l'Université Catholique de Milan, le 4 et le 5 mai 1983, et organisées par mon éminent collègue C. Bognesi.

- (3) Voir plusieurs exemples du même phénomène dans l'ouvrage que j'ai en préparation (cf. supra sous 0 avec note 1).
- (4) Je ne comprends pas le raisonnement de Szemerényi (1964: 146, avec note 4, à propos de ἀφ(ε)νος) sur le pélasgique: d'après lui "the appearance of Mycenaean has made the theory historically untenable". En effet, pourquoi l'existence du mycénien s'opposerait-elle à celle d'une langue non-grecque indo-européenne préhellénique?

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ZUR FRAGE DER RELATIVEN FREQUENZ DER LAUTE /L/ UND /R/ IM *ṚgVĒDA**

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Praha

1.0. Ungefähr seit Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts diskutiert man in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur über verschiedene vor allem historisch-vergleichende und dialektische Probleme der Laute /l/ und /r/ im *ṚgVĒda*, bzw. im Vedischen oder Altindischen (1). Dazu werden von Zeit zu Zeit auch (jedoch oft unterschiedliche) statistische Angaben gemacht, die wir hier einer kurzen Überprüfung unterziehen möchten.

1.1. Nach Yajan Veer (2) ist das Verhältnis beider Laute im *ṚgVĒda* 1:7, wozu der Verf. leider keine näheren statistischen Angaben liefert; es fehlen aber auch Hinweise auf weitere Literatur, wo die Untermauerung der Behauptungen zu finden wäre.

1.2. Unterschiedliche Meinungen zu dieser Frage finden sich auch in den klassischen grammatischen Beschreibungen des Vedischen, bzw. Altindischen. So schreibt A.A. Macdonell (3) unter Berufung auf W.D. Whitney (s. hier Anm. 5), dass das Verhältnis der Laute /l/ und /r/ im Vedischen (also nicht im *ṚgVĒda*) 1:7 betrage. Auch nach J. Wackernagel (4) ist das Verhältnis beider Laute 1:7 und zwar (unter Berufung auf E. Förstermann und wiederum W.D. Whitney) im Altindischen.

2.0. Das fast magisch anmutende Verhältnis 1:7 scheint also in der wissenschaftl. Literatur fest verankert zu sein; beachtliche Unterschiede bestehen vor allem darin, welcher Sprachperiode (*ṚgVĒda* - Vedisch oder Altindisch?) dieses Verhältnis von /l/ und /r/

zugewiesen wird.

2.1. Die oft zitierte und noch heute praktisch einzige komplexe statistische Analyse der altindischen Laute aus der Feder von W.D. Whitney (5) erfasste Texte (10 Abschnitte von je 1000 Lauten) von verschiedenen Inhalt und Alter (darunter auch 2 Abschnitte aus dem *Ṛgveda* und je einem Abschnitt aus *Atharvaveda* und aus zwei *Brāhmaṇas*). Aus der bei W.D. Whitney angegebenen relativen Häufigkeit beider Laute (d.h. $// = 0,69\%$ gegen $/r/ = 5,05\%$) geht – allerdings für das Altindische – das Verhältnis 1:7,3188 hervor, das auch bei J. Wackernagel (offenbar abgerundet) verzeichnet ist. In Whitneys statistischen Berechnungen ist aber kein Anhaltspunkt für dieses Verhältnis beider Laute im Vedischen (bzw. im *Ṛgveda*) zu finden.

2.2. Nach einer weiteren zu diesem Problem hier und da erwähnten Arbeit (von E. Försternann) (6), sollte zwar das Verhältnis beider Laute (wohl im Altindischen?) 1:9 sein; ohne Angaben über die als Ausgangspunkt für seine statistischen Berechnungen benutzte Textauswahl (vgl. dazu kritisch schon W.D. Whitney (7)) kann diese Arbeit jedoch zur Lösung unseres Problems kaum etwas beitragen. Keine statistischen Angaben zum Verhältnis beider Laute enthält ferner die Studie von E.V. Arnold (8) (vgl. auch 4.0.).

3.0. Für den Versuch das Verhältnis beider Laute im *Ṛgveda* festzustellen, kann man natürlich die schon publizierten statistischen Analysen der ṛgvedischen Laute benutzen. Zur Verfügung stehen hier vor allem zwei statistisch ausgewertete Stichproben (9); aufgrund des Materials bei L. Renou (10) ist das Verhältnis $//$ zu $/r/$ wie 1:76,71, wobei unsere Textauswahl (11) (d.h. $// = 0,059077\%$ gegenüber $/r/ = 5,774749\%$) im *Ṛgveda* für beide Laute das Verhältnis 1:97,7495 ergibt.

3.1. Als Grundlage unserer Berechnungen dienen nun zwei in ihrem Umfang kaum vergleichbare Stichproben aus dem *Ṛgveda* (12). Um die statistische Sicherheit unserer Stichprobe zu überprüfen, die Irrtumswahrscheinlichkeit zu verringern und um festzustellen, inwieweit unsere Textauswahl auch das gegenseitige Verhältnis von zwei Lauten (davon ein Laut mit sehr niedriger absoluter Häufigkeit) repräsentiert,

haben wir eine neue, speziell dem Problem des Verhältnisses beider Laute gewidmete Stichprobe aus dem *Ṛgveda* vorgenommen. Durch Zufallsauswahl wurde aus zehn Büchern dieser Sammlung der Anfang (bzw. in einigen Fällen das Ende) der einzelnen Textabschnitte zugrundegelegt und dann der anschliessende (bzw. vorangehende) Text exzerpiert (13). Sein Umfang wurde so gross gewählt, dass in ihm der Laut /r/ mindestens 1400 mal vorkam. Da die Geschlossenheit einzelner Hymnen berücksichtigt wurde, schwankt die absolute Häufigkeit von /r/ in konkreten Textstücken zwischen 1401-1487. Aus dem ersten und letzten Buche des *Ṛgveda* wurden (mit Rücksicht auf Umfang und Wichtigkeit dieser *Maṇḍalas*) je zwei Abschnitte gewählt. In dieser Stichprobe, die also insgesamt 12 Textabschnitte aus dieser Sammlung enthält, wurde dann das Verhältnis beider Laute statistisch verwertet. Es handelt sich um folgende Teile des *Ṛgveda*:

(Ia) = RV I, 1-51	(VI) = RV VI, 22-48
(Ib) = RV I, 70-100	(VII) = RV VII, 66-104
(II) = RV II, 1-27	(VIII) = RV VIII, 51-82
(III) = RV III, 3-34	(IX) = RV IX, 44-76
(IV) = RV IV, 19-49	(Xa) = RV X, 1-30
(V) = RV V, 51-87	(Xb) = RV X, 80-96

3.2. Die entsprechenden Angaben über die Frequenz und das Verhältnis beider Laute sind der Tabelle 1 zu entnehmen: Seite 592.

3.2.1. Auffallend ist in Textabschnitten (Ia), (Xa) und (Xb) die hohe absolute Häufigkeit von //; der Anteil dieser drei Textstücke erreicht insgesamt etwa 51,24% der Gesamtfrequenz dieses Lautes in der ganzen Stichprobe. Im (Ia) ist aber diese Frequenz stark durch RV I, 28 bedingt, wo der Laut // im ganzen 20 mal (d.h. ein Anteil von 60,6% an der Gesamtmenge in diesem Textabschnitt) vorkommt (14); das Verhältnis beider Laute ist hier fast 1:1 (d.h. /r/ zu // wie 21:20 (I)).

Es kommen hier oft vor allem zwei Wörter (u.a. auch viermal im Refrain der Verse 1-4 wiederholt) vor, nämlich *ulūkhala-suta-* und *jalgulaḥ* (bzw. noch im Vers 5 und 6 *ulūkhalaka-* und *ulūkhala-*). Die absolute Häufigkeit von // in den Textabschnitten (Xa) und (Xb) ist zwar auch hoch, doch findet man hier keine so auffallende Ausnahme

Tabelle 1.

Textabschnitt	Frequenz		Verhältnis // : /r/	Anmerkung
	/r/	//		
Ia	1445	33	1:43,7879	(Ia) mit (Ib) 1:70,17
Ib	1432	8	1:179	
II	1475	7	1:210,714	
III	1432	14	1:102,286	
IV	1445	11	1:131,364	
V	1424	7	1:203,429	
VI	1450	14	1:103,571	
VII	1487	16	1:92,9375	
VIII	1401	6	1:233,5	
IX	1416	15	1:94,4	
Xa	1471	34	1:43,2647	(Xa) mit (Xb) 1:41,61
Xb	1442	36	1:40,55	

wie in RV I, 28. Im Textabschnitt (Xa) kommt der Laut // 34 mal in insgesamt 14 Hymnen vor; höhere Frequenz ist besonders für X, 10; X, 14 und für X, 16 zu vermerken. Im (Xb) sind 36 //-Laute in 12 Hymnen vorhanden, wobei höhere Frequenz vor allem für X, 85; X, 86 und für X, 87 zu verzeichnen ist. Aus der Übersicht (= Tabelle 2) einiger Hymnen aus unserer Stichprobe, die höhere Frequenz von // aufweisen, geht die besondere Stellung von RV I, 28 deutlich hervor: Seite 593.

3.3. Der Hymnus I, 28 ist also mit seiner Lautstruktur in der ganzen Stichprobe so atypisch, dass wir ihn in weiteren Berechnungen unberücksichtigt lassen dürfen. Die Abhängigkeit des Verhältnisses beider Laute vom Umfang der als Grundlage für die numerische Auswertung benutzten Stichprobe zeigt dann die Tabelle 3. Am Anfang sind beide Textabschnitte mit hoher Frequenz von // angeführt; es folgen weitere Textstücke (Ia) - (IX): Seite 593.

Tabelle 2.

Hymnus	Zahl der Verse	Frequenz		Verhältnis // : /r/
		/r/	//	
I, 28	9	21	20	1:1,05
X, 10	14	60	5	1:12
X, 14	16	85	4	1:21,25
X, 16	14	53	5	1:10,6
X, 18	14	81	4	1:20,25
X, 85	47	190	11	1:17,2727
X, 87	25	133	5	1:26,6

Tabelle 3.

Textab- schnitt	Frequenz von /r/		Frequenz von //		Verhältnis // : /r/
	im Text- abschnitt	Summe in Textab- schnitten	im Text- abschnitt	Summe in Textab- schnitten	
Xa	1471	-	34	-	1:43,2647
Xb	1442	2 913	36	70	1:41,6143
Ia*	1424	4 337	13	83	1:52,2530
Ib	1432	5 769	8	91	1:63,3956
II	1475	7 244	7	98	1:73,9184
III	1432	8 676	14	112	1:77,4643
IV	1445	10 121	11	123	1:82,2846
V	1424	11 545	7	130	1:88,8077
VI	1450	12 995	14	144	1:90,2431
VII	1487	14 482	16	160	1:90,5125
VIII	1401	15 883	6	166	1:95,6807
IX	1416	17 299	15	181	1:95,5746

* Ohne RV I, 28.

Aus diesen Ermittlungen geht also hervor, dass das Verhältnis von // zu /r/ im *Ṛgveda* etwa 1:95 beträgt. Zugleich hat es sich gezeigt, dass unsere ältere Stichprobe (s. Anm. 11) aus dieser Sammlung die

Verhältnisse auch von Lauten mit relativ kleiner Frequenz ganz gut wiedergeben kann (15). Es hat sich durch den Vergleich beider Stichproben ferner herausgestellt, dass das oben erwähnte Verhältnis beider Laute im *Ṛgveda* mit einem hohen Grad von Wahrscheinlichkeit zutrifft.

3.4. An der Gesamtmenge von 181 */l/*-Lauten haben insgesamt 71 verschiedene Wörter Anteil (16), wobei in fünf Fällen (falls das Kompositum *nīla-lōhita* nicht gezählt wird) der Laut */l/* in einem Wort zweimal vorkommt (17). Mehr als zweimal sind 25 Wörter belegt (d.h. etwa 35,2% der Gesamtmenge aller Wörter mit */l/*), höchste absolute Häufigkeit weisen folgende Wörter auf: *kalāśa-* [15], *(u)lōkā-* [15] (18), *ślōka-* [14] (19), *bāla-* [12] (20), *valā-* [10], *kalp-* [8], *kēvala-* [6], *kīla/kīlā* [6], *bahulā-* [6] und *-mīśla-* [6] (21). Der Anteil dieser 10 Wörter an der Gesamtfrequenz des Lautes */l/* beträgt dabei 54,1436%. Die Verteilung von einzelnen Wörtern zeigt, dass 73,33% aller Belege von *kalāśa-* im Textabschnitt (IX) vorkommt: *(u)lōkā-* ist in fünf Textabschnitten (Ib, VI, VII, Xa und Xb) vertreten, *ślōka-* sogar in zehn (Ia, Ib, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, Xa und Xb). Das Wort *bāla-* kommt in acht Textabschnitten (Ia, Ib, V, VI, VII, VIII, Xa und Xb) vor und *valā-* in fünf (Ia, II [hier 50% Belege], III, IV und VI) usw.

4.0. Im allgemeinen ist in späteren vedischen Sammlungen und in weiteren Werken dieser Periode sowie auch in der nachvedischen Sprache eine Zunahme des */l/* gegenüber dem *Ṛgveda* zu beobachten (22). A.A. Macdonell (23) und J. Wackernagel (24) zufolge beträgt das Verhältnis von */l/* im *Ṛgveda* und *Atharvaveda* 1:7. Überraschende gleichzeitig aber kaum überzeugende Feststellung findet man bei Yajan Veer (25), der aber auch in diesem Falle keine statistischen Angaben beibringt. Seiner Meinung nach 'in the Atharvaveda the sound *l* becomes certainly more frequent than the sound *r*' (S. 3) und 'in the AV., *l* is eight times more frequent as *r*...' (S. 16). Der Schätzungen V. Arnolds nach (26), 'the progress of the letter */l/* is as regular, but much more rapid. If its frequency in the Atharvaveda be reckoned as 100, its relative frequency in the *Ṛgvedic* periods is 2 1/2, 6, 20 respectively'.

4.1. Um diese Angaben kurz überprüfen zu können, stützen wir uns

vorläufig auf das statistische Material einer Stichprobe, die als Grundlage einer in Vorbereitung befindlichen Studie über die Frequenz der Laute des *Atharvavēda* diente (27). Wenn man also die relative Frequenz des *//* im *Ṛgveda* (d.h. 0,059077%, s. oben 3.0.) mit der relativen Frequenz des *//* in dieser Stichprobe (d.h. 0,3845%) vergleicht, so geht daraus ein Verhältnis von etwa 1:6,5 hervor; es ist hier also eine bedeutende Zunahme von *//* im *Atharvavēda* festzustellen. Da die relative Häufigkeit von */r/* in dieser Sammlung anhand unserer Stichprobe 5,02573% beträgt, wäre dann das Verhältnis von *//* zu */r/* im *Atharvavēda* auf etwa 1:13 zu schätzen.

Obwohl unsere statistische Analyse zum Problem der Frequenz bzw. des Verhältnisses dieser Laute nur von beschränkter Aussagekraft sein kann, da sie von den als Ausgangspunkt für solche Berechnungen gewählten Stichproben abhängig ist, dürften diese Ergebnisse das gegenseitige Verhältnis beider Laute mit relativ hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit widerspiegeln.

ANMERKUNGEN

- * Für liebenswürdige Zusendung von einigen Xerox-Kopien sowie auch für weitere wirksame Hilfe bin ich Dr. Chlodwig Werba (Wien) und Dr. Ralf-Peter Ritter (West Berlin) zu besonderem Dank verpflichtet.
- (1) Vgl. z.B. Thumb A. – Hauschild R., 1958, Bd. I, 1: 239 f. (mit Lit.); Burrow T., 1972: 534 f.; Deshpande, M.M., 1979: 263 f.
- (2) 1979: 3. "In the *Ṛg-Veda* the sound *r* is seven times more frequent than the sound *l*..."
- (3) 1910: 43 (mit Anm. 11): "it (d.h. *//*) is rarer in Vedic than in any cognate language except old Iranian... It is much rarer than *r*, which is seven times as frequent".
- (4) 1896 (Bd. I, Lautlehre): 191b: "*l* ist im Ai. verhältnismässig seltener als in den anderen ig. Sprachen mit Ausnahme der iranischen, vgl. Förstemann, KZ 2, 39, Whitney JAOS XI, p. XL ff., wonach sich die Häufigkeit des *l* zu der des *r* im Ai. wie 1:7, im Griech. wie 6:7 verhält".
- (5) 1880. Es handelt sich eigentlich als ein Resumé eines Vortrags

- von W.D. Whitney, das in *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, S. CL-CLIII veröffentlicht wurde. Diese *Proceedings of the AOS* sind ein Teil (mit eigener Paginierung) von JAOS X, 1880 (so im Exemplar, das uns zur Verfügung steht). Bei Wackernagel und Macdonell (vgl. Anm. 3 und 4) zitiert man aber JAOS XI, allerdings mit Paginierung, die dem Jahrgang X des JAOS entspräche. In JAOS XI, 1885 ist zwar eine weitere statistische Studie von W.D. Whitney und W. Haskell, S. XXXVII-XXXIX publiziert, die aber zu unserem Problem keine Angaben bringt. Eine Zusammenfassung seiner statistischen Analyse der altindischen Laute veröffentlichte W.D. Whitney auch in seiner Grammatik (1924), 5. Aufl. 26.
- (6) 1853: 35 ff. (s. vor allem die Tabelle S. 39). Bei J. Wackernagel ist diese Arbeit wohl zu Unterstützung der Angaben für das Verhältnis beider Laute im Griechischen angeführt.
 - (7) Vgl. 1880: CL.
 - (8) 1893: 145-147.
 - (9) In der Stichprobe aus dem *Ṛgveda*, mit der T.J. Jelizarenkova arbeitet (s. 1974: 103 f., und 1982: 88) ist klein // enthalten.
 - (10) 1952: 21.
 - (11) P. Vavroušek, 1986: 332.
 - (12) L. Renou arbeitet mit einem Textabschnitt von 2607 Lauten; zu diesem Abschnitt macht er jedoch keine näheren Angaben. Unsere Stichprobe ist aus allen 10 Büchern des *Ṛgveda* zusammengestellt; die Gesamtmenge der Laute beträgt 47 396.
 - (13) Nach der Ausgabe von Th. Aufrecht, 1861 und 1863.
 - (14) Es handelt sich ohne Zweifel um Absicht des alten vedischen Dichters; ähnliche Fälle z.B. X, 106 (Überwuchern der /r/- und /ph/-Laute, vgl. Geldner K.F., 1951 (Bd. III): 325 mit Lit.), vgl. weiter auch II, 39 usw.
 - (15) Gesondert betrachten könnte man auch solche Belege, wo ein /r/-Laut durch Satzsandhi bedingt ist (so 14,7928% in unserer Stichprobe) bzw. wo /r/ in einem Grammeme (-re, -ran usw.) vorkommt (insgesamt 0,711% der Gesamtmenge von /r/ in unserer Textauswahl). Dann wäre das Verhältnis beider Laute etwa 1:80,76.
 - (16) Für diese Statistik sind solche Fälle, wie *sám-míśla-* / *ní-míśla-* / *á-míśla-* oder *bála-* / *sá-bála-* / *ba la-déya-* zusammengezählt.

- (17) Es handelt sich um *salmāf-*, *salalūka-*, *lalāma-*, *kīlāā-pa-* und *tīlvīla-* (mit Verbum *tīlvīlāyātē*).
- (18) Zusammen mit *pati-lōkā-* und *jīva-lōkā-*.
- (19) Gezählt ist auch *ślōkin* (1 x).
- (20) Mit *sā-bala-* und *bala-dēya-*.
- (21) D.h. *ā-miśla-*, *nī-miśla-* und *sām-miśla-*.
- (22) Vgl. Thumb A. – Hauschild R., 1958 (Bd. I, 1, Lautlehre): 240.
- (23) S. Anm. 3, S. 43.
- (24) S. Anm. 4.
- (25) S. Anm. 2, S. 3 und 16.
- (26) S. Anm. 8, S. 145.
- (27) Mit Rücksicht auf den Umfang des *Atharvavēda* wurde für die statistische Analyse eine Stichprobe von 19 241 Lauten ausgewählt. Durch Zufallsauswahl zugrundegelegte Hymnen sind nach der Ausgabe *Atharva-Veda Sanhitā*, hrsg. von R. Roth und W.D. Whitney, 1924, exzerpiert worden.

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BCILL 5: *Language in Sociology*, éd. VERDOODT A. et KJOLSETH Rn, 304 pp., 1976. Prix: 760,- FB.

From the 153 sociolinguistics papers presented at the 8th World Congress of Sociology, the editors selected 10 representative contributions about language and education, industrialization, ethnicity, politics, religion, and speech act theory.

BCILL 6: HANART M., *Les littératures dialectales de la Belgique romane: Guide bibliographique*, 96 pp., 1976 (2^e tirage, corrigé de CD 12). Prix: 340,- FB.

En ce moment où les littératures connexes suscitent un regain d'intérêt indéniable, ce livre rassemble une somme d'informations sur les productions littéraires wallonnes, mais aussi picardes et lorraines. Y sont également considérés des domaines annexes comme la linguistique dialectale et l'ethnographie.

BCILL 7: *Hethitica II*, éd. JUCQUOIS G. et LEBRUN R., avec la collaboration de DEVLAMMINCK B., II-159 pp., 1977, Prix: 480,- FB.

Cinq ans après *Hethitica I* publié à la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Louvain, quelques hittitologues belges et étrangers fournissent une dizaine de contributions dans les domaines de la linguistique anatolienne et des cultures qui s'y rattachent.

BCILL 8: JUCQUOIS G. et DEVLAMMINCK B., *Compléments aux dictionnaires étymologiques du grecn*. Tome I: A-K, II-121 pp., 1977. Prix: 380,- FB.

Le *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* du regretté CHANTRAINE P. est déjà devenu, avant la fin de sa parution, un classique indispensable pour les hellénistes. Il a fait l'objet de nombreux comptes rendus, dont il a semblé intéressant de regrouper l'essentiel en un volume. C'est le but que poursuivent ces *Compléments aux dictionnaires étymologiques du grec*.

BCILL 9: DEVLAMMINCK B. et JUCQUOIS G., *Compléments aux dictionnaires étymologiques du gothique*. Tome I: A-F, II-123 pp., 1977. Prix: 380,- FB.

Le principal dictionnaire étymologique du gothique, celui de Feist, date dans ses dernières éditions de près de 40 ans. En attendant une refonte de l'œuvre qui incorporerait les données récentes, ces compléments donnent l'essentiel de la littérature publiée sur ce sujet.

BCILL 10: VERDOODT A., *Les problèmes des groupes linguistiques en Belgique: Introduction à la bibliographie et guide pour la recherche*, 235 pp., 1977 (réédition de CD 1). Prix: 590,- FB.

Un «trend-report» de 2.000 livres et articles relatifs aux problèmes socio-linguistiques belges. L'auteur, qui a obtenu l'aide de nombreux spécialistes, a notamment dépouillé les catalogues par matière des bibliothèques universitaires, les principales revues belges et les périodiques sociologiques et linguistiques de classe internationale.

BCILL 11: RAISON J. et POPE M., *Index transnuméré du linéaire A*, 333 pp., 1977. Prix: 840,- FB.

Cet ouvrage est la suite, antérieurement promise, de RAISON-POPE, *Index du linéaire A*, Rome 1971. A l'introduction près (et aux dessins des «mot»), il en reprend entièrement le contenu et constitue de ce fait une édition nouvelle, corrigée sur les originaux en 1974-76 et augmentée des textes récemment publiés d'Arkhanès, Knossos, La Canée, Zakro, etc., également autopsiés et rephotographiés par les auteurs.

BCILL 12: BAL W. et GERMAIN J., *Guide bibliographique de linguistique romane*, VI-267 pp., 1978. Prix 685,- FB., ISBN 2-87077-097-9, 1982, ISBN 2-8017-009-1.

Conçu principalement en fonction de l'enseignement, cet ouvrage, sélectif, non exhaustif, tâche d'être à jour pour les travaux importants jusqu'à la fin de 1977. La bibliographie de linguistique romane proprement dite s'y trouve complétée par un bref aperçu de bibliographie générale et par une introduction bibliographique à la linguistique générale.

BCILL 13: ALMEIDA I., *L'opérativité sémantique des récits-paraboles. Sémiotique narrative et textuelle. Herméneutique du discours religieux*. Préface de Jean LADRIÈRE, XIII-484 pp., 1978. Prix: 1.250,- FB.

Prenant comme champ d'application une analyse sémiotique fouillée des récits-paraboles de l'Évangile de Marc, ce volume débouche sur une réflexion herméneutique concernant le monde religieux de ces récits. Il se fonde sur une investigation épistémologique contrôlant les démarches suivies et situant la sémiotique au sein de la question générale du sens et de la compréhension.

BCILL 14: Études Minoennes I: le linéaire A, éd. Y. DUHOUX, 191 pp., 1978..Prix: 480,- FB.

Trois questions relatives à l'une des plus anciennes écritures d'Europe sont traitées dans ce recueil; évolution passée et état présent des recherches; analyse linguistique de la langue du linéaire A; lecture phonétique de toutes les séquences de signes édités à ce jour.

BCILL 15: Hethitica III, 165 pp., 1979. Prix: 490,- FB.

Ce volume rassemble quatre études consacrées à la titulature royale hittite, la femme dans la société hittite, l'onomastique lycienne et gréco-asiatique, les rituels CTH 472 contre une impureté.

BCILL 16: GODIN P., *Aspecten van de woordvolgorde in het Nederlands. Een syntaktische, semantische en functionele benadering*, VI+ 338 pp., 1980. Prix: 1.000,- FB., ISBN 2-87077-241-6.

In dit werk wordt de stelling verdedigd dat de woordvolgorde in het Nederlands beregeld wordt door drie hoofdfactoren, nl. de syntaxis (in de engere betekenis van dat woord), de semantiek (in de zin van distributie van de dieptekasussen in de oppervlaktestructuur) en het zgn. functionele zinsperspektief (d.i. de distributie van de constituenten naargelang van hun graad van communicatief dynamisme).

BCILL 17: BOHL S., *Ausdrucksmittel für ein Besitzverhältnis im Vedischen und Griechischen*, III+ 108 pp., 1980. Prix: 360,- FB., ISBN 2-87077-170-3.

This study examines the linguistic means used for expressing possession in Vedic Indian and Homeric Greek. The comparison, based on a select corpus of texts, reveals that these languages use essentially inherited devices but with differing frequency ratios. In addition Greek has developed a verb "to have", the result of a different rhythm in cultural development.

BCILL 18: RAISON J. et POPE M., *Corpus transnuméré du linéaire A*, 350 pp., 1980. Prix: 1.100,- FB.

Cet ouvrage est, d'une part, la dlé à l'Index transnuméré du linéaire A des mêmes auteurs, BCILL 11: de l'autre, il ajoute aux recueils d'inscriptions déjà publiés de plusieurs côtés des compléments indispensables: descriptions, transnumérations, appareil critique, localisation précise et chronologie détaillée des textes, nouveautés diverses, etc.

BCILL 19: FRANCARD M., *Le parler de Tenneville. Introduction à l'étude linguistique des parlers wallon-lorrains*, 312 pp., 1981. Prix: 780,- FB., ISBN 2-87077-000-6.

Dialectologues, romanistes et linguistes tireront profit de cette étude qui leur fournit une riche documentation sur le domaine wallon-lorrain, un aperçu général de la segmentation dialectale en Wallonie, et de nouveaux matériaux pour l'étude du changement linguistique dans le domaine gallo-roman. Ce livre intéressera aussi tous ceux qui sont attachés au patrimoine culturel du Luxembourg belge en particulier, et de la Wallonie en général.

BCILL 20: DESCAMPS A. et al., *Genèse et structure d'un texte du Nouveau Testament. Étude interdisciplinaire du chapitre 11 de l'Évangile de Jean*, 292 pp., 1981. Prix: 895,- FB.

Comment se pose le problème de l'intégration des multiples approches d'un texte biblique? Comment articuler les unes aux autres les perspectives développées par l'exégèse historicocritique et les approches structuralistes? C'est à ces questions que tentent de répondre les auteurs à partir de l'étude du récit de la résurrection de Lazare. Ce volume a paru simultanément dans la collection «Lectio divina» sous le n° 104, au Cerf à Paris, ISBN 2-204-01658-6.

BCILL 21: Hethitica IV, 155 pp., 1981. Prix: 390,- FB., ISBN 2-87077-26.

Six contributions d'E. Laroche, F. Bader, H. Gonnet, R. Lebrun et P. Crepon sur: les noms des Hittites; hitt. zinna-; un geste du roi hittite lors des affaires agraires; vœux de la reine à Istar de Lawazantiya; pauvres et démunis dans la société hittite; le thème du cerf dans l'iconographie anatolienne.

BCILL 22: J.-J. GAZIAUX, *L'élevage des bovidés à Jauchelette en roman pays de Brabant. Étude dialectologique et ethnographique*, XVIII + 372 pp., 1 encart, 45 illustr., 1982. Prix: 1.170,- FB., ISBN 2-87077-137-1.

Tout en proposant une étude ethnographique particulièrement fouillée des divers aspects de l'élevage des bovidés, avec une grande sensibilité au facteur humain, cet ouvrage recueille le vocabulaire wallon des paysans d'un petit village de l'est du Brabant, contrée peu explorée jusqu'à présent sur le plan dialectal.

BCILL 23: Hethitica V, 131 pp., 1983. Prix: 330,- FB., ISBN 2-87077-155-X.

Onze articles de H. Berman, M. Forlanini, H. Gonnet, R. Haase, E. Laroche, R. Lebrun, S. de Martino, L.M. Mascheroni, H. Nowicki, K. Shields.

BCILL 24: L. BEHEYDT, *Kindertaalonderzoek. Een methodologisch handboek*, 252 pp., 1983. Prix: 620,- FB., ISBN 2-87077-171-1.

Dit werk begint met een overzicht van de trends in het kindertaalonderzoek. Er wordt vooral aandacht besteed aan de methodes die gebruikt worden om de taalontwikkeling te onderzoeken en te bestuderen. Het biedt een gedetailleerd analyserooster voor het onderzoek van de receptieve en de produktieve taalwaardigheid zowel door middel van tests als door middel van bandopnamen. Zowel onderzoek van de woordenschat als onderzoek van de grammatica komen uitvoerig aan bod.

BCILL 25: J.-P. SONNET, *La parole consacrée. Théorie des actes de langage, linguistique de l'énonciation et parole de la foi*, VI-197 pp., 1984. Prix: 520,- FB. ISBN 2-87077-239-4.

D'où vient que la parole de la foi ait une telle force?

Ce volume tente de répondre à cette question en décrivant la «parole consacrée», en cernant la puissance spirituelle et en définissant la relation qu'elle instaure entre l'homme qui la prononce et le Dieu dont il parle.

BCILL 26: A. MORPURGO DAVIES - Y. DUHOUX (ed.), *Linear B: A 1984 Survey. Proceedings of the Mycenaean Colloquium of the VIIIth Congress of the International Federation of the Societies of Classical Studies (Dublin, 27 August-1st September 1984)*, 310 pp., 1985. Prix: 850 FB., ISBN 2-87077-289-0.

Six papers by well known Mycenaean specialists examine the results of Linear B studies more than 30 years after the decipherment of script. Writing, language, religion and economy are all considered with constant reference to the Greek evidence of the First Millennium B.C. Two additional articles introduce a discussion of archaeological data which bear on the study of Mycenaean religion.

BCILL 27: Hethica VI, 204 pp., 1985. Prix: 550 FB. ISBN 2-87077-290-4.

Dix articles de J. Boley, M. Forlanini, H. Gonnet, E. Laroche, R. Lebrun, E. Neu, M. Paroussis, M. Poetto, W.R. Schmalstieg, P. Swiggers.

BCILL 28: R. DASCOTTE, *Trois suppléments au dictionnaire du wallon du Centre*, 359 pp., 1 encart, 1985. Prix: 950 FB. ISBN 2-87077-303-X.

Ce travail comprend 5.200 termes qui apportent un complément substantiel au *Dictionnaire du wallon du Centre* (8.100 termes). Il est le fruit de 25 ans d'enquête sur le terrain et du dépouillement de nombreux travaux dont la plupart sont inédits, tels des mémoires universitaires. Nul doute que ces *Trois suppléments au dictionnaire du wallon du Centre* intéresseront le spécialiste et l'amateur.

BCILL 29: B. HENRY, *Les enfants d'immigrés italiens en Belgique francophone. Seconde génération et comportement linguistique*, 360 pp., 1985. Prix: 950 FB. ISBN 2-87077-306-4.

L'ouvrage se veut un constat de la situation linguistique de la seconde génération immigrée italienne en Belgique francophone en 1976. Il est basé sur une étude statistique du comportement linguistique de 333 jeunes issus de milieux immigrés socio-économiques modestes. De chiffres préoccupants qui parlent et qui donnent à réfléchir...

BCILL 30: H. VAN HOOF, *Petite histoire de la traduction en Occident*, 105 pp., 1986. Prix: 380 FB. ISBN 2-87077-343-9.

L'histoire de notre civilisation occidentale vue par la lorgnette de la traduction. De l'Antiquité à nos jours, le rôle de la traduction dans la transmission du patrimoine gréco-latin, dans la christianisation et la Réforme, dans le façonnage des langues, dans le développement des littératures, dans la diffusion des idées et du savoir. De la traduction orale des premiers temps à la traduction automatique moderne, un voyage fascinant.

BCILL 31: G. JUCQUOIS, *De l'égocentrisme à l'ethnocentrisme*, 421 pp., 1986. Prix: 1.100 FB. ISBN 2-87077-352-8.

La rencontre de l'Autre est au centre des préoccupations comparatistes. Elle constitue toujours un événement qui suscite une interpellation du sujet: les manières d'être, d'agir et de penser de l'Autre sont autant de questions sur nos propres attitudes.

BCILL 32: G. JUCQUOIS, *Analyse du langage et perception culturelle du changement*, 240 p., 1986. Prix: 640 FB. ISBN 2-87077-353-6.

La communication suppose la mise en jeu de différences dans un système perçu comme permanent. La perception du changement est liée aux données culturelles: le concept de différentiel, issu très lentement des mathématiques, peut être appliqué aux sciences du vivant et aux sciences de l'homme.

BCILL 33-35: **L. DUBOIS**, *Recherches sur le dialecte arcadien*, 3 vol., 236, 324, 134 pp., 1986. Prix: 1.975 FB. ISBN 2-87077-370-6.

Cet ouvrage présente aux antiquisants et aux linguistes un corpus mis à jour des inscriptions arcadiennes ainsi qu'une description synchronique et historique du dialecte. Le commentaire des inscriptions est envisagé sous l'angle avant tout philologique; l'objectif de la description de ce dialecte grec est la mise en évidence de nombreux archaïsmes linguistiques.

BCILL 36: *Hethica VII*, 267 pp., 1987. Prix: 800 FB.

Neuf articles de P. Cornil, M. Forlanini, H. Gonnet, R. Haase, G. Kellerman, R. Lebrun, K. Shields, O. Soysal, Th. Urbin Choffray.

BCILL 37: *Hethica VIII. Acta Anatolica E. Laroche oblata*, 426 pp., 1987. Prix: 1.300 FB.

Ce volume constitue les *Actes* du Colloque anatolien de Paris (1-5 juillet 1985): articles de D. Arnaud, D. Beyer, Cl. Brixhe, A.M. et B. Dinçol, F. Echevarria, M. Forlanini, J. Freu, H. Gonnet, F. Imparati, D. Kassab, G. Kellerman, E. Laroche, R. Lebrun, C. Le Roy, A. Morpurgo Davies et J.D. Hawkins, P. Neve, D. Parayre, F. Pecchioli-Daddi, O. Pelon, M. Salvini, I. Singer, C. Watkins.

BCILL 38: **J.-J. GAZIAUX**, *Parler wallon et vie rurale au pays de Jodoigne à partir de Jauchette*. Avant-propos de Willy Bal, 368 pp., 1987. Prix: 790 FB.

Après avoir caractérisé le parler wallon de la région de Jodoigne, l'auteur de ce livre abondamment illustré s'attache à en décrire le cadre villageois, à partir de Jauchette. Il s'intéresse surtout à l'évolution de la population et à divers aspects de la vie quotidienne (habitat, alimentation, distractions, vie religieuse), dont il recueille le vocabulaire wallon, en alliant donc dialectologie et ethnographie.

BCILL 39: **G. SERBAT**, *Linguistique latine et Linguistique générale*, 74 pp., 1988. Prix: 280 FB. ISBN 90-6831-103-4.

Huit conférences faites dans le cadre de la Chaire Francqui, d'octobre à décembre 1987, sur: le temps; deixis et anaphore; les complétives; la relative; nominatif; génitif partitif; principes de la dérivation nominale.

BCILL 40: *Anthropo-logiques*, éd. D. Huvelle, J. Giot, R. Jongen, P. Marchal, R. Pirard (Centre interdisciplinaire de Glossologie et d'Anthropologie Clinique), 202 pp., 1988. Prix: 600 FB. ISBN 90-6831-108-5.

En un moment où l'on ne peut plus ignorer le malaise épistémologique où se trouvent les sciences de l'humain, cette série nouvelle publie des travaux situés dans une perspective anthropo-logique unifiée mais déconstruite, épistémologiquement et expérimentalement fondée. Domaines abordés dans ce premier numéro: présentation générale de l'anthropologie clinique; épistémologie; linguistique saussurienne et glossologie; méthodologie de la description de la grammaticalité langagière (syntaxe); anthropologie de la personne (l'image spéculaire).

BCILL 41: **M. FROMENT**, *Temps et dramatisations dans les récits écrits d'élèves de 5^{ème}*, 268 pp., 1988. Prix: 850 FB.

Les récits soumis à l'étude ont été analysés selon les principes d'une linguistique qui intègre la notion de circulation discursive, telle que l'a développée M. Bakhtine.

La comparaison des textes a fait apparaître que le temps était un principe différenciateur, un révélateur du type d'histoire racontée.

La réflexion sur la temporalité a également conduit à constituer une typologie des textes intermédiaire entre la langue et la diversité des productions, en fonction de leur homogénéité.

BCILL 42: Y.L. ARBEITMAN (ed.), *A Linguistic Happening in Memory of Ben Schwartz. Studies in Anatolian, Italic and Other Indo-European Languages*, 598 pp., 1988. Prix: 1800,- FB.

36 articles dédiés à la mémoire de B. Schwartz traitent de questions de linguistique anatolienne, italique et indo-européenne.

SÉRIE PÉDAGOGIQUE DE L'INSTITUT DE LINGUISTIQUE DE LOUVAIN (SPILL).

SPILL 1: JUCQUOIS G., avec la collaboration de **LEUSE J.**, *Conventions pour la présentation d'un texte scientifique*, 1978, 54 pp. (épuisé).

SPILL 2: JUCQUOIS G., *Projet pour un traité de linguistique différentielle*, 1978, 67 pp. Prix: 170,- FB.

Exposé succinct destiné à de régulières mises à jour de l'ensemble des projets et des travaux en cours dans une perspective différentielle au sein de l'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain.

SPILL 3: JUCQUOIS G., *Additions 1978 au «Projet pour un traité de linguistique différentielle»*, 1978, 25 pp. Pris: 70,- FB.

SPILL 4: JUCQUOIS G., *Paradigmes du vieux-slave*, 1979, 33 pp. Prix: 100,- FB.

En vue de faciliter l'étude élémentaire de la grammaire du vieux-slave et de permettre aux étudiants d'en identifier rapidement les formes, ce volume regroupe l'ensemble des paradigmes de cette langue liturgique.

SPILL 5: BAL W. - GERMAIN J., *Guide de linguistique*, 1979, 108 pp. Prix: 275,- FB.

Destiné à tous ceux qui désirent s'initier à la linguistique moderne, ce guide joint à un exposé des notions fondamentales et des connexions interdisciplinaires de cette science une substantielle documentation bibliographique sélective, à jour, classée systématiquement et dont la consultation est encore facilitée par un index détaillé.

SPILL 6: JUCQUOIS G. - LEUSE J., *Ouvrages encyclopédiques et terminologiques en sciences humaines*, 1980, 66 pp. Prix: 165,- FB.

Brochure destinée à permettre une première orientation dans le domaine des diverses sciences de l'homme. Trois sortes de travaux y sont signalés: ouvrages de terminologie, ouvrages d'introduction, et ouvrages de type encyclopédique.

SPILL 7: DONNET D., *Paradigmes et résumé de grammaire sanskrite*, 64 pp., 1980. Prix: 160,- FB.

Dans cette brochure, qui sert de support à un cours d'initiation, sont envisagés: les règles du sandhi externe et interne, les paradigmes nominaux et verbaux, les principes et les classifications de la composition nominale.

SPILL 8-9: DEROY L., *Padaśas. Manuel pour commencer l'étude du sanskrit même sans maître*, 2 vol., 203 + 160 pp., 2^e éd., 1984. Prix: 1.090,- FB., ISBN 2-87077-274-2. Méthode progressive apte à donner une connaissance élémentaire et passive du sanskrit (en transcription). Chaque leçon de grammaire est illustrée par des textes simples (proverbes, maximes et contes). Le second volume contient un copieux lexique, une traduction des textes (pour contrôle) et les éléments pour étudier, éventuellement, à la fin, l'écriture nāgarī.

SPILL 10: *Langage ordinaire et philosophie chez le second WITTGENSTEIN. Séminaire de philosophie du langage 1979-1980, édité par MALHERBE J.F.*, 139 pp., 1980. Prix: 350,- FB. ISBN 2-87077-014-6.

Si, comme le soutenait Wittgenstein, **la signification c'est l'usage**, c'est en étudiant l'usage d'un certain nombre de termes clés de la langue du philosophe que l'on pourra, par-delà le découpage de sa pensée en aphorismes, tenter une synthèse de quelques thèmes majeurs des **investigations philosophiques**.

SPILL 11: PIERRET J.M., *Phonétique du français. Notions de phonétique générale et phonétique du français*, V-245 pp. + 4 pp. hors texte, 1985. Prix: 550,- FB. ISBN 2-87077-018-9.

Ouvrage d'initiation aux principaux problèmes de la phonétique générale et de la phonétique du français. Il étudie, en outre, dans une section de phonétique historique, l'évolution des sons, du latin au français moderne.

SPILL 12: Y. DUHOUX, *Introduction aux dialectes grecs anciens. Problèmes et méthodes. Recueil de textes traduits*, 111 pp., 1983. Prix: 280,- FB. ISBN 2-87077-177-0.

Ce petit livre est destiné aux étudiants, professeurs de grec et lecteurs cultivés désireux de s'initier à la dialectologie grecque ancienne: description des parlers; classification dialectale; reconstitution de la préhistoire du grec. Quatorze cartes et tableaux illustrent l'exposé, qui est complété par une bibliographie succincte. La deuxième partie de l'ouvrage rassemble soixante-huit courtes inscriptions dialectales traduites et accompagnées de leur bibliographie.

SPILL 13: G. JUCQUOIS, *Le travail de fin d'études. Buts, méthode, présentation*, 82 pp., 1984. Prix: 230,- FB. ISBN 2-87077-224-6.

Les étudiants se posent souvent la question des buts du travail de fin d'études: quel est le rôle de ce travail dans leur formation, comment rassembler les informations nécessaires, comment les traiter, comment les présenter? Voilà quelques unes des grandes questions auxquelles on tente de répondre

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ICILL 2: E. NIEUWBORG et J. WEISSHAUPT, avec la collaboration de D. REULEN, *Concordantielijst van Zuidnederlandse Romans: H. CLAUS, Natuurgetroutwer: De Zwarte Keizer; Het jaar van de Kreeft*, 1979, 12 pp.+3.435 pp. et 14 microfiches. Prix: 1.000,- FB.

ICILL 3: G. JUCQUOIS et B. DEVLAMMINCK, *Die Sprache I (1949) - 20 (1974): index des formes*, 1979, XVI-301 pp. Prix: 1.000,- FB.

ICILL 4: E. NIEUWBORG et J. WEISSHAUPT, avec la collaboration de D. REULEN, *Concordance de: CESBRON G., Notre prison et un royaume. Concordance de G. BERNANOS, L'impotence*. 1981, 12 pp.+3.176 pp. et 12 microfiches.
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950,- FB.

ICILL 6: E. NIEUWBORG et J. WEISSHAUPT, avec la collaboration de R. REULEN, *Concordantielijsten van weekbladen en krantentaal (Zuidnederlands taalgebied)*. 1981, 12 pp.+2.606 pp. en 11 microfiches. Prix: 800,- FB.

ICILL 11: E. NIEUWBORG et J. WEISSHAUPT, avec la collaboration de R. REULEN, *Concordantielijsten van Zuidnederlandse letterkunde - Hubert LAMPO, De komst van Joachim Stiller. Er is méér, Horatio*. 1981, 16 x 24, 12 pp. +2.403 pp. en 10 microfiches. Prix: 800,- FB.

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A LINGUISTIC HAPPENING IN MEMORY OF BEN SCHWARTZ:

STUDIES IN ANATOLIAN, ITALIC, AND OTHER INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

Edited by

Yoël L. ARBEITMAN

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